WORKERS VANGUARD

Volume No. 37

6 January to 8 December 2006
(Issues Nos. 861-882)

Published by: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016 with funding from
Prometheus Research Library

https://archive.org/details/workersvanguard37spar

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 861 | GCU C-701 | 6 January 2006

Democrats Gave Bush the Go-Ahead

NSA/FBI Spying and the War on Our Rights

On December 16, the *New York Times* revealed that for the past four years President Bush has authorized the National Security Agency (NSA) to intercept international phone calls and Internet communications of U.S. citizens without a warrant. A week after the *Times* broke the story, it was revealed that the scope of the wiretapping, which included domestic wiretapping, was far more vast than initially disclosed and was carried out with the ready assistance of American telecommunications companies. In addition to spying on specific conversations, NSA technicians have been combing though large volumes of telephone and Internet traffic in what some officials describe as a large "data mining" operation.

These operations hark back to the Total Information Awareness project, the Big Brother brainchild of convicted Contragate criminal Admiral John Poindexter. That was projected to be a massive computer system that would allow the Feds to access the financial, medical, communications and travel records of everyone living in or entering the U.S. We noted at the time, in "Down With Government War on Civil Liberties!" (*WV* No. 811, 10 October 2003), that the program would allow the Bush administration to "know what books and periodicals you read, what music you listen to, what movies you watch, what cities and countries you travel to, who you sleep with and what type of contraception you use." Amid the uproar over Poindexter's proposal, Congress voted in 2003 to deny funding. Nevertheless, the Defense Department continued funding its development.

According to the bourgeoisie's own laws, Bush's actions are blatantly illegal. The NSA wiretaps are in direct violation of the Fourth Amendment's prohibition of unreasonable search and seizure, as well as court decisions and federal laws. A 1972 Supreme Court decision in *United States v. United States District Court* requires judicial approval for wiretaps even when the government claims it's for "national security." The political backdrop to that decision was massive social unrest over the Vietnam War and struggles for black rights.

In 1978, after U.S. imperialism's stinging defeat in Vietnam, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), signed into law by Democratic president Jimmy Carter, allowed the government to obtain warrants for such wiretaps from a secret court set up to review government applications in "foreign intelligence" investigations. While FISA is now invoked by liberals as a check on the nation's secret police, in practice it has served as a rubber stamp for the Feds. In 27 years, the FISA court turned down *five* of nearly *20,000* warrant applications. But for Bush & Co., even the formality of a court sanction is unacceptable. They are intent on establishing that the word of the President is the highest law of the land.

The NSA disclosure had immediate repercussions within Congress and the courts. The Senate did not pass the permanent renewal of the draconian USA Patriot Act sought by the administration, adopting instead a five-week extension to allow further debate after the Congressional recess. FISA court judge James Robertson resigned, reportedly in protest of the government's end run around his court. Republican Senator Arlen Specter, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, announced plans to conduct hearings this month on the wiretaps. Just as the White House earlier dismissed reservations from those in the Justice Department—apparently including former Attorney General John Ashcroft—that the NSA program was illegal, Bush today is not budging one inch, even in the face of complaints from some Congressional Republicans. Now, in an attempt to silence anyone who might think of revealing more of the government's dark secrets, Bush's Justice Department has announced a criminal investigation of the NSA leaks.

Last year, Bush lied that there were no warrantless wiretaps. Now, he points to the Congressional resolution passed one week after the September 11 attacks with near-unanimous Democratic support that gave him a blank check for the "war on terror." This gives the lie to the feigned outrage expressed by Congressional Democrats over the NSA spying. As Republican Peter Hoekstra, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, pointed out: "The record is clear; Congressional leaders at a minimum tacitly supported the program" (*New York Times*, 23 December 2005). At least seven Democrats are known to have been briefed about the NSA operations, only three of whom expressed even the mildest concern. California Democrat Jane Harman, who knew of the spying since 2003, called it "essential to U.S. national security." Senate Democratic leader Harry Reid, former Senator Bob Graham and Richard Gephardt, former Democratic leader in the House, were also briefed.

Arguing in a *New York Times* (27 December 2005) op-ed piece, titled "Unwarranted Complaints," that the NSA wiretaps required no warrants, David Rivkin and Lee Casey, who served in the Reagan and Bush Sr. administrations, point out that "numerous administrations, both Republican and Democrat, have espoused the same view." Bill Clinton faced charges of warrantless wiretapping in 1994. That same year, Clinton's deputy attorney general Jamie Gorelick declared before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence: "The Department of Justice believes—and the case law supports—that the president has inherent authority to conduct warrantless physical searches for foreign intelligence purposes and that the president may, as he has done, delegate this authority to the attorney general" (*Washington Times*, 22 December 2005). Gorelick explicitly included electronic surveillance such as wiretaps in this claim. Similarly, the Clinton administration initiated the practice of "rendition" of "terror suspects" to countries where they would be tortured.

For its part, the *New York Times* sat on the NSA story for a year at the administration's request. Once again the *Times* assisted the Bush administration, as they did in peddling the administration's lies about Iraq's "weapons of

continued on page 8

Corbis

Above: Joint Operations Command Center, which centralizes city and federal police and spying operations in Washington, D.C., during 2002 anti-globalization protests there. Below: Cops terrorize British tourists of South Asian descent in name of "war on terror," New York, July 2005.

AP

7 25274 81030 7 01

On Lenin's Address to Petrograd Soviet

1 December 2005

To the Editor,

The Quote of the Week in *WV* No. 858 (11 November 2005) reproduced Lenin's speech to the Petrograd Soviet on 25 October 1917. The text was taken from the authoritative English source, Lenin's *Collected Works*, volume 26. But although it is rendered as spoken in the first person, it is not a transcript of Lenin's speech, but rather a newspaper reporter's rendition, published in the 27 October 1917 issue of *Izvestia*. It has been broadly cited in scholarly works without reservation. It appeared in volume 15 of the first edition of Lenin's *Collected Works* only after his death in 1924. The editor, Lev Kamenev, specifically cautioned readers in his 19 July 1922 introductory notes that Lenin's speeches from newspaper accounts are only "more or less exact, only a mere skeleton of what was said," and that "Lenin himself has several times in print renounced responsibility for his speeches as published in newspapers." I would add, the archival original is marked as "unverified."

Unfortunately, there are no stenographic records for the October 25 session of the Petrograd Soviet. And, as Trotsky noted in his *History of the Russian Revolution* about the events of that day in the Smolny Institute:

> "No minutes were kept—or they have not been preserved. Nobody was bothering about future historians, although a lot of trouble was being prepared for them right there....
>
> "There remain only the hasty and tendential newspaper reports.... ***Lenin's speeches have suffered especially***" (emphasis added).

But note that Trotsky wrote of *multiple* newspaper reports.

Now, thanks to the publication of a Russian-language documentary collection, *The Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies in 1917, Documents and Materials*, Vol. 4 (ROSSPEN: Moscow 2003), we have several other newspaper accounts to compare against *Izvestia*'s. And it immediately becomes clear why over the years the anti-Trotskyist editors of Lenin's writings provided only one variant: *Izvestia*'s was the least offensive to Stalin's nationalist-reformist "theory" of socialism in one country. In that account, Lenin said:

> "From now on, a new phase in the history of Russia begins, and this, the third Russian revolution, should in the end lead to the victory of socialism....
>
> "We possess the strength of mass organisation, which will overcome everything and lead the proletariat to the world revolution.
>
> "We must now set about building a proletarian socialist state in Russia."

A "socialist state in Russia," "the victory of socialism" arising from a Russian "mass organization, which will overcome everything"? These formulations are striking in that they are at odds with what Lenin had always taught: that socialism is the lower stage of communism, a classless society with no need of a state, a society of abundance possible only on the basis of an international planned economy. That is why the October Revolution was seen as but a spark to ignite a Europe-wide socialist revolution.

And sure enough, other press reports of his speech, such as the following from *Rech* (26 October 1917), said just the opposite of the *Izvestia* account:

> "Only socialism can save Russia from the horrors and consequences of war. 'It is possible,' declared Lenin, 'that this task is beyond the capacities of the Russian proletariat alone, which is significantly more backward than the Western European proletariat, but the war has imposed this task on the Russian proletariat, and it must be taken on. The new workers and peasants government, which is already being formed,' Lenin underscored, 'will not resolve all the tasks that are placed before the Petrograd proletariat without a struggle against our own, and against international, capitalism.... The Russian started the revolution, and the German will carry it through to the end,' declared Lenin."

VAAP

On eve of 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, banner of "Red Putilov" factory workers reads: "Long Live the Russian Revolution as the Prologue to Social Revolution in Europe."

And far from Lenin declaring "a new phase in the history of Russia" alone that should lead to socialism, the account in *Novaya Zhizn* (26 October 1917) reported Lenin saying:

> "[a] new phase has opened up not just in Russia, but throughout the entire world. And this phase will inevitably lead to the victory of socialism. Without this, it is not possible to resolve all the problems that are posed before us by life and war....
>
> "The task of the day is the construction of a proletarian state, and in this labor, we believe that the full support of the peasantry behind us is guaranteed. And with this confidence, we can shout, 'Long Live the Worldwide Socialist Revolution!'"

Thus, there are grounds for us to reaffirm that Lenin's historic declaration of the Petrograd proletariat's victorious insurrection was sharply counterposed to the Stalinist lie of "socialism in one country" and fully in accordance with Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution.

Comradely Greetings,
Victor G.

Funds Needed for Jaan Laaman Defense

The Partisan Defense Committee received a letter dated November 27 from Jaan Laaman, one of the Ohio 7 class-war prisoners. Laaman wrote: "This year I came across some profound new evidence and I now have a possibility of reopening and challenging my entire [Massachusetts] conviction and sentence. I have always maintained my innocence in this case and now I may finally be able to prove it."

The Ohio 7 were leftist activists convicted for their role in a radical group that took credit for bank "expropriations" and bombings in the 1970s and '80s against symbols of U.S. imperialism and apartheid South Africa. These actions were not crimes from the standpoint of the working class. Laaman—who has been imprisoned for over 21 years—and his Ohio 7 comrades should never have spent a day in jail! Funds are urgently needed to hire legal defense to pursue Laaman's appeal. On December 29, the PDC sent $500 toward this effort. We urge our readers to help support the fight for Laaman's freedom. Checks should be made out to the "Jaan Laaman Legal Freedom Fund" and sent to: Jaan Laaman Legal Freedom Fund, P.O. Box 681, East Boston, MA 02128.

You may read about Jaan Laaman's case and other class-war prisoners in the online magazine he contributes to: www.4strugglemag.org. Or write to 4strugglemag, 2035 St. Laurent Boulevard, Montreal, Quebec, H2X 2T3 Canada.

Class Against Class

TROTSKY

LENIN

Referring to the victorious 1936-37 West Coast strike by warehousemen and maritime unions, Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon outlined the class-struggle principles key to guiding labor struggles.

A conflict between workers and employers is not a mere misunderstanding between two elements who have a common general interest. On the contrary it springs from an irreconcilable conflict of interest; it is an expression of a ruthless class struggle wherein power alone decides the issue.

Viewed in this light, a dispute between workers and employers cannot be settled fairly by the government; the government is an instrument of one of the parties to the dispute—in this case the capitalists. The class conflict cannot be handed over to the "public" to decide; the "public" is itself divided into classes with different interests and different sympathies regulated primarily by these interests. The polemics of Karl Marx against the conservative labor leaders of his day answered all these questions. All the experience of the labor movement since that time, including the recent west coast strike, speaks for the position of Marx and against all conceptions which overlook the class struggle.

—James P. Cannon, "After the Maritime Strike," *Labor Action*, 20 February 1937, reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator*,(1958)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is 3 January.

No. 861 **6 January 2006**

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
tllt@look.ca

Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

We reprint below a speech, edited for publication, by Jonathan Piper of the Partisan Defense Committee at a united-front defense rally in Chicago on October 1. The event was one of a series of rallies initiated by the PDC under the heading "The 'War on Terror' Targets Blacks, Immigrants, Labor and Leftists! Fight Government Repression!" The rallies emphasized defense of renowned black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man who has been on death row for close to a quarter of a century, leftist attorney Lynne Stewart and black militant Assata Shakur (see "Fight Government Repression!" *WV* No. 859, 25 November 2005).

Last month, the federal Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Pennsylvania put Mumia's case on a "fast track" for decision. This means that Mumia's attorneys as well as the Philadelphia district attorney's office will file their legal papers, and there will be a court decision within a very short period of time, perhaps as soon as six months. The court will be deciding whether to uphold Mumia's death sentence or to allow him more legal proceedings, including possibly a new trial.

The federal appeals court is not required to consider all of the violations of rights evident in Mumia's frame-up, conviction and sentencing, during which virtually every right of due process—from the right to an attorney to the right to cross-examine witnesses—was violated. However, the court has allowed three challenges: the racially biased jury selection in Mumia's 1982 trial, the D.A.'s prejudicial summary argument to the jury falsely stating that Mumia would have "appeal after appeal," and the grossly biased post-conviction state hearings before Judge Albert Sabo in the 1990s.

That these challenges can even be heard in court is a good development. But these proceedings also put Mumia's life literally in the balance. This emphasizes with even more urgency the need to mobilize the social power of organized labor and its allies *now* to fight for Mumia's freedom.

* * *

Mumia Abu-Jamal, America's foremost political prisoner, is an innocent man. Yet he is locked away in Pennsylvania's death row dungeons, even when Arnold Beverly, another man, has confessed that he was the one who shot the police officer in the killing for which Mumia was framed up.

Mumia remains imprisoned despite the mountain of evidence that proves his innocence. America's capitalist rulers and their courts know that he's innocent. They want to silence Mumia's voice because he is a symbol of defiant opposition to their system of exploitation and racist oppression.

WV Photo

August 1995: Philadelphia demonstration, part of international campaign protesting signing of Mumia Abu-Jamal's death warrant. Mobilization of labor was key to winning stay of execution.

James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969, Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

Mumia first entered the cops' cross hairs in the late 1960s. At age 15 he helped found the Black Panther Party chapter in Philadelphia, serving as the Minister of Information for the Philadelphia chapter and as a talented writer for the *Black Panther* newspaper. He was targeted by the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO operation of intimidation and assassination. His activism continued throughout the 1970s as an eloquent journalist in Philadelphia, where his championing the cause of the oppressed and exploited led him to be called "the voice of the voiceless." The cops hated him because he publicized the cases of victims of police brutality, particularly the Philadelphia MOVE organization.

All this time they had been trying to pin something on Mumia, but he had done nothing but journalism and exercising his First Amendment rights. They saw their chance to get him in the early morning hours of 9 December 1981, when Mumia was shot and beaten on the scene where a police officer named Daniel Faulkner had been shot. The Chief Inspector on the scene had been leading the campaign against the Black Panthers back in the '60s. He knew who Mumia was, and they immediately started to pull out every stop to pin Faulkner's killing on him. They pulled out the third degree, threatening and coercing witnesses and people who weren't even there to say that Mumia had shot the cop. The state's main witness was Cynthia White, a prostitute who was arrested four times between December 9 and the trial six months later. Each time she was arrested the police got her to say something additional against Mumia and then let her go. Yet several other witnesses who knew her confirmed that she was not even there when Mumia or the police officer was shot.

Two months after the shooting, the prosecutor called together all the police officers, looking for something to make a case and got them to come up with a story about how Mumia had "confessed" to the shooting while lying in the emergency room, where he was beaten by police officers. In fact, the officer on guard wrote in his report that night that during this whole time, Mumia made no comments.

What happened at the kangaroo trial in 1982 shows why we say there is no justice in the capitalist courts. Mumia's trial was presided over by the notorious hanging judge Albert Sabo, who sent more men to death row than any other sitting judge in recent history. A court reporter overheard Sabo during the trial saying, "I'm going to help them fry the n----r." Mumia was saddled with an incompetent lawyer, with a jury that was rigged to keep blacks off. There was no lie or trick too low for the prosecutor, who argued that Mumia deserved the death penalty because he was a former Black Panther Party member who had quoted Mao Zedong saying, "All power to the people" and "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." This was the argument for why Mumia deserved death, and this shows what the death penalty is all about as a barbaric, racist legacy of the era of chattel slavery.

I joined Mumia's legal team in 1990, after he lost his first appeal. Rachel Wolkenstein and I, who served as Partisan Defense Committee lawyers, operated with the understanding there is no way that Mumia could win justice out of the capitalist court system. To speak of Mumia ever receiving a "fair trial" only breeds the deadly illusion that there can be justice in the capitalist courts. While fighting to use every possible legal procedure and remedy on Mumia's behalf, we understood that his real fate lay not in the hands of the hanging judges but in the hands of the masses of the labor movement and the oppressed rallying to his defense.

In 1999, Rachel located the witness Arnold Beverly and secured his written confession that "I was hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner.... Jamal had nothing to do with the shooting." Not only did Beverly pass a lie detector test, but his confession is completely consistent with all the physical evidence in the case, and with the accounts of numerous eyewitnesses who saw the shooter run away from the scene. And this account of being hired to kill Faulkner is consistent with the fact that there was an FBI investigation right at that time of police running the prostitution rings and taking graft from the late-night clubs in the downtown Philadelphia neighborhood right where this happened. Many officers involved in framing up Mumia in fact were later convicted in the corruption scandals that came out of that. Rachel and I left the defense team in 1999 because Jamal's lead counsel, the liberal lawyer Leonard Weinglass, and Dan Williams refused to let us bring out the Beverly confession.

This confession, and other evidence of the massive police misconduct, exposed the state's conscious frame-up of an innocent man. This is "too hot to handle" for the capitalist courts. It proves that this is not some aberration or mistake of a bad judge or a bad jury, but the crystallization of what the capitalist state is all about: committed to preserving the bosses' property system and the racial oppression on which it rests. Beverly has never been allowed to testify in court, nor has much of the other evidence showing the frame-up been allowed into court. The pretext for denying all this evidence is a rash of laws that were passed in the 1990s to stop death row and other inmates from raising their appeals. The primary measure was the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, which was signed by the Democrat Bill Clinton after the Oklahoma City bombing. This underscores how the so-called "war on terror" in fact is a war on black people and labor as well as immigrants.

Now Jamal's case is in the federal court of appeals. A federal judge has for the time being overturned Mumia's death sentence, but the Philly prosecutors want to put it back in place. The cops are howling for Mumia's blood. And even if the death sentence is overturned, Mumia faces the rest of his life buried in prison. We need a renewed effort to win Mumia's freedom. You need to get involved in this fight if you aren't already—to raise this case in all arenas, all organizations, most importantly your trade unions. This is the force that can win Mumia's freedom.

Free Mumia now! Free all class-war prisoners! Abolish the racist death penalty!■

$.50 (32 pages)

Order from/pay to:
Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

California Lynches Stanley Tookie Williams

Reuters

OAKLAND—On December 13, the state of California executed Stanley Tookie Williams. In an act of barbarism, the executioners spent 20 minutes digging in his arms trying to insert needles for the lethal injection. This legal lynching gruesomely underscores the political message that, for the capitalist rulers, black life counts for nothing, a message the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina showed to all the world. It is meant to underline that the government intends to enforce the racist death penalty despite substantial public opposition to it, and is especially pushing for the execution of America's foremost class-war prisoner, Mumia Abu-Jamal. Addressing black youth horrified by Williams' cruel murder, Marc Sapir noted in a 28 December 2005 column in the *San Francisco Bay View*: "The state's message was loud and clear: 'If you resist our violence and terror you will be called the terrorist and we will kill you'."

Capital punishment, a legacy of black chattel slavery, exposes the naked brutality of this class-divided and racially segregated society. We oppose the death penalty on principle—for the guilty as well as the innocent—because we do not accord the state the right to determine who lives and dies. On the night of Williams' execution, some 2,000 protesters gathered outside the gates of San Quentin State Prison where Williams had been entombed on death row for nearly a quarter century. We participated in the demonstration called that evening with signs demanding, "Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!" and calling for "Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

Reuters

Los Angeles, December 20: Thousands turn out to honor Williams at his funeral.

To the end, Stanley Williams maintained that he was innocent of the four murders of which he was convicted. Just hours before the execution, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger denied Williams clemency, and the U.S. Supreme Court turned down his last-minute legal appeals. After the governor rejected clemency, lawyers for Williams asked Schwarzenegger for a stay of execution based on exculpatory information of three more witnesses who had come forward in the prior week. Only hours before Williams was to die, a fourth witness signed an affidavit that the L.A. County Sheriff's Department fed police reports to one witness to aid his fabrication of Williams' hearsay "confession." California's top cop, Democratic attorney general Bill Lockyer, presided over the state's legal pursuit of Williams' execution, and now any evidence that might have proven his innocence will never be heard.

The Williams case "is a prime example of the racist travesty that is American 'justice'," as the Partisan Defense Committee stated in a November 29 protest letter to Schwarzenegger. Williams, a former leader of the L.A. Crips gang, was convicted in a case brought by a prosecutor twice censured by the California Supreme Court for discriminatory conduct. Every potential black juror was struck from the jury. No physical evidence linked Williams to the murders. He was convicted on circumstantial evidence and hearsay testimony by jailhouse snitches who faced felony convictions and were offered reduced sentences and other compensation.

Because of Williams' conversion in prison into an anti-gang and anti-crime crusader, portrayed in the docudrama *Redemption*, many, including the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, considered him an excellent candidate for clemency. However, in his five-page denial, Schwarzenegger dismissed all evidence of an unfair trial and posed the ultimate Catch-22: Williams could not be "redeemed" because he refused to confess, i.e., he refused to compromise his integrity in order to exculpate the racist injustice system.

From the ghettos of South-Central L.A. to the parliaments of Europe, where the death penalty is illegal in most countries, many voiced outrage over the killing of Williams, a Nobel Peace Prize nominee. His numerous supporters included such well-known figures as Jamie Foxx, Snoop Dogg and Joan Baez. Protests were organized in Schwarzenegger's Austrian hometown of Graz, after which he demanded that his name be stripped from the sports stadium.

To many black people, protesting on behalf of Williams represented a gut reaction to the racist injustice and violence they regularly experience at the hands of the capitalist rulers and their state. In L.A., thousands of people, overwhelmingly black, turned out to view Williams' body and honor him at his funeral. They were met with an ominous police presence, as hundreds of riot cops dispatched by Democratic mayor Antonio Villaraigosa lined the streets. In his remarks at the funeral, Jesse Jackson made a point that was on the minds of many people there about the racist and capricious character of the death penalty: "Tookie Williams is dead, killed by the state. However, Charlie Manson is alive, and he tore apart the body of Sharon Tate who was nine-months pregnant." Manson's death sentence was commuted to life in prison when the death penalty was briefly ruled unconstitutional in the state of California in 1971.

California now has a death row population of 647, the largest in the country. So many innocent people bave been sentenced to die that the California State Senate established a Commission on the Fair Administration of Justice to investigate, and there are proposals that there be a moratorium on executions at least until the Commission issues its report in 2007. Perhaps for this very reason, Williams' execution date was moved forward. The state machinery of death presses on: the next legal lynching is scheduled for January 17, of 75-year-old Native American Clarence Ray Allen, who is wheelchair-bound and almost hlind.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Williams' case became a referendum on the enforcement of the death penalty, which is supported by politicians in both the Democratic and Republican parties. In executing Williams, they declare their intention to carry out the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal—a former Black Panther and MOVE supporter known as the "voice of the voiceless"—who was framed up for the killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner in 1981.

Williams was not a fighter for black freedom imprisoned for his political beliefs. But after years in San Quentin, he came to appreciate the fight waged by those who were. In denying clemency to Williams, Schwarzenegger cited the fact that Williams dedicated his 1998 book, *Life in Prison*, to "Nelson Mandela, Angela Davis, Malcolm X, Assata Shakur, Geronimo Ji Jaga Pratt, Ramona Africa, John Africa, Leonard Peltier, Dhoruba al-Mujahid, George Jackson, Mumia Abu Jamal, and the countless other men, women, and youths, who have to endure the hellish oppression of living behind bars." Schwarzenegger ranted: "The mix of individuals on this list is curious. Most have violent pasts and some have been convicted of committing heinous murders including the killing of law enforcemen "

On the contrary, it is Schwarzenegger's objections that are "curious": Mandela is a hero of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa; Angela Davis was acquitted of all charges; Assata Shakur is in exile in Cuba with a $1 million bounty on her head; Malcolm X was murdered; Pratt and Dhoruba, both former Panthers, are now free after their convictions, both blatant COINTELPRO frame-ups, were reversed; Ramona Africa spent seven years in prison for the "crime" of being the sole adult survivor of the 1985 bombing of the MOVE commune by the Philadelphia police and FBI; John Africa was among those killed in the same bombing; American Indian Movement leader Peltier is in prison for a crime he did not commit.

Schwarzenegger's statement singles out Black Panther Party member George Jackson for special slander: "The inclusion of George Jackson on this list defies reason and is a significant indicator that Williams is not reformed and that he still sees violence and lawlessness as a legitimate means to address societal problems." In fact, George Jackson, a revered leader of the Panthers and a fighter for prisoner rights, was never convicted of anything more than a $71 gas station robbery; he was *assassinated* by prison guards at San Quentin on 21 August 1971.

But the main target of Schwarzenegger's lies and slander is Mumia Abu-Jamal. ***Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man!*** Another man has confessed to Faulkner's killing—evidence the courts refuse to hear (see article, page 3). Jamal's case exposes what the death penalty is all about: a weapon of repression by the capitalist rulers, employed not least against fighters against racist oppression. By branding Mumia and other freedom fighters murderous criminals, Schwarzenegger and his racist supporters are sending an ominous message to Mumia's defenders, as well as any black people, particularly young blacks, who would take up his struggle for freedom.

The bourgeois press, too, is joining the lynch mob. Among others, journalist Michael Smerconish published a column titled "How Mumia Helped with Tookie's Sendoff" (*Philadelphia Daily News*, 16 December 2005), gloating over Tookie's death and looking forward to Jamal's. Vile radio shows like the "Kill Tookie Hour" in Los Angeles fomented race hate and bloodlust.

In his funeral oration, Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan claimed that Williams "paid a price, not just for his redemption, but for ours" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 December 2005). For its part, the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) declared in an article titled "They Murdered a Peacemaker" (*Socialist Worker*, 16 Decemher 2005): "The state of California rewarded redemption with cold-blooded murder." "Redemption" amounts to blaming the victims for their own oppression—as though they need to "redeem" themselves before the eyes of "God and country"—thereby alibiing the racist capitalist rulers. As Marxists, we reject the very concept of "redemption," the sickening religious notion of heing "saved" through repentance.

In its article, the ISO describes Schwarzenegger as "hetter" than his predecessor, Democratic governor Gray Davis, praising him for "promoting parole for prisoners and last year adding the word 'rehabilitation' to the name of

Protest Cop Attack on Gay Rights March in Poland!

We reprint below the translation of a November 23 letter by the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV) in Germany to Polish president-elect Lech Kaczynski and Poznan mayor Ryszard Grobelny, protesting a brutal police attack on gay and lesbian rights activists in Poznan on November 19. This assault was the latest example of a campaign of the Polish capitalist state—established after the Solidarność-led counterrevolution 15 years ago—against the democratic rights of gays, lesbians, national minorities and the left. It comes on the heels of Kaczynski's recent election on a program of re-establishing the death penalty, even further restricting abortion rights for women and establishing a clerical, anti-communist "Fourth Republic." The Kaczynski regime thus threatens to bring every aspect of life in Poland ever more under the control of the Catholic church.

The KfsV is a class-struggle, nonsectarian legal and social defense organization that champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartakist Workers Party, German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). Today, the Polish capitalist state unleashes its police against gay and lesbian rights activists. Tomorrow, the same police will be unleashed against striking workers who defend their jobs and the meager social welfare that still exists. ***An injury to one is an injury to all! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! For free abortion on demand!***

* * *

On Saturday, 19 November 2005, in the city of Poznan, police in riot gear brutally assaulted a march of several hundred people for equal rights for gays and lesbians. This march was banned by Poznan's mayor, Ryszard Grobelny, who followed the example of the Polish president-elect, Lech Kaczynski, who last June as mayor of Warsaw outlawed the "Parade of Equality." The police attack occurred at the end of the march and was cheered by fascistic reactionaries who hurled racist and homophobic epithets at the demonstrators. The police first surrounded the march and then started beating and arresting 65 demonstrators, dragging them along the sidewalk. The protesters now face penalties of up to one month in prison.

The Komitee für soziale Verteidigung (Committee for Social Defense) demands: ***Stop the persecution of gay and lesbian rights activists in Poland! Drop all charges against the Poznan demonstrators!*** ■

Indymedia

Police seize protester at November 19 Poznan rally for gay rights.

LBL Protests Cop Killing of Patrick Gaston

Oakland

On November 10 Patrick Gaston, a 34-year-old black man, was brutally killed in front of his mother and neighbors by Oakland police in broad daylight. Arrested for allegedly selling heroin to an undercover cop, Gaston was beaten and kicked into unconsciousness. A witness said, "I saw the police grab him, pull him off his bicycle and beat him. They beat him. They choked him. I didn't see him fight back at all" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 November 2005). Shouting that they were killing him, Gaston's mother, Gwendolyn, called 911, and Patrick was pronounced dead less than an hour after he was attacked.

Gaston was killed in West Oakland, the territory of the infamous Oakland "Riders," a gang of dozens of cops set loose in a special campaign in the racist "war on drugs." Three Riders were brought to trial in 2002 on more than 60 counts stemming from their savage beatings and attempted frame-ups—and were acquitted in two successive trials. As a result of a civil suit, $10.5 million was awarded last June to victims of years of abuse by Oakland police. Since November 2000 a consent decree has been in effect, seeking to refurbish the Citizens' Police Review Board (CPRB) as a "solution" to cop violence. But as Gaston's killing shows, no number of whitewash investigations and civilian review boards can disappear the role of the murderous police.

As we wrote in "As Oakland Police Thugs Face Trial: Anger Mounts Over Cop Terror in Bay Area" (*WV* No. 778, 5 April 2002), "Waves of outrage against cop terror are followed by penny-ante, meaningless liberal 'reforms,' with the ghetto masses receding into bitterness and despair." The cops are the hired thugs of the racist capitalist ruling class and serve to protect the system of private property.

Gaston Family

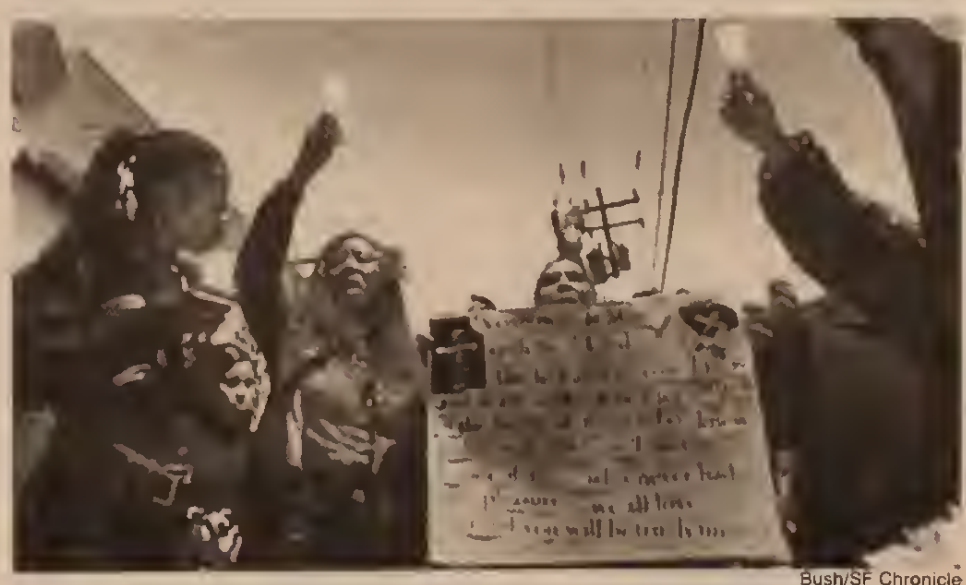
The Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense submitted the following letter, as yet unpublished, to the *San Francisco Bay View* and *Oakland Tribune* on December 4. The recent attacks on Arab-owned neighborhood liquor stores in Oakland, mentioned in the letter, are alleged to be the acts of the late Yusuf Bey's Black Muslim followers, a local group not affiliated with the Nation of Islam. For this group, selling alcohol is as much a "crime" as drug use. Such attacks benefit only the racist rulers who foster such divisions within the working and oppressed masses to maintain their power.

* * *

Patrick Gaston was a victim of police violence targeting young black men as criminals under the guise of the "war on drugs." The Labor Black League calls for an end to drug laws—"crimes without victims." His generation has been deemed a surplus population by America's rulers—no jobs, only prison hellholes or cannon fodder in imperialist wars. From the days of chattel slavery to the present, black oppression is the foundation upon which the American system of capitalist exploitation rests.

These conditions are intensified by the "war on terror" that targets immigrants, blacks and labor, tearing up rights that have been won through decades of social struggle. This year's acquittal of the police gang, "the Riders" (named after the KKK nightriders), shows that police terror cannot be "reformed."

In American class society, black people are segregated at the bottom, yet form a strategic part of the working class. Labor action by the powerful, racially integrated trade unions, independent of the other party of war and racism—the Democratic Party—would give an organized political expression and social power to the outrage of the black ghetto against cop terror. Such protest must also include defense of Arab store owners against vigilantism. The recent vigilante attacks on Arab-owned ghetto liquor stores, allegedly by Bey's Black Muslims, can only fuel anti-immigrant racism. Clearly, in racist America, the immediate targets of vigilantism and state repression are black people. We need a multiracial workers party to lead the way. ■



Bush/SF Chronicle

Gaston's family holds vigil in Oakland near where he died, November 12.

the Department of Corrections." One might as well point out that the words "Work Brings Freedom" were above the entrance to the Auschwitz Nazi death camp. Meanwhile, ISO spokesman Todd Chretien called the execution of Williams "a great moral failure on the part of our government" in a 15 December press release announcing his candidacy for U.S. Senate on the capitalist Green Party ticket. "***Our government***"? This cabal of murderers, liars and robbers is not "our government." The ISO is promoting illusions in the nature of the capitalist state. As we said in "Free the San Quentin Six," an article about George Jackson and his comrades (*WV* No. 122, 20 August 1976):

> "Prisons are the concentrated essence of the repressive power of the state, which upholds capitalism with its enforced poverty and inequality, driving many lumpenized elements to crime to survive. But once in prison, 'rehabilitation' and 'correction' become sick and empty lies, as harassment and torture of those seeking to maintain even a minimum of human dignity lead to ever longer sentences and deepening repression."

Rather than "redemption," black people need class-struggle leadership in the form of a revolutionary workers party that can lead the fight to overthrow this thoroughly rotten imperialist system. Abolish the racist death penalty! For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
international rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail

❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

❑ I would like to contribute $_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

861

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Canada: I.S. Upholds Anti-Woman Religious Courts

Sharia "Socialists"

The following article is reprinted from Spartacist Canada *No. 147 (Winter 2005/2006), newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League.*

What kind of "socialists" would actively back state-sanctioned Islamic *sharia* courts? That is exactly what the International Socialists (I.S. [affiliated with the British Socialist Workers Party]) are doing in taking up the cudgels for what they call, aping the language of the Christian right, "faith-based arbitration." It is mind-boggling that self-styled leftists would champion a campaign by the most reactionary, anti-woman forces in the Muslim community to have their religious law backed by the authority of the capitalist state.

Sharia is the 1,300-year-old body of Muslim canon law that regulates every aspect of life. In Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and elsewhere, it is synonymous with barbaric punishments such as "honour" killings and stoning "adulterers" and homosexuals to death. In Muslim personal law, women are inherently unequal (as in all organized religion); indeed they are considered less than fully human. Women may be beaten by their husbands, denied divorce, or arbitrarily divorced

SPARTACIST CANADA

by the husband simply repeating three times, "I divorce you." In many countries, *sharia* codifies the Koranic strictures dictating the seclusion of women. The head-to-toe *chador* (veil), for example, is a walking prison, physically excluding women from society. It embodies the submission of women to men and their imposed inferior status. We solidarize with the countless women who have sought to escape this tyranny, whether in the Muslim world or the imperialist centers.

In late 2003, the Canadian Society of Muslims announced plans to establish *sharia* courts in Ontario that would function under the 1991 Arbitration Act introduced by the then NDP [social-democratic New Democratic Party] government. Like the Ontario Jewish rabbinical courts, the *Beit Din*, *sharia* courts would deal with family law—marriage, divorce, inheritance—where the subjugation of women is most brutally enforced. Decisions would be binding and upheld

SOCIALIST FORUM

McGuinty's 'ban' no victory for women's rights

In a recent exchange with Ottawa activist Marion Gandall, ***Richard Fidler*** *argued that Dalton McGuinty was wrong to "ban" religious arbitration in Ontario. We print here an edited portion of Richard's argument.*

Socialist Worker

International Socialists' press (24 September 2005) champions reactionary *sharia* tribunals in Canada.

by the provincial courts unless coercion was shown. This plan sparked a huge outcry, including internationally, and after over a year of protest, on September 11 Liberal premier Dalton McGuinty announced, "There will be no religious arbitration in Ontario." His government has now introduced a law to that effect.

The plan for *sharia* courts with official legal standing was an outrage that could only deepen the isolation and oppression of Muslim women. As revolutionaries, atheists and fighters for women's liberation, we were unalterably opposed to them from the start. We wrote in *Spartacist Canada* (No. 142, Fall 2004):

> "We are against all intrusion of religion into an already deeply unjust legal system that exists to defend capitalist private property and is driven by Christian thirst for vengeance and punishment. Religion ought to be a private matter in relation to the state. People should be free to practice their religion without the state persecution and religious bigotry which has spawned centuries of repression and bloodshed. But these religious tribunals are not a matter of private religious practice. Their rulings will have the force of law, making them part of the legal machinery of the capitalist state which in turn is to be the enforcer of religious obscurantism."

Furious they can no longer claim the state's blessing for their rulings, various mullahs and rabbis howled in protest. Joining this reactionary outcry, the I.S. sneered against "abstract 'secularism'" and trumpeted their participation in a "spirited demonstration" in defense of the woman-hating *sharia* tribunals (*Socialist Worker*, 8 October 2005).

The I.S.'s pro-*sharia* friends include the arch-Zionists of B'nai Brith, who also denounced the government's decision. They want to buttress support for the *Beit Din* and are happy to see Muslims, especially women, ghettoized and oppressed by "their" religious leaders. In Orthodox Judaism, where women's oppression is profound, a divorce is only final when the husband has served the *get* (writ of divorce) and it is endorsed by a rabbinical court. Should no *get* be served, the woman cannot be divorced. She is left in a horrific state of limbo known as *agunah*, a Hebrew word meaning "chained woman." As columnist Anna Morgan wrote, "When asked to comment on the fate of the *agunah*, one Orthodox woman told me, 'Are you crazy? If I speak out, no one will allow their children to marry mine'" (*Toronto Star*, 9 October 2005). The anti-*sharia* campaign helped crack this code of silence, putting a spotlight on the suffering of women at the hands of the rabbinical courts. It is very good that religious tribunals will no longer have legal standing in family law.

Of course, McGuinty's Liberals and their ilk are hardly champions of women's liberation. In racist capitalist Canada, Muslim women already face multiple hurdles. Often denied access to jobs, services and language classes, many live in intense isolation, making it very difficult to break out of the web of religious oppression. Those who do so face the threat of brutal coercion or are ostracized, cut off from family, friends and community. The imams already dispense "justice" from the mosques, but if *sharia* had become part of the state's legal machinery, the vicious, age-old, anti-woman practices which it codifies would have been legitimized and the hold of religion increased.

I.S. Gets Religion

The I.S.'s defense of *sharia* rests on a stunning apology for Islamic reaction. The September 24 *Socialist Worker* featured an article (first posted on Marxmail.org) by Richard Fidler praising former NDP attorney general Marion Boyd's government-commissioned report in favour of *sharia*. With contemptible indifference to women's oppression, Fidler positively quotes Boyd's statement that "There is no evidence to suggest that women are being systematically discriminated against as a result of arbitration of family law issues."

This prettification of Islam was embraced by *Socialist Worker* editor Paul Kellogg. "All religions are contradictory," Kellogg averred. "Why aren't the opponents of the use of the arbitration act highlighting those aspects of Islamic law which say it is the man's responsibility to share in the cleaning and cooking, that gives women, along with men, the right to divorce, that mandates child-support from the estranged husband?" (8 October 2005). This is a cruel mockery of the brutal reality of women's oppression. For women from huge swathes of Asia, Africa and the Near East, it is not a matter of who does the cleaning, but of the right to be considered fully human, not a chattel of first father, then husband.

Contrary to Kellogg, the contradiction in religion lies in the fact that human beings created religions, only to have their creations rule over them like a Frankenstein monster. It is obscene to have to debate with ostensible Marxists whether clerical reaction should be supported. Marxists regard all modern religion as an instrument of bourgeois reaction that defends exploitation and befuddles the working people.

Not so the I.S. Echoing the outraged mullahs and rabbis, Kellogg declares that "These third-party arbitrations have always existed, especially in religious communities, where it is often to the Priest, Minister, Iman [sic] or Rabbi that people turn when confronted with family or marital issues." The I.S. *accepts* this domination, seeking to give it legal force.

Down With Anti-Muslim Racism!

The I.S. invokes the ruling class "war on terror" to cover its embrace of *sharia*. But for the racist Canadian rulers there is no contradiction between attacking Muslims as terrorists and nurturing the most oppressive forces in the Muslim community. Both reinforce the grip of capitalism by scapegoating and regimenting immigrants.

This is the central purpose of official "multiculturalism." Promoted heavily by the Liberal Party as an expression of tolerance for all cultures (which is why right-wingers hate it), multiculturalism is designed to encourage the "voluntary" cultural and racial segregation of the population, ghettoizing immigrants while elevating petty-bourgeois "community leaders." It is thus a conservatizing force for policing minorities and maintaining social peace. But the Muslim community, like the rest of society, is class-divided. The struggles of immigrant and other minority workers for rights, jobs and unions necessarily require throwing off the debilitating grip of religious and other community leaders.

Socialist Worker smears the opposition to *sharia* as "involving more than a hint of anti-immigrant and racist prejudice" and claims that leftist opponents of *sharia* are "lining up with reactionaries." To be sure, some right-wing journalists and politicians seized on the *sharia* debate to inflame anti-Muslim racism. But Marxists' opposition to *sharia* (and all religious law) is conditioned not by the character of others who may oppose it, but by what advances the class interests of the proletariat.

Moreover, the central organizers of the protests against official *sharia* courts in Ontario were not pro-imperialist

Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

1979 seizure of power by Iranian mullahs was bloody disaster for women, workers and leftists.

reactionaries, but women leftists from the Worker-communist Party of Iran (WCPI)—refugees from the bloody mullah regime in Iran. The No Religious Arbitration Coalition, which includes the Ontario Federation of Labour and many women's organizations, explicitly condemns Islamophobia and opposes *all* legally binding religious arbitration, not only Muslim. We have serious differences with the WCPI, anti-clerical reformists who all too often present the institutions of Western capitalism as potential allies against Islamic reaction (see "Iran and Women's Liberation," *SC* No. 141, Summer 2004). But to paint the campaign against *sharia* as a reactionary crusade that promotes anti-Muslim racism, as the I.S. does, is a slander in the service of religious reaction.

For Separation of Religion and State

In a September 15 Marxmail.org polemic on *sharia*, Fidler writes: "The traditional left speaks a language that is to a large degree alien to the cultural experience of these huddled masses. It is the language of the white European Enlightenment, redolent in abstract concepts such as 'separation of church and state'." This is a hald-faced repudiation of Marxism and its origins. The radical-democratic principles of the bourgeois Enlightenment were the ideological reflection of historic material advances over a backward, feudal society. Hardly an abstraction, the demand for separation of religion and state was vital to this social progress. Today it is an essential part of educating the proletariat as to its true class interests.

Hostile to religion, Marxism seeks to lay bare its deep social roots, which are today to be found, as Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin wrote, in "the socially downtrodden condition of the working masses and their apparently complete helplessness in face of the blind forces of capitalism" ("The Attitude of the Workers' Party to Religion," 1909). In fact, the full separation of religion and state has nowhere been fully realized by the bourgeoisie for the simple reason that religion has great value for the ruling class in its struggle against the proletariat.

Religious wars, persecution and obscurantist oppression are endemic to ***all*** religions and all serve to buttress the patriarchal family, ruling class authority and the particular sexual and moral codes of their respective societies. The institution of the family, today fashioned to serve the needs of capitalist class rule, is the main source of women's oppression. It is the mechanism for transmitting property from one generation to the next and raising new generations of workers. Family law is tightly bound up with defense of private property and women's inequality is always reflected in the legal and social codes of society.

Anti-woman bigotry for the glory of God marks Christianity and Judaism as much as Islam. Just look at the Catholic Church's crusade against abortion rights, the attacks on evolution and science by the Protestant right, or the anti-Palestinian barbarism of the theocratic Zionist state of Israel. But while in general Christianity and Judaism had to conform with rising industrial capitalism and the emergence of bourgeois nation-states, Islam did not, largely because it remains rooted in those parts of the world where imperialist penetration has reinforced social backwardness as a prop to its domination.

Today the imperialists fulminate against Muslim fundamentalism, but for decades they consciously fuelled the growth of Islamic reaction. In their drive to prevent social revolutions and destroy the Soviet Union—the state that emerged from the victorious October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia—the imperialists allied with indigenous forces of religious and social reaction against godless Communism.

We implacably oppose the imperialist impoverishment and exploitation of the masses of the neocolonial Third World, and defend immigrants from such countries against persecution in the imperialist centers. But we are not cultural relativists who

Spartacist Canada

no credit

Trotskyist League speaker at September 2004 anti-*sharia* rally, Toronto. Right: Women confront Islamic fundamentalist bigot at Toronto protest, September 2005.

prettify the horribly oppressive status quo in the Near East and elsewhere as quaint "traditions" of the oppressed. Does the I.S., in the name of siding with the Third World oppressed, defend hideous "customs" such as female genital mutilation or *suttee*, whereby a Hindu widow self-immolates on her husband's funeral pyre? Modern bourgeois law *is* an advance over the tribal law of the desert, or the feudal system in which the European populace was once virtually enslaved to temporal lords and priests. Put another way, what regime best facilitates struggle by the working class and oppressed—one based on the European Enlightenment or one based on 7th century religious obscurantism?

I.S.: "God is Great" Socialists

Where does the I.S.'s grotesque embrace of *sharia* come from? Most immediately, it dovetails with their political conciliation of the Muslim clerics whom they have repeatedly promoted on protests against the Iraq war and occupation. But their portrayal of Muslim fundamentalism as "anti-imperialist" and even "revolutionary" is longstanding. It is a direct outgrowth of their anti-Communist hostility to the former Soviet Union and other societies where capitalism had been overthrown. The I.S.'s British parent group was founded in 1950 by forces breaking from Trotskyism who refused to defend the North Korean and Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers states against a bloody assault by the U.S., Britain and Canada. This was a direct capitulation to the "democratic" pretensions of British imperialism (and its then Labour Party government).

In 1979, joining with the rulers in Washington and Ottawa, the I.S. openly took the side of a CIA-bankrolled Islamic insurgency in Afghanistan that fought to keep women as chattel slaves. They railed against the Soviet Red Army, which had intervened to support a besieged left-nationalist Afghan government that had introduced substantial reforms—like educating girls and reducing the bride price—to this terribly backward country. We Trotskyists declared "Hail Red Army!" and called to extend the gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples, especially women.

Criminally, instead of fighting to win, the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow withdrew the Red Army in 1989, paving the way for the victory of Washington's brutal religious fanatics. And the I.S. was ecstatic. Hailing "the importance of the defeat of the Russian army," they claimed this would "spur the struggles of the oppressed nationalities in Eastern Europe" (*Socialist Worker*, March 1989). By this they meant movements like Poland's clerical-reactionary Solidarność, another pro-imperialist outfit backed to the hilt by the CIA and Vatican. Solidarność' rise to power later in 1989 brought devastating capitalist counterrevolution to Poland, which meant anti-Semitism, mass unemployment and the brutal rollback of women's rights.

The current period of ascendant political Islam opened with the rise to power of ayatollah Khomeini in Iran in 1978-79. The I.S., like many reformist leftists, criminally lauded the ayatollahs' "mass movement" which overthrew the blood-drenched U.S.-backed shah, headlining "The form—religion, The spirit—revolution" (*Workers Action*, February 1979). We declared: "Down with the shah! No support to the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" We put particular emphasis on the struggle for women's emancipation, declaring "No to the veil!" We were not about to capitulate to Khomeini over the bodies of Iranian women! The I.S.'s support for the "Islamic Revolution"—a bloody disaster for women, the working class and the left in Iran—was a monstrous betrayal.

But the horrors of the Iranian regime didn't faze this crew. In 1998 the Trotskyist League, Ontario Coalition Against Poverty and others joined with the WCPI to drive out representatives of the Iranian regime who had been given a stall at the Toronto International Women's Day fair, from which they handed out propaganda supporting the stoning of Iranian women. Contemptibly, the I.S. opposed this action, calling such protest "a concession to anti-Islamic scapegoating coming from the ruling class" (*Socialist Worker*, 25 March 1998). Then, as now, for the I.S. ***any*** left-wing protest against anti-woman Islamic reaction can only be racist and pro-imperialist.

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The Trotskyist League intervened actively in the protests against the proposed *sharia* courts. We addressed meetings and rallies, and sought to mobilize left, gay and lesbian groups. Throughout, we made clear that the fight against *sharia* is inseparable from opposition to Canada's brutally racist "justice" system and, especially, the government war on immigrants and the anti-Muslim racist backlash.

For us, the defense of immigrant rights, including the call for full citizenship rights for everyone in this country, has tremendous significance. A class-struggle fight to defend the rights of Muslims and all immigrants and minorities against the racist capitalist state is in the interest of all the working class. The eradication of racial oppression requires a revolutionary struggle, centered on the power of the proletariat, to uproot capitalism and liberate humanity from poverty and want.

The liberation of women is inextricably linked to the workers' struggle to build an egalitarian communist society of material abundance. This alone will make it possible to replace the institution of the family, key source of women's oppression. We are dedicated to freeing workers from religion's yoke—not strengthening it, as the I.S. would do. As Marx said, "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world.... It is the *opium* of the people." In the future socialist society, the Bible and the Koran, with their bloody misogynist proscriptions, will be nothing more than historical artifacts, their power to torment women obliterated by victorious workers revolution.■

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

$2 (48 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.,
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

NSA/FBI...

(continued from page 1)

mass destruction" (see "Judith Miller and Bush Disinformation: Big Lies and Imperialist War," *WV* No. 856, 14 October 2005). This duplicity is par for the course for the hourgeois press, which, despite its claims of "objectivity," acts as an auxiliary to the capitalist state in defense of imperialist rule.

The Fraud of Bourgeois "Democracy"

The NSA spy revelations starkly illuminate what the Spartacist League stated from the outset of the "war on terror": that the repressive measures directed initially at Muslims and immigrants would lead to attacks on political dissent and civil liberties across the hoard, not least against black people and the labor movement. The instruments of repression that form the core of the capitalist state—the cops, courts, prison system and military—serve and protect a social system based on the exploitation of labor for the profit of the capitalist rulers. A case in point was last month's transit strike in New York City, where the union is facing massive fines and possible jail sentences for its leaders under the Taylor Law, which outlaws strikes by public workers, as well as other penalties from anti-strike court injunctions.

As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained in *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918): "It is natural for a liberal to speak of 'democracy' in general; but a Marxist will never forget to ask: 'for what class?'" Lenin added:

> "Take the fundamental laws of modern states, take their administration, take freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, or 'equality of all citizens before the law', and you will see at every turn evidence of the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy with which every honest and class-conscious worker is familiar. There is not a single state, however democratic, which has no loopholes or reservations in its constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth, in case of a 'violation of public order', and actually in case the exploited class 'violates' its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner."

Every liberty, every conquest for working people and the oppressed, has been wrested through social struggle and outright civil war. And as attacks on civil liberties, black voting rights and abortion rights attest, almost any such gain is faced with bourgeois reaction. It is necessary to wage a class-struggle fight to defend our rights. Pointing to the need to mobilize the labor movement against government repression, in February 2002 the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a united-front, trade union-centered mobilization in Oakland against the attacks on labor and immigrant rights carried out in the name of the "war on terror."

WV Photo

Oakland, 9 February 2002: Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League initiated labor-centered mobilization against USA Patriot Act and anti-immigrant repression.

Liberals Seek Cleaner "War on Terror"

The protests of bourgeois mouthpieces like the *New York Times* and of Democratic politicians reflect fear within the bourgeoisie that even *their* rights are being jeopardized by the Bush administration. This recalls the post-Watergate sentiment of a wing of the ruling class that resented the Nixon administration using against its bourgeois opponents the kind of illegal surveillance and sabotage normally reserved for communists, black activists and unionists.

Some are now calling for Congressional hearings modeled on the mid-1970s Senate Church Committee hearings on the FBI's COINTELPRO program, a campaign of surveillance and disruption of the left and black militants in which 38 Black Panther Party members were killed. While those hearings formally dismantled COINTELPRO and curbed the FBI's most blatant excesses, the government's secret political police continued their dirty work. Black Panther leaders like Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) and Dhoruha bin Wahad, framed up under COINTELPRO, remained in prison for years. American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier and former Black Panther Party spokesman Mumia Abu-Jamal remain in prison after being convicted of killings they never committed, with Mumia on death row In Pennsylvania.

Bush's liberal critics share the administration's aim of defending the interests of American imperialism. Their difference is over the means. Thus Democrats and liberals express outrage over the military's torture of "terror suspects" because it undermines the ability of U.S. imperialism to sell its military adventures in the name of humanitarianism and the promotion of "democraey." Among those embarrassments is the case of Khaled el-Masri, who has filed a lawsuit against former CIA head George Tenet. A German citizen of Lebanese descent, el-Masri was kidnapped while on holiday in Macedonia, detained incommunicado, beaten, drugged and shipped off to a secret CIA prison in Afghanistan. After a few months, el-Masri was let loose on a hill in Albania, having never been charged with a crime.

Similarly, the liberals complain that the government's violation of due process of law is ruining the "war on terror." In "Bush's NSA Spying Jeopardizes National Security," Dave Lindorff writes in *CounterPunch* (30 Decemher 2005), "This illegal spying may have put the U.S. at risk by undermining the proseeution qf possible terror suspects." Lindorff adds, "The administration has opened the door for defense attorneys to seek new trials for their clients based upon a claim of improperly obtained evidence. Other cases that have yet to be brought to trial may end up being thrown out on the same grounds." Indeed, defense attorneys are rightfully beginning to pursue just such a defense. One victim who may seek reopening of his case is Ali al-Timimi, a Muslim professor sentenced to life in prison last year on conspiracy charges based purely on the exercise of his First Amendment right to free speech (see "Muslim Professor Sentenced to Life for 'Thought Crime'—Free Ali al-Timimi!" *WV* No. 852, 5 August 2005).

Reuters

AP

Reuters

Khaled el-Masri, Sami Al-Arian and Jose Padilla—victims of "war on terror" witchhunt.

Lindorff and his liberal cohorts want a cleaner "war on terrorism." The ACLU calls to "Keep America Safe and Free" and to "reform" the Patriot Act, refusing to call for its repeal. The "war on terror" is nothing but a pretext to increase the state's police powers and repressive apparatus. Its results can be seen in the coldblooded killing by air marshals of an emotionally disturbed passenger on the tarmac at Miami International airport last month.

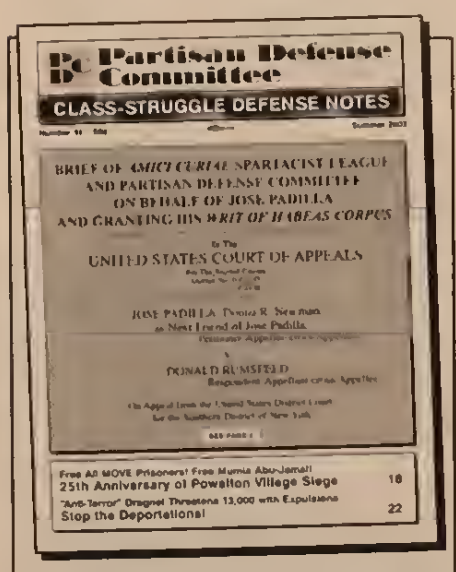
The administration's contempt for any restraint by Congress or the courts has even its closest allies fuming. Last month, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals turned down the government's request to transfer Jose Padilla from military to civil custody, a decision that stands in the way of his criminal prosecution. Padilla is a U.S. citizen whom the government for three years claimed was an "unlawful enemy combatant" who could he held indefinitely without heing charged with a crime or going to trial. Previously this court—the most conservative in the country, whose specialty has been upholding the President's claim to free rein as "Commander in Chief"—had upheld the Feds' declaration of Padilla as an "enemy combatant." Appealing to the Supreme Court, the administration lashed out at the temerity of federal court judges who assert their authority to "disregard a presidential directive."

In *amici curiae* briefs filed by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee with the Second Circuit Court of Appeals and U.S. Supreme Court on behalf of Jose Padilla, we wrote: "Based on the false proposition of an ongoing global 'war against terrorism,' the Executive asserts that it has the unchallengeable authority to decide who is a terrorist and apply martial law, demanding absolute and complete deference by the judiciary. This demand of unfettered power by the Executive is a move toward bonapartism, a police state, and relies on a compliant judiciary."

In the U.S. political system, much of the eonstitutional power originally vested in Congress has increasingly been transferred to the imperial presidency. This corresponds to the needs of the U.S. imperialist rulers to assert themselves as the world's top cop, without having their wars and military adventures held up by the bother of seeking the approval of Congress. The last time Congress availed itself of its constitutional power to declare war was 64 years ago, when the U.S. entered World War II.

Fight Government Repression!

The government's "anti-terrorism" measures are increasingly heing directed against leftist political activity. At the



Class-Struggle Defense Notes
No. 31, Summer 2003
50¢ (24 pages)
Order from/make checks payable to:
Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013-0099

Labor Black League Discussion

The Roots of Black Oppression and a Revolutionary Program of Struggle

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Saturday, January 7, 4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318
(1-1/2 blocks north of Chambers St.)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

Capitalist "War on Terror," Anti-Muslim Bigotry Fuel Religious Reaction

Racism, Religion and Reaction

Saturday, January 28, 6:30 p.m.
International Student Centre
University of Toronto,
33 St. George Street
(north of College St.)

For more information. (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

TORONTO

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 12)

press but mounting pressure from dozens of labor "leaders" to call off the strike.

At a press conference on the afternoon of December 21, Toussaint powerfully rebuked the racist diatribes against the union and asserted the necessity to defy unjust laws, referring to Rosa Parks and the civil rights movement. But he also offered that the union would end the strike if the MTA took its pension demand off the table, and in fact state mediators were already cooking up a deal. An hour later, a group of labor tops including teachers union president Randi Weingarten, representing the Municipal Labor Committee, mouthed meaningless "support" for the TWU while refusing to utter the four words: "We support the strike." All they had to say about the Taylor Law was that it should be "reformed," complaining that it's not used against the MTA.

Abandoned by the rest of the labor officialdom, facing fines and possible jail time, and with his phony "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party mainly ducking for cover, Toussaint called off the strike the next afternoon. The Local 100 tops contemptuously refused to consult the membership, whose overwhelming response was anger at going back to work without a contract when one of the main slogans on the picket lines was "No contract, no work!" George Perlstein, one of five Local 100 Executive Board members who voted against returning to work, declared, "We had them at a stranglehold. I do not understand the concept of giving up the stranglehold for the Metropolitan Transportation Authority to put a stranglehold on us."

Prepare for Further Struggle

The Toussaint leadership *demobilized* this effective strike. Now the membership must vote on the proposed 37-month contract. The strike forced the MTA to take back its pension demands and its attempts at further "broadbanding" of jobs—i.e., combining job duties, leading to a reduced workforce carrying heavier workloads in more dangerous conditions. The proposal also expands health benefits for all retirees, including by making it available to those under 65 living outside the metropolitan area. By going on strike, the TWU waged a defensive battle that slows down the capitalists' onslaught against pensions and working conditions.

AP

Left: PATCO union leaders in chains, 1981. Bourgeois gutter press screams for jailing of Toussaint.

However, the Local 100 tops agreed to a major concession that would make members contribute 1.5 percent of their gross pay to offset the cost of retirees' health benefits. The MTA would also be able to hike this contribution when the plan's spiraling costs rise further. The health care concession comes with slim annual wage increases of 3, 4 and 3.5 percent. As the Toussaint leadership did not make the demand for amnesty for strikers a condition for returning to work, the union and its membership are also faced with the fines. Pataki is threatening to veto a provision refunding some $130 million in additional pension contributions from union members before 2001 that were kept by the state. Now he's angry over a reported agreement by which the MTA would provide the money in the event of a veto, railing, "You don't reward illegal strikes."

A much-touted new provision for maternity leave is a sham. Workers with newborn children would get a paltry $200 per week for up to four weeks, but only after using up all their vacation and sick leave time. There should be maternity/paternity leave at full pay, and the union should demand free childcare.

Workers at Triboro and Jamaica private bus lines, which are about to be absorbed into the MTA, were the first to go on strike, on December 19. But they are left out of the proposed deal and returned to work without a contract.

The agreement should be voted down. Transit workers are particularly fuming over the health care concession. Instead of atomized voting by mail ballot, there should be mass meetings where the members can reject the pact and debate what course of action to take, up to and including resuming strike action. This requires a hard look at the December strike and how to get the kind of leadership labor needs.

Lessons of the Strike

Like every major strike, this was a bullheaded battle between labor and capital. On one side are the bosses, their government, whether run by Democrats or Republicans, and the repressive capitalist state apparatus, mainly the courts and cops. The role of the courts and government officials during the strike starkly demonstrated that the "democratic" trappings of the capitalist state are but a facade for the dictatorship of the exploiting class. On the other side, the workers have their own weapons: their numbers and power based on their collective labor at the workplace, and their union organization.

This was the first time a major union had defied anti-strike laws since the 1981 PATCO air traffic controllers strike. That strike was smashed after the Machinists and other airline union tops treacherously refused to shut down the airports in solidarity. The union was destroyed, its leaders hauled off in chains. This defeat set the stage for a quarter-century of attacks on labor.

This time around, the transit workers, strategically placed in the economy, faced down the bosses and the state. Unlike manufacturing, transit systems can't be "outsourced." The workers went out solid, challenging the anti-strike injunctions. Many on the picket lines chanted "Taylor Law: Rip it up!" and avidly picked up the call for amnesty for strikers. Despite Pataki and Bloomberg's intransigent stance against the union, the government came under mounting pressure from major retailers and other business interests, which were losing millions every day, to effect a settlement. The TWU ranks went back to work proud. By engaging in this battle, the union became *stronger*.

continued on page 10

WV Photo

Roger Toussaint (far right) at December 16 press conference with (from left) Democrat Basil Paterson, 1199 SEIU head Dennis Rivera, cop "union" leader Patrick Lynch, teachers union head Randi Weingarten and TWU treasurer Ed Watt. Union tops look to cops, Democrats as labor's allies.

---

same time that the NSA wiretapping hit the news, government documents obtained by the ACLU revealed that the FBI has been conducting numerous "investigations" of antiwar activists, environmentalists, animal rights activists and leftists. So far-ranging—and deranged—are the government's surveillance and harassment that one of their targets is the liberal-pacifist Catholic Workers group for its "semi-communistic ideology." Ominously, the *New York Post* (26 December 2005) reports that the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) is under investigation by the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Terrorism, Unconventional Threats and Capabilities for supporting the European-based Anti-Imperialist Camp, which allegedly raised funds for Iraqis opposed to the U.S. occupation. This is a threat to the entire workers movement. Hands off the FSP!

Last month, videotapes confirmed that New York City police have not only conducted surveillance of antiwar gatherings and other protests but employed provocateurs to set up protesters for vicious beatings and arrest—a revival of the old "red squads." On 30 August 2004, during the Republican National Convention, the police staged the arrest of a cop plant at a protest for poor and homeless people. Unaware that he was a plant, protesters chanted, "Let him go." Riot cops then attacked, arresting two. The "terrorist" scare campaign around the RNC had nothing to do with Al Qaeda and everything to do with suppressing political dissent. Over 1,800 people were arrested; most of the charges were later dropped—particularly after private videos caught out the cops' tales as blatant lies.

Around the world, the capitalist "democracies" have adopted laws modeled on the U.S. Patriot Act and other repressive measures. In Australia, the right-wing John Howard government—with the support of Kim Beazley, head of the opposition Labor Party—passed sweeping "anti-terrorism" legislation last month making it a crime to "urge disaffection against" the federal government or Parliament. The law also threatens anti-war protesters by targeting anyone who "urges another person to engage in conduct to assist, by any means whatever, an organization or country" being fought by the Australian military.

In Britain, "anti-terrorism" legislation adopted by Tony Blair's Labour Party government states that British citizens and foreign nationals considered threats to "national security" can be confined to house arrest, electronically tagged, and barred from using mobile phones and the Internet and visits by anyone not authorized by the government. The decision of who is subject to such "control orders" is entirely at the whim of the government—no trial, or even filing of charges need take place.

These police-state measures have been implemented within the framework of bourgeois democracy. It is especially in the advanced capitalist countries that democratic forms of government serve to veil the nature of the state as a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the exploited and oppressed masses in a garb of "equality of all citizens."

The U.S. capitalist rulers have long sought the current repressive measures, which the Bush administration intends to make a permanent fixture of the American system of "justice." There is an inherent tendency of the ruling class—a tiny class of exploiters who produce nothing but reap trillions in profit out of the sweat and blood of working people and who wreak death and destruction around the world—to tighten the screws on the workers and oppressed. The capitalist rulers need such repressive measures because they hate and fear the people.

Short of the overthrow of capitalist rule, none of the rights and gains that working people hold dear are secure. What's needed is a thoroughgoing socialist revolution led by a multiracial workers party to establish the rule of the working class and usher in a society based on production for human needs not profit. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

CHICAGO

Tuesday, January 10, 7 p.m.

The Degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the Fight for New October Revolutions

University of Chicago, Cobb Hall
5811 S. Ellis Avenue, Room 104

Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, January 18, 5 p.m.

Marxism and the Scientific Worldview—Defend Science Against Superstition and Mysticism!

University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 224

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: tllt@look.ca

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, January 7, 2 p.m.

Capitalism Part I: Exploitation, Profit, and the Capitalist Social Order

3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Vermont/Beverly Red Line station)

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

TORONTO

Alternate Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m.

January 18: Marxism and the Scientific Worldview—Defend Science Against Superstition and Mysticism!

University of Toronto
Sidney Smith Building, Room 2101
100 St. George Street

Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 9)

Former Democratic mayor and certified racist pig Ed Koch demanded that the state mete out "medieval" treatment to the strikers. A court date is scheduled for January 20 to decide on imposing the fines as well as possible jail time for union leaders. It is the duty of not only every TWU local but also of labor throughout the U.S. and internationally to demand: No fines! Government hands off the TWU!

Spartacist teams mobilized to go to picket lines throughout the city got an overwhelmingly warm response from transit workers outraged by the lies and anti-union venom spewed by the daily papers. Strikers saw that *Workers Vanguard* was on their side and gave a broader picture of the class struggle and what it takes to defeat the capitalist enemy. Spartacist comrades and supporters distributed thousands of our strike support leaflet and sold some 1,000 copies of *WV* during the strike.

For a Workers Government!

The same Wall Street bloodsuckers who screamed about "overpaid" public workers and "unaffordable" pensions and union health benefits just gave themselves close to ***20 billion dollars*** in holiday bonuses. Top execs commonly get $2 million or more in bonuses; the money that 16 of these parasites rake in this way equals the entire annual health care payment that TWU members are being told to fork over! When the MTA moaned about future deficits as a pretext to demand union concessions, it was sitting on a $1 billion surplus. Much of MTA revenue goes to pay off debts to Wall Street bondholders anyway. And billionaire mayor Bloomberg had the audacity to call transit workers "selfish" and "greedy"!

Giving a sinister twist to Bertolt Brecht's poem "The Solution," the American capitalists act like they can ***no longer afford the people***. With the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92—a historic defeat for the world proletariat—the arrogant U.S. imperialists thought they had no obstacle in their drive to dominate the world and control its riches. Increasingly irrational in their drive for profit, the capitalist rulers have massively deindustrialized the U.S. Infrastructure is rotting. With the unions taking huge hits, the capitalists are fixated on destroying every shred of social benefit that might still be available to the populace, who, if they have jobs, are supposed to work like slaves and then drop dead. Airline and auto companies declare bankruptcy, or threaten to, in order to rob workers of their pensions. The labor movement must fight tooth-and-nail in defense of retirement benefits as well as for free, quality health care for all!

Every decrepit ghetto is testimony to the sickness of this class society. As for the racist MTA bosses, only with the current contract proposal is Martin Luther King Day finally being made a paid holiday! This profit-driven system can't meet the needs of the population—it must go! It will take a workers revolution, led by a multiracial workers party, to rip the means of production from the capitalist class and institute a collectivized, planned economy where the masses will be able to fully enjoy the fruits of their labor.

The transit strike gave a taste of the enormous potential power of the working class. But to wield this power against this deadly profit system requires fighting against the current labor misleadership, which supports the capitalist system and sees "allies" in the political parties and state agencies of the class enemy. The last thing that Weingarten & Co. wanted to do was jeopardize their privileges and connections in the Democratic Party by engaging in actual struggle, like supporting the transit strike. As a Democratic state assemblyman, NYC Central Labor Council president Brian McLaughlin embodies the class collaborationism of the labor bureaucracy.

Chief-Leader

Dozier Family

NY Daily News

Victims of industrial murder in NYC transit: Lewis Moore died at work on 1 December 2005 after MTA denied him medical care for 20 minutes; Harold Dozier died on 14 December 2004 after being hit by train while doing track work; conductor Janell Bennerson was killed on 18 January 2003 after her head was struck by an eight-foot gate as her train pulled away.

Toussaint is part of that bureaucracy and embraces Democratic Party politicians. The Local 100 tops spent hundreds of thousands in union dues to elect Democratic candidates in the last state elections, while AFL-CIO unions nationally spent hundreds of millions in support of John Kerry's bid for the White House. In a speech at a December 10 TWU rally, Jesse Jackson linked the fight for "job security" with "national security." This talk of "national security" promotes the lie that American workers have common interests with the U.S. capitalist exploiters, who are on a murderous rampage against working people and the oppressed from New Orleans to Iraq and Afghanistan. Toussaint retails this lie with his proposals for TWU members to act as auxiliaries to the cops by watching for "terror suspects" in the transit system—i.e., racist profiling.

We say: Break with the Democrats! Workers must rely only on their own class power. That means forging a multiracial workers party—not a party of electoral reformism but one like the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky that led the workers of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917. Such a party, based on declassed revolutionary intellectuals and class-conscious workers in the unions and among unorganized workers, would lead the workers in struggle. It would promote international proletarian solidarity and seek to mobilize workers against U.S. imperialism's predatory wars—U.S. out of Iraq and Afghanistan! It would lead the fight for black liberation through socialist revolution. It would fight to mobilize labor in defense of the rights of women and gays. It would demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants and fight to unionize immigrant workers. ***Forward to a workers government!***

For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

The Local 100 tops were under intense pressure from the membership when they called the strike. Once the battle was engaged, workers increasingly felt they should stay out for as long as it took to beat back the MTA, Pataki and Bloomberg. The workers started to really feel their power. The Local 100 tops at that point were on their own with an aroused membership. Fearful that the strike would deepen and extend in the face of further attacks by the bosses, the Toussaint bureaucracy called it off.

Toussaint had signaled his willingness to end the strike by getting UNITE HERE president Bruce Raynor and Mike Fishman of SEIU Local 32 B-J building service workers, who supported Bloomberg in the last election, to put in a word with the mayor. "Enter the mediators," as the *New York Times* (23 December 2005) described the intervention of the state Public Employment Relations Board (PERB). This agency is in no way "neutral." The presence of former AFSCME DC 37 chief negotiator Alan Viani on the PERB is a ploy to make this agency appear "impartial." The PERB, NLRB and all such government auxiliaries have only one purpose: to demobilize labor struggle and maintain class peace.

The Toussaint leadership refused to employ the kind of tactics that could win victory outright. Union leaders at the regional rail lines—Metro-North, LIRR, PATH—not only kept workers on the job, even when some were themselves without a contract, but allowed Metro-North and PATH to run extra train service to help bail out the city rulers. When *WV* salesmen at Grand Central Station handed out our leaflet to Metro-North workers, they asked us: Where are the TWU pickets? Several of these unionists said they knew the bosses wanted to crush the TWU and then go after them and everyone else. Yet the Local 100 leadership did not appeal directly to the ranks of these unions, or to city and state workers, over the heads of their misleaders.

While turning away from the ranks of labor, Toussaint from the beginning of this battle turned to Police Benevolent Association head Patrick Lynch, whom he has embraced as a "labor" ally ever since becoming Local 100 president in 2000. Lynch appeared on TWU speaker's platforms and at one of Toussaint's press conferences. During the strike, as Toussaint powerfully spoke of the plight of city workers, he kept invoking the cops as part of that workforce. Many workers on the picket lines voiced the illusion that cops were workers, too.

No! The PBA and the other police "unions" are enemies of labor whose job is to safeguard the bosses' private property. The cops, security guards and the MTA's Property Protection Agents have no place in the labor movement. One white worker responding to Bloomberg's racist slur about union "thugs" said, "Yeah, the thugs are here—the thugs in blue." That's right! ***It is the job of the cops to enforce Taylor Law injunctions against the union.*** It's their job to terrorize minorities.

The anti-strike injunctions and massive fines were an object lesson in the role of the courts as part of the capitalists' state machinery. The same lesson should be drawn over the use of the courts to intervene into the TWU, which can only undermine the very purpose of the union: to defend the workers from the bosses.

Toussaint along with a bevy of fake-militants and their "leftist" supporters have long turned to the courts against their opponents in the union. Five Local 100 vice presidents, including Ainsley Stewart of the Car Maintenance Division and John Mooney of Stations, have a lawsuit against Local 100, although it was put into abeyance leading up to the contract expiration. Prior to taking office, Toussaint dragged the union into the bosses' courts, as did other members of the former New Directions caucus. Nevertheless, Marty Goodman, supported by the reformist Socialist Action group, was long a member of New Directions and supported Toussaint's election. Eric Josephson, supported by the fake-socialist League for the Revolutionary Party, also called for votes for Toussaint, adding a fig leaf of "criticism."

The Spartacist League has always opposed the intervention of the capitalist courts into the labor movement on principle. Thus we opposed Toussaint's candidacy, headlining our article in *WV* No. 746 (17 November 2000), "Sellouts, Traitors, Finks: No Choice in TWU Local 100 Elections." Labor must clean its own house! Cops, courts out of the unions!

Labor needs a leadership based on a program of class struggle and the politi-

Minnesota Historical Society

Wide World

Left: Trotskyist-led 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes helped forge powerful nationwide union. Right: 1943 coal miners strike defied WWII no-strike pledge.

United Labor Action Can Smash the Taylor Law!

Victory to the Transit Workers Strike!

Spartacist Leaflet

The following leaflet was issued on 20 December 2005.

In going out on strike for the first time in 25 years, Transport Workers Union Local 100 is challenging the Taylor Law and the repressive might of the capitalist government. Every working person—in New York City and around the country—every black person, every Latino, every immigrant has a direct stake in the outcome of this class battle. If the TWU wins, it will begin to turn around years of labor defeats and racist attacks. If the bosses are *not* stopped, it will mean further attacks on union rights, pensions and health benefits for other city and state workers. The key to winning this strike is forging a fighting alliance of all the unions, leading the city's working masses and its ghetto and barrio poor. For a start, that means shutting down the LIRR, PATH and Metro-North lines into and out of NYC. Rail workers at Metro-North vowed to respect TWU picket lines. Good! Surround Grand Central and Penn Station with mass pickets reinforced by all the unions! Transit workers must not stand alone—For united labor action to smash the Taylor Law!

With the labor-hating Bush administration and its "war on terror" arsenal standing behind them, Republican governor Pataki, billionaire mayor Bloomberg and the real estate barons and filthy rich financiers who make up the MTA board provoked this showdown. They want to split the workforce with multi-tier schemes, imposing more onerous conditions on health coverage and pensions for new hires. Pataki and Co. denounce as "greedy" and "criminals" the hardworking TWU members who keep this city running and who are fighting not just for themselves but for the next generation. The criminals in this society are the capitalist rulers who callously left tens of thousands of black and poor people in New Orleans to starve and die, who shut down schools and throw our young people into prison hells, who slaughter women and children in Iraq and other countries in pursuit of profits and power. And what about the criminality of the MTA bosses, who allowed train operator Lewis Moore to die on the job earlier this month by denying him medical care for over 20 minutes?

WV Photo

TWU workers on the picket lines at Manhattan's Clara Hale bus barn, December 22.

If we don't have the right to strike, then we don't have unions in any real sense. Pataki, Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer and the MTA have already invoked the Taylor Law against the transit workers. Now the courts have gone along with Bloomberg's demand for massive fines of $1 million a day, aimed at bankrupting the union and its members. Meanwhile, former Democratic mayor and all-round racist pig Ed Koch screams for doubling these fines each day. In the face of possible arrests of union officials, it is necessary to organize elected strike committees. This will ensure that the strike cannot be beheaded and also that it will be run by the membership as a whole. The city's lawyers were able to use the TWU International's criminal opposition to the Local 100 strike to bolster the strikebreaking attack on the union. Every TWU member around the country must demand that the International repudiate this treachery and back the strike all the way!

Bloomberg cannot arrest all 34,000 transit workers, and Wall Street knows it can't run the center of American and world finance capitalism without the subways and buses. The only "illegal" strike is one that loses—no reprisals, no fines and no victimizations! The TWU has real social power—it can paralyze New York City, and it can render the Taylor Law a dead letter, just as the 1966 strike did to the Condon-Wadlin Act, the Taylor Law's predecessor.

But it will not be easy. For this strike to win, as it can and must, the union must be clear on who its friends are and who its enemies are. The partnership of capital and labor is a lie. Every strike boils down to a bullheaded struggle between two forces—labor and capital—whose interests are irreconcilable and counterposed. The TWU must rely solely on the support of the rest of the union movement and the millions of poor and working people who ride the subways and buses. Labor solidarity is not a matter of hot-air speeches and token donations, but *joint union action on the picket lines*. The transit union can mobilize wide support by raising its historic demand for *free, quality mass transit!*

On the other side are labor's enemies. They are the capitalist government, the capitalist politicians, the capitalist courts and the cops who enforce the courts' injunctions. Every strike shows how the state is not neutral but rather is an instrument of coercion that safeguards capitalist interests. Suing the union in the courts, as just about every faction in the TWU leadership has done, is like taking a slow poison. The PBA and the other police "unions" are enemies of labor whose job is to safeguard the bosses' private property. PBA head Patrick Lynch said that his members, "while on the other side of the barriers now are with you in their hearts." They damn well are on the other side of the strike barriers, and they'll bust transit workers' heads to prove that—like they do every day to people in the ghettos and barrios. The cops, security guards and the MTA's Property Protection Agents are not workers; they have no place in the labor movement.

The TWU's membership reflects black, Hispanic and immigrant New York, and most poor and working people in the city actively sympathize with the union and would welcome a union victory as their own. The attacks on the union, including the harsh management discipline that TWU members rightly denounce as "plantation justice," underscore a basic truth in racist capitalist America: the fate of organized labor is closely bound to that of the black masses.

Al Sharpton, Jesse Jackson and the other Democratic Party celebrities who were invited to grace the platforms of TWU contract rallies promote the party of the Taylor Law—of Attorney General Spitzer and of Senator Hillary Clinton, who hailed Spitzer's earlier use of the Taylor Law against the TWU in 1999! Jackson links "job security" with "national security," as though workers should have a stake in the reactionary "war on terror"—a war on workers, immigrants and black people. The Democrats pose as "friends of labor," the better to position themselves to strangle labor struggle, as Jackson did in the case of the L.A. transit strike in 2000.

Working people need a party that represents their class interests, a workers party that champions the cause of all the exploited and oppressed. Transit workers are rightly demanding a share of the enormous surplus their labor has produced for the MTA. But it's not just the MTA. All the billions upon billions of profits that currently go into the coffers of a handful of Wall Street bankers and brokers and wealthy industrialists is surplus value generated by the sweat and blood of the workers. In a socialist society, that surplus would be used to rebuild the decaying subway system, the schools and the hospitals; to provide free mass transit and medical care and free, quality, integrated education for all; to provide decent, affordable housing for all. But to secure all of these things requires a workers revolution led by a multiracial workers party that overthrows the capitalist system and replaces it with an egalitarian socialist society internationally. The Spartacist League seeks to educate the workers in the Marxist understanding of their historic role as the gravediggers of this system of exploitation, racism and war. *Victory to the transit strike!* ■

---

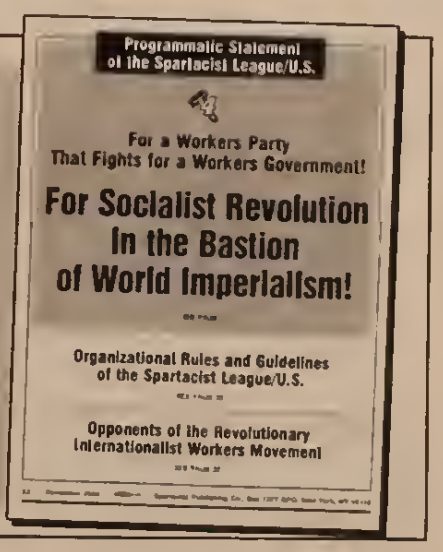
cal independence of the proletariat. This was the type of leadership, composed of Trotskyists and their supporters, that conducted the historic 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes, which helped forge the Teamsters into a powerful industrial union. Summing up the lessons of Minneapolis, Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon said in *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944):

> "The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups....
>
> "Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity. Consequently, they expected from the start that the union would have to fight for its right to exist; that the bosses would not yield any recognition to the union, would not yield any increase of wages or reduction of the scandalous hours without some pressure being brought to bear. Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue. Bluffs don't work in fundamental things, only in incidental ones. In such things as the conflict of class interests one must be prepared to fight."■

Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

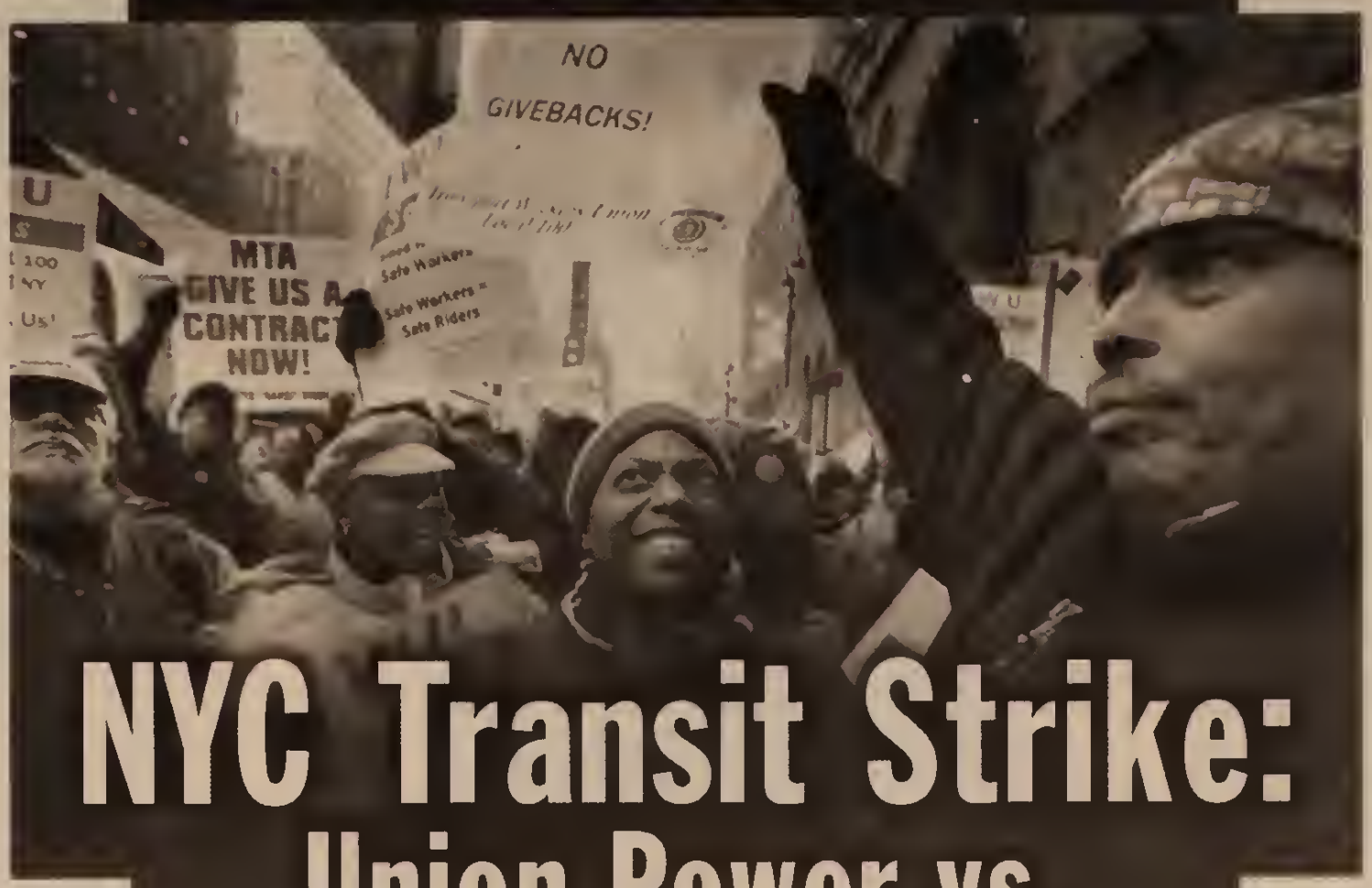
$2 (40 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



WORKERS VANGUARD

Strikers Defy Taylor Law



NYC Transit Strike: Union Power vs. Class Collaboration

Bengiveno/NY Times

December 13: TWU rally three days before contract expiration.

JANUARY 2—The 2005 New York City transit strike stunned the obscenely rich capitalist rulers of this society and gave a shot in the arm to all working people. For three days, 33,700 members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 defied the state Taylor Law banning public workers strikes and shut down the city—the financial center of U.S. imperialism. Finally, here was a powerful union using its strength, not only for itself but also for future transit workers and workers across the country who see their pensions looted and health benefits ripped up by profit-bloated capitalists. Here was a union standing up to the billionaires' government—from the Bush White House down to Republican governor Pataki, Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer and Republican mayor Michael Bloomberg—and its anti-labor courts and cops.

The strike against the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA), which was joined by Amalgamated Transit Union MTA bus workers in Queens and Staten Island, drew wide support from the city's ghettos and barrios and from both unionized and unorganized workers. The strike was intensely followed by working people throughout the U.S. and internationally and featured on news broadcasts from Britain to Argentina to Japan. It came at a time of growing popular anger over attacks on workers' livelihoods, over the government's racist abandonment of New Orleans' poor and black population after Hurricane Katrina, over the murderous imperialist occupation of Iraq. The strike was a battle for the rights of labor at a time when the government has taken aim at all of our rights through the "war on terror" backed by both capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans.

The strike was provoked by the MTA bosses and carried out by a reluctant union leadership. First the MTA demanded that new-hires work an additional seven years, to age 62, before becoming eligible for full retirement benefits. Not only was this a direct attack on the unity of the union, but seven more years of grueling work—breathing steel dust underground, exposed to toxic chemicals and diesel exhaust, bouncing around in bus drivers' seats on choked city streets—would be a death sentence for large numbers of workers. The Local 100 leadership under Roger Toussaint kept talks going for four days after the old contract expired. While the MTA dropped its demand for raising the retirement age, just hours before the new December 20 strike deadline MTA chairman Peter Kalikow ambushed the union by demanding that new-hires pay 6 percent of their wages toward their pensions, up from the 2 percent that workers currently pay. This time the union didn't blink, and the workers walked out.

Bloomberg railed that the leadership of this overwhelmingly black and Latino union was "thuggish." The capitalist rulers saw this strike as something akin to a slave rebellion. But their attempt to divide and isolate the union through racist vilification backfired. A black worker on the picket line told us that Bloomberg's slurs reminded him of the accusations of looting leveled by the media against desperate black people looking for food in New Orleans. Others remarked that this vicious treatment is indicative of the "plantation justice" they endure from the MTA with its onerous disciplinary measures. Local 100 reflects the working class of the city: white, black, Latino; immigrants from the Caribbean, the former Soviet Union, Ireland, the Indian subcontinent, China and elsewhere. The integrated picket lines graphically demonstrated how the poisonous racial and ethnic divisions fostered by the capitalists to weaken labor can be overcome through class struggle.

The strike demonstrated the potential to link the power of labor to the anger of the ghetto and barrio masses. On its second day, residents of Brooklyn's blighted East New York neighborhood pumped their fists in support when hundreds of TWU picketers from the transit facility there marched through the area. Some teachers brought their classes to the picket lines. While strikers were cheered throughout the city, the bourgeoisie's anti-union demagogy did help fuel some sentiment against the strike, including among shopkeepers and desperate immigrants fearful of losing their jobs. While the gutter tabloid *New York Post* (22 December) blared "JAIL 'EM!" in a front-page headline with a graphic of Toussaint behind bars, the front page of the *Amsterdam News*, NYC's main black newspaper, the same day ran an open letter by Toussaint and other coverage sympathetic to the strike.

The overwhelming popular support for the strike exemplified revolutionary Marxist leader V.I. Lenin's comment in his May 1912 article "Economic and Political Strikes": "Whereas the liberals (and the liquidators) tell the workers: 'You are strong when you have the sympathy of "society".' the Marxist tells the workers something different, namely: 'You have the sympathy of "society" when you are strong'."

The transit strike was a golden opportunity to tear up the anti-union Taylor Law by forging a fighting alliance with all of NYC labor at the head of the city's minorities and poor. This task raised to the forefront the need to fight for the independence of the unions from the state and parties of the capitalist class. But the union went into battle with one hand tied behind its back because of the ties of its leadership to the capitalist Democratic Party. As we wrote in the 20 December 2005 Spartacist strike support leaflet, titled "Victory to the Transit Workers Strike! United Labor Action Can Smash the Taylor Law!" (see page 11): "Al Sharpton, Jesse Jackson and the other Democratic Party celebrities who were invited to grace the platforms of TWU contract rallies promote the party of the Taylor Law—of Attorney General Spitzer and of Senator Hillary Clinton, who hailed Spitzer's earlier use of the Taylor Law against the TWU in 1999!"

As Spitzer and the courts slammed the union with injunctions imposing massive fines—$1 million charged to the union and two days' pay charged to individual members for every day on strike—and possible jail sentences, the traitors in the TWU International and city labor leadership stabbed the strikers in the back. A statement issued the night the strike began by TWU International president Michael O'Brien "notifying" Local 100 members that they had to "cease any and all strike or strike-related activities and to report to work" was posted by management at doors and gates of transit facilities. By the second day of the strike, the Local 100 leadership faced not only a relentless anti-union barrage from the politicians and

continued on page 9

Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!

WORKERS VANGUARD

6 January 2006

GCIU C-701

Special Supplement
10¢

Strikers Defy Taylor Law

Bengiveno/NY Times

December 13: TWU rally three days before contract expiration.

NYC Transit Strike: Union Power vs. Class Collaboration

JANUARY 2—The 2005 New York City transit strike stunned the obscenely rich capitalist rulers of this society and gave a shot in the arm to all working people. For three days, 33,700 members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 defied the state Taylor Law banning public workers strikes and shut down the city—the financial center of U.S. imperialism. Finally, here was a powerful union using its strength, not only for itself but also for future transit workers and workers across the country who see their pensions looted and health benefits ripped up by profit-bloated capitalists. Here was a union standing up to the billionaires' government—from the Bush White House down to Republican governor Pataki, Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer and Republican mayor Michael Bloomberg—and its anti-labor courts and cops.

The strike against the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA), which was joined by Amalgamated Transit Union MTA bus workers in Queens and Staten Island, drew wide support from the city's ghettos and barrios and from both unionized and unorganized workers. The strike was intensely followed by working people throughout the U.S. and internationally and featured on news broadcasts from Britain to Argentina to Japan. It came at a time of growing popular anger over attacks on workers' livelihoods, over the government's racist abandonment of New Orleans' poor and black population after Hurricane Katrina, over the murderous imperialist occupation of Iraq. The strike was a battle for the rights of labor at a time when the government has taken aim at all of our rights through the "war on terror" backed by both capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans.

The strike was provoked by the MTA bosses and carried out by a reluctant union leadership. First the MTA demanded that new-hires work an additional seven years, to age 62, before becoming eligible for full retirement benefits. Not only was this a direct attack on the unity of the union, but seven more years of grueling work—breathing steel dust underground, exposed to toxic chemicals and diesel exhaust, bouncing around in bus drivers' seats on choked city streets—would be a death sentence for large numbers of workers. The Local 100 leadership under Roger Toussaint kept talks going for four days after the old contract expired. While the MTA dropped its demand for raising the retirement age, just hours before the new December 20 strike deadline MTA chairman Peter Kalikow ambushed the union by demanding that new-hires pay 6 percent of their wages toward their pensions, up from the 2 percent that workers currently pay. This time the union didn't blink, and the workers walked out.

Bloomberg railed that the leadership of this overwhelmingly black and Latino union was "thuggish." The capitalist rulers saw this strike as something akin to a slave rebellion. But their attempt to divide and isolate the union through racist vilification backfired. A black worker on the picket line told us that Bloomberg's slurs reminded him of the accusations of looting leveled by the media against desperate black people looking for food in New Orleans. Others remarked that this vicious treatment is indicative of the "plantation justice" they endure from the MTA with its onerous disciplinary measures. Local 100 reflects the working class of the city: white, black, Latino; immigrants from the Caribbean, the former Soviet Union, Ireland, the Indian subcontinent, China and elsewhere. The integrated picket lines graphically demonstrated how the poisonous racial and ethnic divisions fostered by the capitalists to weaken labor can be overcome through class struggle.

The strike demonstrated the potential to link the power of labor to the anger of the ghetto and barrio masses. On its second day, residents of Brooklyn's blighted East New York neighborhood pumped their fists in support when hundreds of TWU picketers from the transit facility there marched through the area. Some teachers brought their classes to the picket lines. While strikers were cheered throughout the city, the bourgeoisie's anti-union demagogy did help fuel some sentiment against the strike, including among shopkeepers and desperate immigrants fearful of losing their jobs. While the gutter tabloid *New York Post* (22 December) blared "JAIL 'EM!" in a front-page headline with a graphic of Toussaint behind bars, the front page of the *Amsterdam News*, NYC's main black newspaper, the same day ran an open letter by Toussaint and other coverage sympathetic to the strike.

The overwhelming popular support for the strike exemplified revolutionary Marxist leader V.I. Lenin's comment in his May 1912 article "Economic and Political Strikes": "Whereas the liberals (and the liquidators) tell the workers: 'You are strong when you have the sympathy of "society",' the Marxist tells the workers something different, namely: 'You have the sympathy of "society" when you are strong'."

The transit strike was a golden opportunity to tear up the anti-union Taylor Law by forging a fighting alliance with all of NYC labor at the head of the city's minorities and poor. This task raised to the forefront the need to fight for the independence of the unions from the state and parties of the capitalist class. But the union went into battle with one hand tied behind its back because of the ties of its leadership to the capitalist Democratic Party. As we wrote in the 20 December 2005 Spartacist strike support leaflet, titled "Victory to the Transit Workers Strike! United Labor Action Can Smash the Taylor Law!": "Al Sharpton, Jesse Jackson and the other Democratic Party celebrities who were invited to grace the platforms of TWU contract rallies promote the party of the Taylor Law—of Attorney General Spitzer and of Senator Hillary Clinton, who hailed Spitzer's earlier use of the Taylor Law against the TWU in 1999!"

As Spitzer and the courts slammed the union with injunctions imposing massive fines—$1 million charged to the union and two days' pay charged to individual members for every day on strike—and possible jail sentences, the traitors in the TWU International and city labor leadership stabbed the strikers in the back. A statement issued the night the strike began by TWU International president Michael O'Brien "notifying" Local 100 members that they had to "cease any and all strike or strike-related activities and to report to work" was posted by management at doors and gates of transit facilities. By the second day of the strike, the Local 100 leadership faced not only a relentless anti-union barrage from the politicians and press but mounting pressure from dozens of labor "leaders" to call off the strike.

At a press conference on the afternoon

continued on page 2

Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!

(continued from page 1)

of December 21. Toussaint powerfully rebuked the racist diatribes against the union and asserted the necessity to defy unjust laws, referring to Rosa Parks and the civil rights movement. But he also offered that the union would end the strike if the MTA took its pension demand off the table, and in fact state mediators were already cooking up a deal. An hour later, a group of labor tops including teachers union president Randi Weingarten, representing the Municipal Labor Committee, mouthed meaningless "support" for the TWU while refusing to utter the four words: "We support the strike." All they had to say about the Taylor Law was that it should be "reformed," complaining that it's not used against the MTA.

Abandoned by the rest of the labor officialdom, facing fines and possible jail time, and with his phony "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party mainly ducking for cover, Toussaint called off the strike the next afternoon. The Local 100 tops contemptuously refused to consult the membership, whose overwhelming response was anger at going back to work without a contract when one of the main slogans on the picket lines was "No contract, no work!" George Perlstein, one of five Local 100 Executive Board members who voted against returning to work, declared, "We had them at a stranglehold. I do not understand the concept of giving up the stranglehold for the Metropolitan Transportation Authority to put a stranglehold on us."

WV Photo

Roger Toussaint (far right) at December 16 press conference with (from left) Democrat Basil Paterson, 1199 SEIU head Dennis Rivera, cop "union" leader Patrick Lynch, teachers union head Randi Weingarten and TWU treasurer Ed Watt. Union tops look to cops, Democrats as labor's allies.

AP

Left: PATCO union leaders in chains, 1981. Bourgeois gutter press screams for jailing of Toussaint.

Prepare for Further Struggle

The Toussaint leadership *demobilized* this effective strike. Now the membership must vote on the proposed 37-month contract. The strike forced the MTA to take back its pension demands and its attempts at further "broadbanding" of jobs—i.e., combining job duties, leading to a reduced workforce carrying heavier workloads in more dangerous conditions. The proposal also expands health benefits for all retirees, including by making it available to those under 65 living outside the metropolitan area. By going on strike, the TWU waged a defensive battle that slows down the capitalists' onslaught against pensions and working conditions.

However, the Local 100 tops agreed to a major concession that would make members contribute 1.5 percent of their gross pay to offset the cost of retirees' health benefits. The MTA would also be able to hike this contribution when the plan's spiraling costs rise further. The health care concession comes with slim annual wage increases of 3, 4 and 3.5 percent. As the Toussaint leadership did not make the demand for amnesty for strikers a condition for returning to work, the union and its membership are also faced with the fines. Pataki is threatening to veto a provision refunding some $130 million in additional pension contributions from union members before 2001 that were kept by the state. Now he's angry over a reported agreement by which the MTA would provide the money in the event of a veto, railing, "You don't reward illegal strikes."

A much-touted new provision for maternity leave is a sham. Workers with newborn children would get a paltry $200 per week for up to four weeks, but only after using up all their vacation and sick leave time. There should be maternity/paternity leave at full pay, and the union should demand free childcare.

Workers at Triboro and Jamaica private bus lines, which are about to be absorbed into the MTA, were the first to go on strike, on December 19. But they are left out of the proposed deal and returned to work without a contract.

The agreement should be voted down. Transit workers are particularly fuming over the health care concession. Instead of atomized voting by mail ballot, there should be mass meetings where the members can reject the pact and debate what course of action to take, up to and including resuming strike action. This requires a hard look at the December strike and how to get the kind of leadership labor needs.

Lessons of the Strike

Like every major strike, this was a hullheaded battle between labor and capital. On one side are the bosses, their government, whether run by Democrats or Republicans, and the repressive capitalist state apparatus, mainly the courts and cops. The role of the courts and government officials during the strike starkly demonstrated that the "democratic" trappings of the capitalist state are but a facade for the dictatorship of the exploiting class. On the other side, the workers have their own weapons: their numbers and power based on their collective labor at the workplace, and their union organization.

This was the first time a major union had defied anti-strike laws since the 1981 PATCO air traffic controllers strike. That strike was smashed after the Machinists and other airline union tops treacherously refused to shut down the airports in solidarity. The union was destroyed, its leaders hauled off in chains. This defeat set the stage for a quarter-century of attacks on labor.

This time around, the transit workers, strategically placed in the economy, faced down the bosses and the state. Unlike manufacturing, transit systems can't be "outsourced." The workers went out solid, challenging the anti-strike injunctions. Many on the picket lines chanted "Taylor Law: Rip it up!" and avidly picked up the call for amnesty for strikers. Despite Pataki and Bloomberg's intransigent stance against the union, the government came under mounting pressure from major retailers and other business interests, which were losing millions every day, to effect a settlement. The TWU ranks went back to work proud. By engaging in this battle, the union became *stronger*.

Former Democratic mayor and certified racist pig Ed Koch demanded that the state mete out "medieval" treatment to the strikers. A court date is scheduled for January 20 to decide on imposing the fines as well as possible jail time for union leaders. It is the duty of not only every TWU local but also of labor throughout the U.S. and internationally to demand: No fines! Government hands off the TWU!

Spartacist teams mobilized to go to picket lines throughout the city got an overwhelmingly warm response from transit workers outraged by the lies and anti-union venom spewed by the daily papers. Strikers saw that *Workers Vanguard* was on their side and gave a broader picture of the class struggle and what it takes to defeat the capitalist enemy. Spartacist comrades and supporters distributed thousands of our strike support leaflet and sold some 1,000 copies of *WV* during the strike.

For a Workers Government!

The same Wall Street bloodsuckers who screamed about "overpaid" public workers and "unaffordable" pensions and union health benefits just gave themselves close to ***20 billion dollars*** in holiday bonuses. Top execs commonly get $2 million or more in bonuses; the money that 16 of these parasites rake in this way equals the entire annual health care payment that TWU members are being told to fork over! When the MTA moaned about future deficits as a pretext to demand union concessions, it was sitting on a $1 billion surplus. Much of MTA revenue goes to pay off debts to Wall Street bondholders anyway. And billionaire mayor Bloomberg had the audacity to call transit workers "selfish" and "greedy"!

Giving a sinister twist to Bertolt Brecht's poem "The Solution," the American capitalists act like they can *no longer afford the people*. With the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92—a historic defeat for the world proletariat—the arrogant U.S. imperialists thought they had no obstacle in their drive to dominate the world and control its riches. Increasingly irrational in their drive for profit, the capitalist rulers have massively deindustrialized the U.S. Infrastructure is rotting. With the unions taking huge hits, the capitalists are fixated on destroying every shred of social benefit that might still be available to the populace, who, if they have jobs, are supposed to work like slaves and then drop dead. Airline and auto companies declare bankruptcy, or threaten to, in order to rob workers of their pensions. The labor movement must fight tooth-and-nail in defense of retirement benefits as well as for free, quality health care for all!

Every decrepit ghetto is testimony to the sickness of this class society. As for the racist MTA bosses, only with the current contract proposal is Martin Luther King Day finally being made a paid holiday! This profit-driven system can't meet the needs of the population—it must go! It will take a workers revolution, led by a multiracial workers party, to rip the means of production from the capitalist class and institute a collectivized, planned economy where the masses will be able to fully enjoy the fruits of their labor.

The transit strike gave a taste of the enormous potential power of the working class. But to wield this power against this deadly profit system requires fighting against the current labor misleadership, which supports the capitalist system and sees "allies" in the political parties and state agencies of the class enemy. The last thing that Weingarten & Co. wanted to do was jeopardize their privileges and connections in the Democratic Party by engaging in actual struggle, like supporting the transit strike. As a Democratic state assemblyman, NYC Central Labor

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this supplement is 3 January

Supplement 6 January 2006

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
international rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail

❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

❑ I would like to contribute $_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

Sup 1/06

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Council president Brian McLaughlin embodies the class collaborationism of the labor bureaucracy.

Toussaint is part of that bureaucracy and embraces Democratic Party politicians. The Local 100 tops spent hundreds of thousands in union dues to elect Democratic candidates in the last state elections, while AFL-CIO unions nationally spent hundreds of millions in support of John Kerry's bid for the White House. In a speech at a December 10 TWU rally, Jesse Jackson linked the fight for "job security" with "national security." This talk of "national security" promotes the lie that American workers have common interests with the U.S. capitalist exploiters, who are on a murderous rampage against working people and the oppressed from New Orleans to Iraq and Afghanistan. Toussaint retails this lie with his proposals for TWU members to act as auxiliaries to the cops by watching for "terror suspects" in the transit system—i.e., racist profiling.

We say: Break with the Democrats! Workers must rely only on their own class power. That means forging a multiracial workers party—not a party of electoral reformism but one like the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky that led the workers of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917. Such a party, based on declassed revolutionary intellectuals and class-conscious workers in the unions and among unorganized workers, would lead the workers in struggle. It would promote international proletarian solidarity and seek to mobilize workers against U.S. imperialism's predatory wars—U.S. out of Iraq and Afghanistan! It would lead the fight for black liberation through socialist revolution. It would fight to mobilize labor in defense of the rights of women and gays. It would demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants and fight to unionize immigrant workers. *Forward to a workers government!*

Minnesota Historical Society

Wide World

Left: Trotskyist-led 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes helped forge powerful nationwide union. Right: 1943 coal miners strike defied WWII no-strike pledge.

Chief-Leader

Dozier Family

NY Daily News

Victims of industrial murder in NYC transit: Lewis Moore died at work on 1 December 2005 after MTA denied him medical care for 20 minutes; Harold Dozier died on 14 December 2004 after being hit by train while doing track work; conductor Janell Bennerson was killed on 18 January 2003 after her head was struck by an eight-foot gate as her train pulled away.

For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

The Local 100 tops were under intense pressure from the membership when they called the strike. Once the battle was engaged, workers increasingly felt they should stay out for as long as it took to beat back the MTA, Pataki and Bloomberg. The workers started to really feel their power. The Local 100 tops at that point were on their own with an aroused membership. Fearful that the strike would deepen and extend in the face of further attacks by the bosses, the Toussaint bureaucracy called it off.

Toussaint had signaled his willingness to end the strike by getting UNITE HERE president Bruce Raynor and Mike Fishman of SEIU Local 32 B-J building service workers, who supported Bloomberg in the last election, to put in a word with the mayor. "Enter the mediators," as the *New York Times* (23 December 2005) described the intervention of the state Public Employment Relations Board (PERB). This agency is in no way "neutral." The presence of former AFSCME DC 37 chief negotiator Alan Viani on the PERB is a ploy to make this agency appear "impartial." The PERB, NLRB and all such government auxiliaries have only one purpose: to demobilize labor struggle and maintain class peace.

The Toussaint leadership refused to employ the kind of tactics that could win victory outright. Union leaders at the regional rail lines—Metro-North, LIRR, PATH—not only kept workers on the job, even when some were themselves without a contract, but allowed Metro-North and PATH to run extra train service to help bail out the city rulers. When *WV* salesmen at Grand Central Station handed out our leaflet to Metro-North workers, they asked us: Where are the TWU pickets? Several of these unionists said they knew the bosses wanted to crush the TWU and then go after them and everyone else. Yet the Local 100 leadership did not appeal directly to the ranks of these unions, or to city and state workers, over the heads of their misleaders.

While turning away from the ranks of labor, Toussaint from the beginning of this battle turned to Police Benevolent Association head Patrick Lynch, whom he has embraced as a "labor" ally ever since becoming Local 100 president in 2000. Lynch appeared on TWU speaker's platforms and at one of Toussaint's press conferences. During the strike, as Toussaint powerfully spoke of the plight of city workers, he kept invoking the cops as part of that workforce. Many workers on the picket lines voiced the illusion that cops were workers, too.

No! The PBA and the other police "unions" are enemies of labor whose job is to safeguard the bosses' private property. The cops, security guards and the MTA's Property Protection Agents have no place in the labor movement. One white worker responding to Bloomberg's racist slur about union "thugs" said, "Yeah, the thugs are here—the thugs in blue." That's right! *It is the job of the cops to enforce Taylor Law injunctions against the union.* It's their job to terrorize minorities.

The anti-strike injunctions and massive fines were an object lesson in the role of the courts as part of the capitalists' state machinery. The same lesson should be drawn over the use of the courts to intervene into the TWU, which can only undermine the very purpose of the union: to defend the workers from the bosses.

Toussaint along with a bevy of fake-militants and their "leftist" supporters have long turned to the courts against their opponents in the union. Five Local 100 vice presidents, including Ainsley Stewart of the Car Maintenance Division and John Mooney of Stations, have a lawsuit against Local 100, although it was put into abeyance leading up to the contract expiration. Prior to taking office, Toussaint dragged the union into the bosses' courts, as did other members of the former New Directions caucus. Nevertheless, Marty Goodman, supported by the reformist Socialist Action group, was long a member of New Directions and supported Toussaint's election. Eric Josephson, supported by the fake-socialist League for the Revolutionary Party, also called for votes for Toussaint, adding a fig leaf of "criticism."

The Spartacist League has always opposed the intervention of the capitalist courts into the labor movement on principle. Thus we opposed Toussaint's candidacy, headlining our article in *WV* No. 746 (17 November 2000), "Sellouts, Traitors, Finks: No Choice in TWU Local 100 Elections." Labor must clean its own house! Cops, courts out of the unions!

Labor needs a leadership based on a program of class struggle and the political independence of the proletariat. This was the type of leadership, composed of Trotskyists and their supporters, that conducted the historic 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes, which helped forge the Teamsters into a powerful industrial union. Summing up the lessons of Minneapolis, Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon said in *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944):

> "The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups....
>
> "Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity. Consequently, they expected from the start that the union would have to fight for its right to exist; that the bosses would not yield any recognition to the union, would not yield any increase of wages or reduction of the scandalous hours without some pressure being brought to bear. Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue. Bluffs don't work in fundamental things, only in incidental ones. In such things as the conflict of class interests one must be prepared to fight."■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

National Office (212) 732-7860
vanguard@tiac.net

Boston (617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago (312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

Los Angeles (213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net

New York (212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com

Oakland (510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/ LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto (416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver (604) 687-0353
tllt@look.ca

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The first Labor Black Leagues were formed as a result of the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982. We stand for mobilizing the masses of minority and working people in militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

For more information

CHICAGO
Box 6938
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441

NEW YORK
Box 2502, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025

LOS ANGELES
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

OAKLAND
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

We reprint below a speech, edited for publication, hy Jonathan Piper of the Partisan Defense Committee at a united-front defense rally in Chicago on October 1. The event was one of a series of rallies initiated by the PDC under the heading "The 'War on Terror' Targets Blacks, Immigrants, Labor and Leftists! Fight Government Repression!" The rallies emphasized defense of renowned black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man who has heen on death row for close to a quarter of a century, leftist attorney Lynne Stewart and black militant Assata Shakur (see "Fight Government Repression!" *WV* No. 859, 25 November 2005).

Last month, the federal Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Pennsylvania put Mumia's case on a "fast track" for decision. This means that Mumia's attorneys as well as the Philadelphia district attorney's office will file their legal papers, and there will be a court decision within a very short period of time, perhaps as soon as six months. The court will be deciding whether to uphold Mumia's death sentence or to allow him more legal proceedings, including possibly a new trial.

The federal appeals court is not required to consider all of the violations of rights evident in Mumia's frame-up, conviction and sentencing, during which virtually every right of due process—from the right to an attorney to the right to cross-examine witnesses—was violated. However, the court has allowed three challenges: the racially biased jury selection in Mumia's 1982 trial, the D.A.'s prejudicial summary argument to the jury falsely stating that Mumia would have "appeal after appeal," and the grossly biased post-conviction state hearings before Judge Albert Sabo in the 1990s.

That these challenges can even be heard in court is a good development. But these proceedings also put Mumia's life literally in the balance. This emphasizes with even more urgency the need to mobilize the social power of organized labor and its allies ***now*** to fight for Mumia's freedom.

* * *

Mumia Abu-Jamal, America's foremost political prisoner, is an innocent man. Yet he is locked away in Pennsylvania's death row dungeons, even when Arnold Beverly, another man, has confessed that he was the one who shot the police officer in the killing for which Mumia was framed up.

Mumia remains imprisoned despite the mountain of evidence that proves his innocence. America's capitalist rulers and their courts know that he's innocent. They want to silence Mumia's voice because he is a symbol of defiant opposition to their system of exploitation and racist oppression.

WV Photo

August 1995: Philadelphia demonstration, part of international campaign protesting signing of Mumia Abu-Jamal's death warrant. Mobilization of labor was key to winning stay of execution.

James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969, Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

Mumia first entered the cops' cross hairs in the late 1960s. At age 15 he helped found the Black Panther Party chapter in Philadelphia, serving as the Minister of Information for the Philadelphia chapter and as a talented writer for the *Black Panther* newspaper. He was targeted by the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO operation of intimidation and assassination. His activism continued throughout the 1970s as an eloquent journalist in Philadelphia, where his championing the cause of the oppressed and exploited led him to be called "the voice of the voiceless." The cops hated him because he publicized the cases of victims of police brutality, particularly the Philadelphia MOVE organization.

All this time they had been trying to pin something on Mumia, but he had done nothing but journalism and exercising his First Amendment rights. They saw their chance to get him in the early morning hours of 9 December 1981, when Mumia was shot and beaten on the scene where a police officer named Daniel Faulkner had heen shot. The Chief Inspector on the scene had been leading the campaign against the Black Panthers back in the '60s. He knew who Mumia was, and they immediately started to pull out every stop to pin Faulkner's killing on him. They pulled out the third degree, threatening and coercing witnesses and people who weren't even there to say that Mumia had shot the cop. The state's main witness was Cynthia White, a prostitute who was arrested four times between Decemher 9 and the trial six months later. Each time she was arrested the police got her to say something additional against Mumia and then let her go. Yet several other witnesses who knew her confirmed that she was not even there when Mumia or the police officer was shot.

Two months after the shooting, the prosecutor called together all the police officers, looking for something to make a case and got them to come up with a story about how Mumia had "confessed" to the shooting while lying in the emergency room, where he was beaten by police officers. In fact, the officer on guard wrote in his report that night that during this whole time, Mumia made no comments.

What happened at the kangaroo trial in 1982 shows why we say there is no justice in the capitalist courts. Mumia's trial was presided over by the notorious hanging judge Albert Sabo, who sent more men to death row than any other sitting judge in recent history. A court reporter overheard Sabo during the trial saying, "I'm going to help them fry the n----r." Mumia was saddled with an incompetent lawyer, with a jury that was rigged to keep blacks off. There was no lie or trick too low for the prosecutor, who argued that Mumia deserved the death penalty because he was a former Black Panther Party member who had quoted Mao Zedong saying, "All power to the people" and "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." This was the argument for why Mumia deserved death, and this shows what the death penalty is all about as a barbaric, racist legacy of the era of chattel slavery.

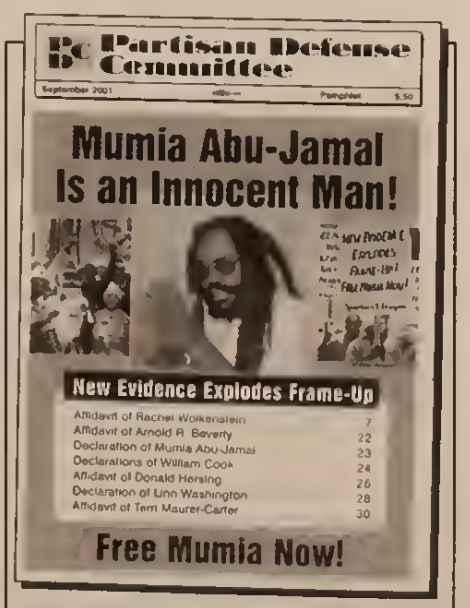
I joined Mumia's legal team in 1990, after he lost his first appeal. Rachel Wolkenstein and I, who served as Partisan Defense Committee lawyers, operated with the understanding there is no way that Mumia could win justice out of the capitalist court system. To speak of Mumia ever receiving a "fair trial" only breeds the deadly illusion that there can be justice in the capitalist courts. While fighting to use every possible legal procedure and remedy on Mumia's behalf, we understood that his real fate lay not in the hands of the hanging judges but in the hands of the masses of the labor movement and the oppressed rallying to his defense.

In 1999, Rachel located the witness Arnold Beverly and secured his written confession that "I was hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner.... Jamal had nothing to do with the shooting." Not only did Beverly pass a lie detector test, hut his confession is completely consistent with all the physical evidence in the case, and with the accounts of numerous eyewitnesses who saw the shooter run away from the scene. And this account of being hired to kill Faulkner is consistent with the fact that there was an FBI investigation right at that time of police running the prostitution rings and taking graft from the late-night clubs in the downtown Philadelphia neighborhood right where this happened. Many officers involved in framing up Mumia in fact were later convicted in the corruption scandals that came out of that. Rachel and I left the defense team in 1999 hecause Jamal's lead counsel, the liheral lawyer Leonard Weinglass, and Dan Williams refused to let us bring out the Beverly confession.

This confession, and other evidence of the massive police misconduct, exposed the state's conscious frame-up of an innocent man. This is "too hot to handle" for the capitalist courts. It proves that this is not some aberration or mistake of a bad judge or a bad jury, but the crystallization of what the capitalist state is all about: committed to preserving the bosses' property system and the racial oppression on which it rests. Beverly has never been allowed to testify in court, nor has much of the other evidence showing the frame-up been allowed into court. The pretext for denying all this evidence is a rash of laws that were passed in the 1990s to stop death row and other inmates from raising their appeals. The primary measure was the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, which was signed by the Democrat Bill Clinton after the Oklahoma City bombing. This underscores how the so-called "war on terror" in fact is a war on black people and labor as well as immigrants.

Now Jamal's case is in the federal court of appeals. A federal judge has for the time being overturned Mumia's death sentence, but the Philly prosecutors want to put it back in place. The cops are howling for Mumia's blood. And even if the death sentence is overturned, Mumia faces the rest of his life buried in prison. We need a renewed effort to win Mumia's freedom. You need to get involved in this fight if you aren't already—to raise this case in all arenas, all organizations, most importantly your trade unions. This is the force that can win Mumia's freedom.

Free Mumia now! Free all class-war prisoners! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■



$.50 (32 pages)

Order from/pay to:
Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 862 | GCU C-701 | 20 January 2006

Organize the Unorganized!
Mobilize Labor's Power Against Death Traps!

West Virginia Mine Disaster: Capitalist Murder

"I just went to sleep," read coal miner Martin Toler's heart-wrenching note describing his last moments to his loved ones. A massive explosion had ripped through the Sago mine in West Virginia on January 2 as Toler and 12 others were entering to help reopen it the morning after a three-day New Year's break. One miner died instantly while the others were trapped deep underground and forced deeper still to find shelter from the poisonous air slowly suffocating them. All except Randal McCloy, who is still in a coma, perished during the 41 hours awaiting rescue.

Kemp/Charleston Gazette

January 8: Pallbearers carry casket of Jesse L. Jones, one of 12 miners killed in Sago mine disaster.

The complicity of the mine officials in the miners' deaths was compounded by their deceit. Scared for their own skins, they let three hours pass before correcting their initial false reports that 12 miners had been found alive. During this time, a police SWAT team was put in position outside the church where the miners' families were gathered. In the hours following the explosion, West Virginia's Democratic governor Joe Manchin tried to explain away the accident by citing the "inherent risks" of underground mining. But no set of excuses can disguise the coal operators' criminal neglect. The Sago mine is a death trap, pure and simple—it has no exhaust airshaft to remove deadly gases and smoke, and no escape route.

And just as the U.S. government—under both Democratic and Republican administrations—knew for decades about the dangers facing New Orleans but did nothing to replace or reinforce the city's inadequately built and crumbling levees, rarely does it enforce its own mine and workplace safety rules, even in the face of repeated life-threatening violations. The profit-hungry bosses have sacrificed the blood of over 100,000 miners killed since 1900 to the bottom line. Democratic politicians have pushed for Congressional hearings on mining safety, which would amount to a smokescreen for the malicious indifference of the bosses' government. The only way to establish and enforce safety is through mobilizing labor's power. Any real measure of protection workers have gained in U.S. mines—or elsewhere in industry—was won through hard struggle by the unions.

The Sago mine was non-union, reflecting the drastic decline in unionization of the coal industry. In the mid 1970s, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) organized some 70 percent of the industry; today it represents barely one-third, including in West Virginia. The workforce as a whole has been massively slashed from over 260,000 in 1979 to 108,000 in 2004. A major factor in that decline is the expansion of surface strip-mining, which is more efficient, cheaper and requires fewer workers than deep underground mining. And as the bosses close down union mines, they open new, non-union operations, often in Wyoming, Utah, Colorado and other areas far from Appalachia. But like many other Appalachian mines, the Sago mine was union until it was closed, bought out and, in 1999, reopened without the union.

The Sago deaths should be a clarion call for the UMWA to launch a drive to organize the unorganized mines. The difference between the union and non-union mines is recognized by unorganized miners, who often are reluctant to speak out about unsafe conditions out of fear for their jobs, which are among the better-paying in poverty-stricken Appalachia. The UMWA contract provides for memorial days that can be used to shut down mines in response to such disasters and be a springboard for union organizing. Union safety committees have the right to "red tag" unsafe mines and shut them down. Without aggressive organizing, the union will keep losing ground, leaving more non-union miners at the mercy of ruthless coal profiteers.

Miners have enormous potential power in the economy. As prices of oil and natural gases have skyrocketed, coal is expected to provide over half the energy for U.S. electrical utilities this year. Last year alone, 69 mines opened or re-opened in Appalachia. But the pro-capitalist UMWA leadership hamstrings the union's power through its reliance on capitalist politicians and government agencies and its renunciation of the class-struggle methods that built the union. UMWA president Cecil Roberts' January 4 statement on the Sago disaster barely even notes that the mine is non-union and makes no reference to the need for workers themselves to control safety conditions. Instead, Roberts calls for the government to "investigate."

With the overwhelming majority of U.S. workers unorganized, what is desperately needed is a class-struggle fight to *organize the unorganized*—from Appalachia and the West to the notoriously anti-union South. Unionizing the viciously racist, "right to work" South exemplifies the need for the labor movement to fight against the racial oppression long used by the capitalists to divide workers and weaken labor.

AP

New Orleans Convention Center, September 1: Capitalist rulers abandoned masses of poor people, mainly black, in wake of Hurricane Katrina.

Capitalist Profiteering and Industrial Murder

It was capitalist profiteering that led to the deaths of the 12 miners. The Sago mine was so dangerous that Mine Safety

continued on page 9

Imperialist "Democracy" at Work
U.S. Torture Machine...6

7 25274 81030 7 03

PDC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Labor Must Defend NYC Transit Unions!

We print below, slightly excerpted, a January 9 letter by the Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle, nonsectarian defense organization associated with the Spartacist League—to unions throughout the U.S. and internationally urging solidarity with the New York City transit workers. Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 and Amalgamated Transit Union locals 726 and 1056 are facing massive legal reprisals for conducting a powerful three-day strike in U.S. capitalism's financial center in December. For their defiance of the state's anti-strike Taylor Law, the unions are threatened with huge fines and the jailing of their leaders.

In addition, the Public Employment Relations Board (PERB), a state agency appointed by the governor, threatens to fine strikers six days pay (two days for each day on strike). The PERB may also move to revoke the dues checkoff, by which union dues are automatically deducted from paychecks. This blatant attack on the unions must be fought. At the same time, union members should fight to replace this system, by which the bosses control dues collection, with collection by elected union officers. This would also be a means of making the union leadership accountable to the members.

The drive to "punish" the transit unions continues to be whipped up, with calls to jail Local 100 president Roger Toussaint by Republican gubernatorial candidate William Weld. The unions will be in court on January 20. That same day, the results of the vote on the proposed contract settlement by Local 100's 33,700 members are due to be announced. If the contract is voted down, there must be a mass membership meeting to decide what course of action to take, up to and including resuming strike action. The union should reject binding arbitration, an option under the Taylor Law, as Local 100 leaders said they would before the strike began. Binding arbitration is a trap, in which the union membership is cut out and decisions on the contract are made by three "mediators" whose selection is weighted toward the bosses and their government.

* * *

On January 20, Transport Workers Union Local 100 and Amalgamated Transit Union Locals 726 and 1056 are scheduled to appear in court, facing devastating fines of up to $1 million a day and a possible $1,000 a day against individual union officers in retaliation for their recent strike. The threat of jailing TWU Local 100 president Roger Toussaint and other union officers has not been taken off the table. These unions went on strike for three days, December 20-22, in a struggle for a new contract. This was both a courageous and effective defensive action, in defiance of the vicious anti-union Taylor Law which prohibits public employees in the state of New York from striking. The outrageous penalties, fines and possible jail sentences have been leveled at the union for "contempt of court" violations of the injunctions against the strike under the Taylor Law.

All of labor must stand in defense of these workers! We must demand that all charges be dropped against the TWU and ATU locals! No fines—no reprisals! Down with the slave-labor Taylor Law! The transit workers must not stand alone—an injury to one is an injury to all!

The outpouring of support for the New York City transit strike by the city's working and poor people showed that they saw the transit workers fight as their own. Workers in this country are becoming increasingly angry over being robbed of their pensions and benefits, having their rights trampled, facing increased abuse on the job and having their working conditions and standard of living eroded. The horrendous death of 12 miners in West Virginia, employed at a non-union mine run by profit-gouging bosses, is the real face of the one-sided class war being waged by the rulers. Under the pretext of its phony "war on terror," the government has victimized blacks, Latinos and immigrants while intensifying the exploitation of workers and attacking unions across the board. The transit workers' defiance of anti-union laws and the threatened reprisals for their strike show what every union faces when they strike and are confronted with strike-breaking injunctions. The bosses are on an offensive against labor—from the UFCW strikers of Southern California to the AMFA strikers at Northwest Airlines to ILA and ILWU longshoremen to GM and Delphi auto workers. Like the Railway Labor Act, the Maritime Security Act, the Patriot Act, Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin, the Taylor Law is crafted to chain the working class and prevent effective union actions to defend workers from stepped-up exploitation.

As an elementary act of solidarity with the transit workers who dared to stand up, walk out and give the bosses a taste of the tremendous social power of the organized workers movement, the PDC is sending a letter of protest to New York State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer. Spitzer is a Democratic candidate for governor, who went to court to slam TWU officers and members with injunctions carrying union-busting fines and seeking to jail union officers. We are also sending letters of protest to Republican governor George Pataki and Mayor Michael Bloomberg who supported these draconian anti-union actions and engaged in vile, anti-worker, racist invective against the striking transit workers—many of whom are black, Latino, immigrant. We urge you to add your voice to this effort to defend the brothers and sisters who struck in December ***before the next scheduled court date of 20 January***.

In addition to a letter or letters of protest to the Attorney General, Governor and Mayor demanding that there be no reprisals, no fines, we also urge that you forward these protest letters with a message of solidarity to TWU Local 100, ATU Local 726 and ATU Local 1056.

Down with the Taylor Law! For union solidarity with the New York City transit workers!■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Honor Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht!

January 15 marks the anniversary of the murder of heroic revolutionary Marxists Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, victims of the repression organized by the German Social Democratic government that crushed the January 1919 Spartakist uprising. The International Communist League has revived the Communist tradition of honoring the "Three L's"—Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Russian Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin, who died in January 1924. In printing Luxemburg's denunciation of the fraud of disarmament under capitalism, we reaffirm that the road to smashing the imperialist system of war, poverty and oppression lies in proletarian socialist revolution.

The friends of peace in bourgeois circles believe that world peace and disarmament can be realized within the framework of the present social order, whereas we who base ourselves on the materialist conception of history and on scientific socialism, are convinced that militarism can be abolished only with the destruction of the capitalist state....

Thus would be clearly explained what constitutes the kernel of the social-democratic conception: that militarism in both its forms—as war and as armed peace—is a legitimate child, a logical result of capitalism, and that whoever honestly desires world peace and freedom from the tremendous burden of armaments must strive for socialism....

For the international antagonisms of the capitalist state are but complements of class antagonisms and world-political anarchy, but the reverse side of the anarchic system of capitalist production. Both grow together and must be overcome together. "A little order and peace" is, therefore, just as impossible, just as much a petty-bourgeois utopia, with regard to world politics as it is with regard to the capitalist world market, with regard to the limitation of armaments as it is with regard to the restriction of crises.

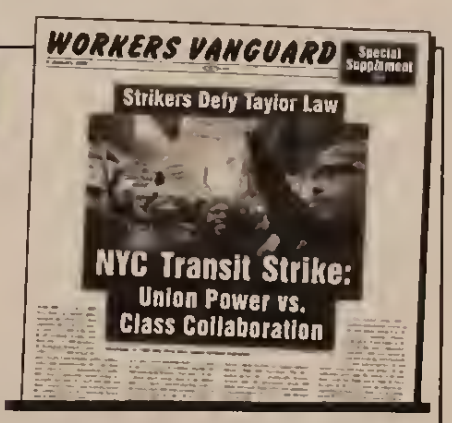
—Rosa Luxemburg, "The Road to Peace" (1911), printed in *Young Socialist* (October 1958)

Get Your Copies Now!

Special *WV* Supplement on NYC Transit Strike

10¢ each — bundles of 25: $2
bundles of 50: $3

Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Patenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 17 January.

No. 862 **20 January 2006**

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
tllt@look.ca

Australian Spartacists Demand: Mobilize Unions, Minorities Against Racist Attacks!

Lynch Mob Terror in Sydney

We print below excerpts from an 18 December 2005 leaflet issued by the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), which was reprinted in *Australasian Spartacist* No. 193 (Summer 2005/06). The leaflet was issued following a mass racist rampage primarily directed against Near Eastern minorities in Sydney's Cronulla suburb. In response to the racist attacks, thousands of people in Sydney, Melbourne and other cities joined "United Against Racism" rallies on the weekend of December 16. The rallies, which were initiated by the National Union of Students, included groups of trade unionists. A truck with the slogan of the Australian Council of Trade Unions' (ACTU) campaign "Your Rights at Work" served as the speaker's podium in Sydney.

As the leaflet notes, such racist violence poses a deadly danger to the entire labor movement in Australia, the ultimate target of the fascists involved in the riots. But the ability of the trade unions to defend immigrants and minorities, who form a strategic component of the labor movement, is hampered by the unions' attachment to the Australian Labor Party (ALP). The social-democratic ALP is typical of what revolutionary leader V. I. Lenin called "bourgeois workers parties"—parties based on the trade unions but with a thoroughly bourgeois program. It is the task of Marxists to fight to ***split*** the working-class base of the ALP from the pro-capitalist tops, winning that proletarian base to the struggle to forge a ***revolutionary*** workers party that fights for working-class rule.

Newspix

December 11: Racist rampage on beach in Sydney suburb.

Australasian SPARTACIST

On Sunday 11 December a racist mob of up to 5,000 overwhelmingly white youth, including significant numbers of fascists, mobilised at the Sydney beach suburb of Cronulla. Draped in the Australian flag and singing "Waltzing Matilda," this beer-sodden crowd rampaged through the streets carrying out chilling pogromist attacks against anyone of non-white complexion. Pelting cans and bottles at people and chanting "Kill the w-gs" and "Aussie, Aussie, Aussie," they chased down and cornered terrified individuals, bashing several who were lucky to escape with their lives. Such was their frenzy and murderous intent that they attacked ambulancemen trying to assist injured victims and even cops who got in their way. Increasingly emboldened fascist outfits such as Australia First, the Patriotic Youth League and Blood and Honour, who pose a deadly threat to immigrants, Aborigines, gays and ultimately the organised working class, were deeply involved in fomenting and building this racist riot.

The white racists and fascists who carried out this celebration of "Aussie pride" took their cue from the very top in Australian society. Following the reported beating of lifeguards at Cronulla a week before, allegedly by Arabs responding to racist epithets, Howard confidant and radio shock jock, Alan Jones, began whipping up a racist frenzy, including by airing the vile SMS [text message] rallying call for mob violence. Rupert Murdoch's mass circulation *Daily Telegraph* fuelled the fire with headlines like: "Fight for Cronulla" and "Lines Drawn on the Beach Sand." This was on top of the ever-escalating decade-long campaign by the NSW [New South Wales] ALP government to criminalise Sydney's Arab population, particularly Lebanese youth. And topping this off has been the ruling class "war on terror" which targets first and foremost, alongside the peoples of Iraq and Afghanistan, all Muslims, and Arab and Asian populations in Australia.

This racist eruption was whipped up by the capitalist rulers in order to divide the working class at a time when the bosses are pushing through their biggest attack on unions and working conditions for decades. However, decent working people from all backgrounds are horrified by the white racist attacks. Today as an elementary act of self-defence it is desperately necessary that the multiracial working class be mobilised in defence of minorities on the streets and to crush the fascists whose program is murderous racist terror.

In the absence of a fight by the organised working class against such racist terror, the justified anger of some youth of immigrant background was vented in some indefensible retaliatory acts, including indiscriminately attacking individuals and wrecking cars. A church hall in Auburn has been torched. Seizing on such actions, the NSW government rushed through draconian new police powers to lock down whole suburbs, to search people and cars, and to confiscate cars. Penalties for the crimes of "riot" and "affray" have been dramatically increased along with removing the presumption of bail. Exposing their reactionary agenda, the bourgeois media and politicians talk almost exclusively about the "problem" of "Lebanese youth" while burying the white racist rampage on Sunday. The "lock down" powers target Arab or other immigrant and working-class suburbs. Pickets and protesters who defend themselves from scabs or police attack could see themselves facing 15 years jail, and without the right to bail!

Following their success in Cronulla and this green light from the bourgeoisie, the fascists have grown in confidence. Anti-Arab attacks have broken out in virtually every capital city in Australia and a repeat of Cronulla has been threatened from Perth to the Gold Coast.

Down With Liberal/ALP Racist State Repression!

Having done everything possible to encourage the lynch-mob mentality seen at Cronulla, the racist prime minister, John Howard, and equally bigoted "opposition" leader, Kim Beazley, refused to label the Cronulla riot as racist. Instead Howard described the murderous attempted pogrom as "just incredibly bad behaviour" (*Age*, 16 December 2005) while Beazley ranted about "the rule of law" and "core Australian values" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 December 2005). Justifying the pogromist mob Howard proclaimed: "We should never lose sight of the fact that primarily what happened was a group of people broke the law the previous weekend when they assaulted two lifesavers" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 December 2005). The ALP NSW premier Morris Iemma declared that new laws were necessary to battle "Middle Eastern thugs" and recalled parliament to ram through the new police powers which will be directed in the first instance against youth of immigrant background. And, giving the racists and fascists exactly what they want, thousands of police have been mobilised this weekend to effectively prevent non-white youth going to Cronulla and other beachside suburbs.

The violence against minorities in Cronulla is the logical extension of the ongoing violence carried out by the state, from the racist police who regularly target youth for harrassment and who attacked heavily immigrant anti-war student protests in 2003, to the growing army of ASIO [Australian Security Intelligence Office] spies who carry out surveillance of immigrant neighbourhoods. Announcing the recent beefing up of police powers, including yet another police strike force, Iemma and Police Commissioner Ken Moroney have condemned the violence as "un-Australian." To the contrary, the white racism on display in Cronulla was *very* much a part of White Australian capitalism, which was founded on bloody genocidal wars against the Aborigines and exclusion of non-white people and today means cop

continued on page 8

ABC News

Anti-racist protesters rally on December 18 in Sydney.

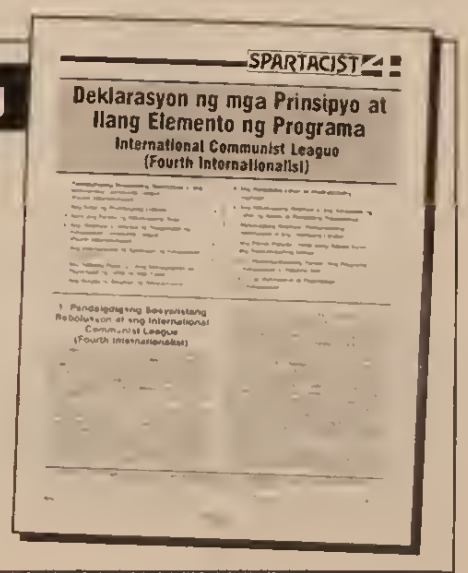
Now Available in Tagalog

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Adopted in 1998 at the Third International Conference of the ICL.

$1 (16 pages)

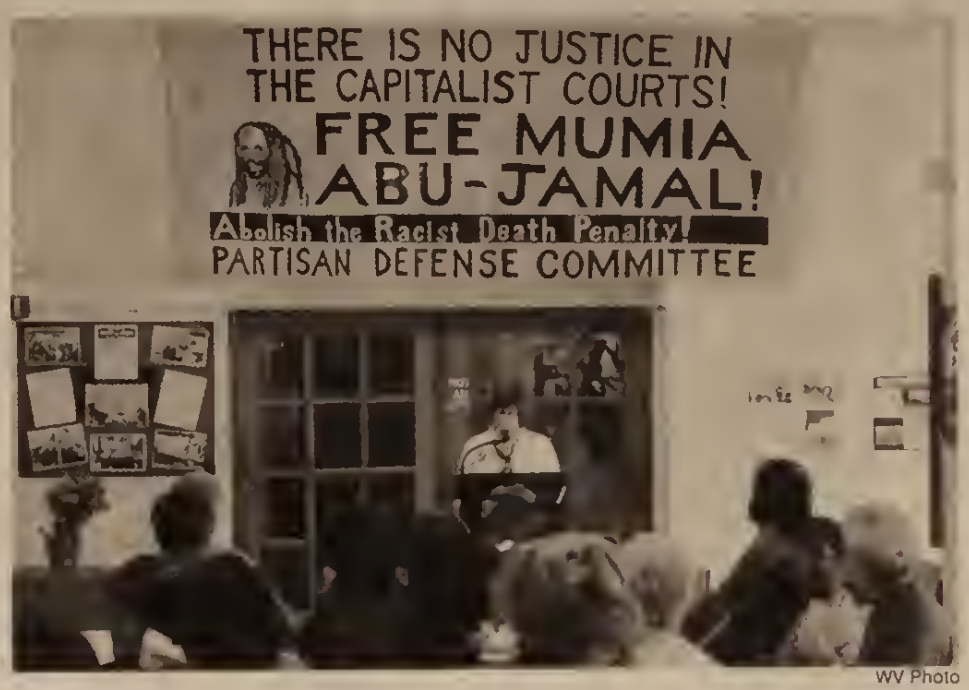
Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377
GPO, New York, NY 10116


SPARTACIST
Deklarasyon ng mga Prinsipyo at Ilang Elemento ng Programa
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Young Spartacus

Youth Must Ally with Working Class

We print below the slightly edited speeches by comrades Frank Sargent of the Bay Area SYC and Lital Singer of the New York SYC. The speeches were given at the Partisan Defense Committee's 20th annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners held in the Bay Area on 11 December 2005 and in New York on 9 December 2005.



WV Photo

Twentieth annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners in Bay Area, 11 December 2005.

SYC Speakers at Benefits for Class-War Prisoners

Frank Sargent

The Spartacus Youth Clubs intervene into social struggles armed with the revolutionary program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Here in the U.S., in the belly of the imperialist beast, we are partisans of the working class, fighters for black liberation, fighters for women's liberation and defenders of all oppressed.

It's almost 15 years now since capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the Soviet Union. From this catastrophic defeat, the political consciousness among youth and workers has been thrust backward. The capitalists are waging an all-sided offensive. It is into this world that our youth clubs intervene.

The racist contempt of the American ruling class towards the victims of Hurricane Katrina laid bare the harsh reality of black oppression. We of course see the reflection of black oppression on campuses too. At San Francisco State University, on the evening of October 25, Ethnic Studies professor Antwi Akom, who is black, outrageously was arrested by police for entering his *own* office to pick up a book. Akom is being prosecuted and could face jail. A colleague of professor Akom, speaking to the significance of this racist attack, said pointedly, "At the end of the day, you can have all the credentials in the world, and it doesn't matter." Unlike liberals who push the strategy that black oppression can be ended by movements pressuring the government and its cops and courts to "do the right thing," we know that in the United States black people constitute a specially oppressed race-color caste, forcibly segregated at the bottom of society, subjected to everything from racist social relations and economic marginalization to the barbarous legal lynching of the death penalty. In the face of racist capitalism, the International Socialist Organization [ISO] calls to support a third capitalist party—the Greens—as a way to put pressure on the Democrats. This is an obstacle to the understanding that the working class must have its own revolutionary party, independent of the capitalists, that will fight for black liberation and proletarian state power.

To us, Akom's arrest is a threat to the right of every black student, worker and faculty member *to simply be on campus*. We raise the demands: *Honds off Professor Akom! Drop oll chorges now! Cops off compus!* We warn students against illusions that the college administration can be relied upon to end racism on campus. Connected to our program of revolutionary integrationism and our defense of Professor Akom is our fight for free, quality, integrated education for all! Anti-racist students must link arms with the multiracial working class, the only force in society with the social power *ond* class interest to destroy the capitalist order that gives rise to black oppression.

The brutal colonial occupation of Iraq continues to be an object of struggle. As Leninists, we say that the working people must take a side *ogoinst* U.S. imperialism. We called for the military defense of Iraq against U.S. attack during the war, and today we stand for the *unconditionol, immediote withdrowol of oll U.S. ond allied troops* and for *the defense of the peoples of Iroq ogoinst U.S. ottocks and repression*. We explain that war is inherent to capitalism. The capitalists seek to control markets and spheres of exploitation. This leads to interimperialist wars and, like in Iraq, predatory imperialist wars against semicolonial countries.

Youth are used as cannon fodder for imperialist wars. We struggle against militarism on the campuses, because military recruiters and ROTC are direct appendages of the military machine that exists to defend the American imperialist ruling class. We raise the slogan: *Not one mon, not one penny for the imperialist military!* But in themselves, students have no social power; the *only* road forward lies in students allying themselves with the working class in revolutionary struggle.

Recently we intervened with our revolutionary perspective into a conference organized in part by the ISO and their liberal Campus Antiwar Network. They've been promoting their "College Not Combat" campaign which included doing a cost-benefit analysis of the colonial occupation of Iraq as "butter not guns" policy advice for the bourgeoisie. Like ex-socialist Peter Camejo, they've found their job: progressive investment advisers. We argued that looking to the liberal wing of the exploiters for reforms only serves to demobilize struggle and, through the Democrats, to chain the exploited to the system that breeds war. We had to remind the ISO that Ralph Nader, whom they supported, called for the occupation of Iraq by the United Nations! Towards the end of the conference, we protested against Army recruiters.

The irrational organization of capitalist society breeds increased religiosity and rejection of scientific reason. Bigots are mounting assaults on sex and science, centrally evolution. Of course, the clearest example against intelligent design is George W. Bush himself. In the wake of the decision to teach intelligent design in science classes as a so-called alternative to the evolution of life, over the last month religious bigots in Kansas have been screaming because a University of Kansas professor boldly planned to teach "intelligent design" as part of a course on religious creation myths. Only a few days ago such bigots beat him up. In America religious fundamentalism and Klan-style terror go hand in hand. We say: *For the separation of church ond stote! For science, not superstition!*

We joined others in a July 23 clinic defense action against anti-abortion bigots in San Francisco where we raised the call: *Free obortion on demond!* In the recent elections we said: *Vote no on Proposition 73!* Though this "squeal law," which would have demanded parental notification before an abortion, was defeated, the defense of women's rights must be fought through hard social struggle. The task of women's liberation can be accomplished only through socialist revolution.

The final goal of socialist revolution is the expansion of human knowledge and freedom extending to every human being, in all aspects of life. The capitalist profit system and its state must be shattered through workers revolution, setting up a workers government which runs production for human need. We fight to win a new generation of youth to the program of Trotskyism. The SYCs provide a training ground for those who will join the ranks of the vanguard party as professional revolutionaries. Join us in that struggle and the struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty!

Lital Singer

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the youth auxiliaries to the Spartacist League. They are transitional organizations for youth and a training ground for future professional revolutionaries. We fight to win youth to the side of the working class and the struggle for workers revolution and a communist future. What is crucially necessary is a revolutionary workers party that represents the interests of working people and the oppressed and can lead such a struggle. The SYC and Spartacist League actively work to win youth to this perspective.

We are living in a period where youth face ever-increasing repression and where job prospects are dismal at best; where getting a decent education is a privilege reserved for those with the means to afford it; where for two generations now, black youth have been criminalized in the racist "war on drugs" carried out by Democrats and Republicans alike. Just two months ago students at a high school in the Bronx protested being treated like criminals because they have to pass through metal detectors every morning. The reality is that instead of preparing these youth for a future of higher education and jobs, they are being prepared for prison. Many poor and minority youth have joined the military as a means to get an education and a job, and end up as cannon fodder for U.S. imperialism's war machine. It is notable, though, that the military is having a hard time recruiting, especially among black people, as the bloody occupation of Iraq becomes less and less popular.

We are Marxists who tell the truth that the capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in 1991-92, which we fought against, was a historic defeat for working people internationally. However, the bourgeoisie and their lying mouthpieces tell you that communism is dead. And there are some who argue that socialism is a utopian idea, that the system can be reformed and can be made to give everyone a piece of the pie. There are many so-called socialist groups, like the International Socialist Organization and the Workers World Party, that continue to push a supposedly "realistic" reformist program and illusions through slogans such as "money for jobs, not for war." But it is utterly utopian to think that this same ruling class that left blacks and poor to starve to death in New Orleans, that bombs and maims the peoples of

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club protests against proposed return of ROTC to Columbia University, 6 May 2005.

Malcolm X: Courageous Fighter Against Black Oppression

Down With Racist, Anti-Communist Provocation at Columbia!

We reprint below a New York Spartacus Youth Club statement issued as a leaflet on 3 December 2005.

On November 2, Columbia College Conservative Club (CCCC) honcho Chris Kulawik published a column in the *Columbia Spectator* attacking the name of the Malcolm X student lounge. The column was a calculated provocation against black people and other minorities, leftists and anti-racist students and workers. The CCCC's 2004 anti-affirmative action "bake sale"—a disgusting insult against black, Latino, female *and* Jewish students—sparked wide-spread outrage on campus. And now these creeps are at it again. Kulawik himself might as well have been mentored by Republican bigwig William Bennett, who made the genocidal argument: "If you wanted to reduce crime, you could—if that were your sole purpose, you could abort every black baby in this country, and your crime rate would go down." It is not an accident that racist views are being retailed at Columbia, a bastion of race and class privilege run by a union-busting slumlord administration in the middle of Harlem.

Kulawik rants that Malcolm was "a radical, hate-spewing, violent, anti-American racist" and that the room should be renamed to honor Whittaker Chambers, an ex-Communist Party member who, during the McCarthyite anti-red witchhunts of the 1950s, was infamous as an informer for the FBI. Trotskyist James P. Cannon had his number in 1952: "Chambers has written a book (*Witness*, Random House) with a message to the effect that, to his personal knowledge, God has taken a definite position against communism, and all revolutions past, present and future. That is a message which the instigators and beneficiaries of the current hysteria want to hear and have proclaimed far and wide." Kulawik hates Malcolm X for the same reason that the racist capitalist rulers feared and hated him: he was an uncompromising fighter for black freedom, a truth teller who exposed the hypocrisy and lies of the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and advocated the right of armed self-defense against Klan and police terror.

The racist atrocity after Hurricane Katrina starkly exposed the raw reality of race and class in capitalist America. But it's not just Bush and the Republicans who are the enemies of blacks and poor people. Despite their differences with the Republicans over particular policies, the Democrats are just as much a capitalist party of racism and war. Although he did not have the Marxist understanding of the centrality of mobilizing the multiracial working class independent of its capitalist exploiters, Malcolm X inspired a whole generation of blacks and radicals who courageously stood up to the racist ruling class.

Columbia College Today

Columbia, April 1968: Black students and supporters occupying Hamilton Hall. Student protests and building occupations were directed against school administration's racist policies and links to U.S. imperialism.

It is quite fitting that students protesting against racist U.S. imperialism in 1968, during the U.S.'s counterrevolutionary war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, would choose to honor Malcolm X after occupying and renaming the former ROTC lounge. These students also struggled against the racist policies of the Columbia administration. Kulawik would like to turn the clock back to the days when reds were witchhunted off campus and black people were mostly excluded from higher education. The SYC fights for free, quality education for all! Nationalize Columbia and open the gates to the black and Latino residents of Harlem! We understand that the fight for black liberation requires building a revolutionary, internationalist workers party with a substantially black leadership.

The Spartacus Youth Club fights for revolutionary integrationism—the understanding that black freedom will not be won short of socialist revolution and that there will be no socialist revolution unless the cause of black freedom is actively championed by a fighting labor movement. When the integrated working class in this country makes that revolution, Malcolm X will be honored as a courageous fighter and martyr for the cause of black freedom. If you are interested in taking up this fight, join us on December 9 at 6 pm for the Partisan Defense Committee's Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners. Come show your solidarity with those imprisoned for standing up to racist capitalist repression!■

Iraq, that continuously attacks workers' livelihoods, taking away health care and pensions, that further erodes women's abortion rights, that locks "terrorists" in secret dungeons the world over, can be made to change its priorities and serve the oppressed. *That* is utopian. The brutality and irrationality of this racist capitalist system has been and continues to be exposed time and time again. It is only the multiracial working class, like the transit workers and longshore workers, that has the social power and interest to sweep away this entire barbaric system and replace it with a socialist egalitarian society. This will take class-struggle leadership and this is the only realistic and viable option for the future.

The Spartacus Youth Club intervenes with our revolutionary program on the campuses. At Columbia University, we have protested against the campus Conservative Club's racist provocations against affirmative action, and last week we issued a leaflet in defense of Malcolm X against a recent racist column in the school paper which called to change the name of the Malcolm X lounge, suggesting that it be renamed after Whittaker Chambers, an ex-Communist Party member who finked for the FBI during the McCarthyite anti-red witchhunts of the 1950s. We defend young leftists and activists who are victimized by the state, like Miguel Mafo, who was framed up and convicted last month for the "crime" of holding up a sign denouncing cuts in bilingual education and hikes in ESL [English as a Second Language education] workshop fees. We defend Sherman Austin, a young black anarchist, who was railroaded to prison for a year and is now serving an outrageously restrictive three-year probation for the "crime" of hosting an anarchist Web site. The judge in the case intended the sentence to be a deterrent to "some other revolutionary who wants to change the world."

We have engaged in many protests against right-wing witchhunts, led by the likes of David Horowitz, which aim to purge the campuses of those who defend black rights as well as anyone who defends the Palestinians, such as Professor Massad at Columbia University. The Spartacus Youth Club in Chicago has actively been intervening at the University of Chicago against a racist "ghetto party" that happened in the dorms and was rightly met with outrage by many students on the campus. We also intervene into the antiwar movement with the perspective that we need class-struggle opposition to U.S. imperialism and that the way to get rid of imperialist war is to get rid of capitalism. We have initiated, led and participated in many protests to drive ROTC and military recruiters off campus. We say not one penny, not one man or woman for U.S. imperialism!

Golden Gate [X]press

SFSU professor Antwi Akom, victim of racist attack by campus cops on 25 October 2005, faces frame-up charges of resisting arrest and assaulting a police officer.

I became politically active around the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. I was a student at UCLA and was active in the Mumia coalition on campus. Our main focus was on calling for a new trial. We told students that whether you believed Mumia was innocent or guilty, he should have a new trial. Now, I personally believed that Mumia was innocent based on reading the facts of the case, but this campus coalition was appealing to people's faith in the capitalist state, promoting the liberal illusion that the courts would render a fair verdict if only Mumia got another trial. Our coalition grew and we did all kinds of events for Mumia: art, poetry, mobilizing cars full of students to the protests in the Bay Area. But as Mumia's appeals were being denied one after the other by the racist capitalist courts, the coalition began to disintegrate. These students had been won to a strategy based on illusions in the capitalist courts, and when that dead-end strategy failed so did their involvement, because they were not won to the big picture. They saw Mumia's case as an aberration: one person who didn't get justice.

It was the Spartacus Youth Club that won me to an understanding that we live in a society sharply divided by class. I was won away from illusions in the courts or any other institution of the ruling capitalist class. I came to understand that the way to free Mumia is through a mass movement based centrally on the power of the working class.

Sacco and Vanzetti were Italian anarchist workers who were executed by the state of Massachusetts in 1927. The International Labor Defense [the Communist Party's legal defense organization] consistently argued at that time that the case was not simply an extraordinary "miscarriage of justice"; rather, it was directly connected to the struggle between the classes. As American Trotskyist James P. Cannon wrote: "It is the vengeful, cruel and murderous class which the workers must fight and conquer before the regime of imprisonment, torture and murder can be ended. This is the message from the chair of death. This is the lesson of the Sacco-Vanzetti case." This lesson is no less relevant today with the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal and countless other class-war prisoners: There will be no end to the system of frame-up, imprisonment, torture and legal lynching until capitalist class rule is smashed.

The SYC won me to an understanding of why it is that so many black men and women suffer behind America's prison walls. I was won to the understanding that Mumia's case is an example of the oppression of black people in this country, which is endemic to this racist system. Contrary to what is prevalently pushed by liberals, that racism is the result of bad ideas that can be simply changed by changing those ideas, black oppression has a material basis in capitalism. From the days of chattel slavery to the present, black oppression is the bedrock of U.S. capitalism. Our program is revolutionary integrationism. We fight for black freedom through socialist revolution.

Youth must ally with the working class in the fight for the future of humanity. If you are a young revolutionary interested in fighting for a world free of capitalist depredation, I encourage you to study history, to study Marxism, and to get active with the Spartacus Youth Club. We say: Free Leonard Peltier and Mumia Abu-Jamal! An injury to one is an injury to all! Hands off Lynne Stewart! Free all class-war prisoners!■

Imperialist "Democracy" at Work

U.S. Torture Machine

In the year and a half since the brutalization and abuse of detainees at the U.S. military's Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq came to light, additional torture revelations continue to emerge from beneath the government's prison walls of concealment and lies. Last month the Bush administration sent Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice on a "charm offensive" to Europe to counteract the furor over the U.S.' network of secret prisons in Europe and elsewhere, part of the policy of "rendition" of "terror suspects" to countries where they will be tortured. In classic doublespeak, Rice refused to confirm the existence of the secret detention centers while assuring that those detained there were being treated in accordance with the Geneva Convention's proscription of torture. This while the Bush administration insists the U.S. is not bound to that provision! Rice lectured European leaders not to question American actions because they were for their benefit, even as she protested that the U.S. does not torture or outsource torture.

Even some CIA officials have been singing a different tune over the past few years. Telling of an Al Qaeda suspect transported to Egypt, the CIA's former counter-terrorism director, Vincent Cannistraro, told *Newsday* (6 February 2003), "They promptly tore his fingernails out and he started to tell things."

Images Sans Frontieres

Saman/Newsday

Photo anonymously released in 2002 shows U.S. C-130 transport plane with "war on terror" detainees, presumably from Afghanistan. Below: Relatives of Iraqi prisoners protest outside notorious Abu Ghraib prison, May 2004.

PART ONE

Former CIA agent Bob Baer told the *New Statesman* (17 May 2004), "If you want them to be tortured, you send them to Syria. If you want someone to disappear...you send them to Egypt."

Rupert Murdoch's Fox TV network, where "The Shield" shows cops brutalizing "suspects," and rabid Zionist Alan Dershowitz, who on CNN in March 2003 advocated "nonlethal torture," are among those extolling the torture of "bad people," including those deemed to have weapons that could blow up the world—with the exception of the U.S., Israel and other established nuclear powers.

Ten months ago, the London *Guardian* (19 March 2005) reported that the U.S. was holding an estimated 10,000 "ghost detainees" around the world. They have been held incommunicado in secret prisons—without charge or trial—and shuttled between jails covertly by air. A *Washington Post* (2 November 2005) article by Dana Priest described the secret prison network. Relying on classified government documents, Priest spelled out that beginning shortly after the September 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the CIA has been operating covert prisons in eight countries, including in East Europe.

Priest's sources said that these "black sites" hold at least 100 terrorist suspects. Others have noted that nobody knows how many such prisoners there are, who they are or what's being done to them. It has just been reported that Swiss intelligence services intercepted a fax from Egypt's Foreign Ministry to its London embassy confirming that the U.S. was holding 23 Iraqi and Afghan prisoners at a "black site" in Romania. The fax also referred to secret detention centers in Bulgaria, Kosovo, Macedonia and Ukraine.

While the administration tried to palm off the torture at Abu Ghraib as the work of a few "bad apples," such brutalization is meted out daily by Iraq's U.S. occupiers. A 25 September 2005 report by Human Rights Watch (HRW) focusing on the 82nd Airborne quotes one sergeant on the torture: "In a way it was sport." The report noted, "The torture of detainees reportedly was so widespread and accepted that it became a means of stress relief for soldiers. Soldiers said they felt welcome to come to the PUC [Persons Under Control] tent on their off-hours to 'f--- a PUC' or 'smoke a PUC'." Another sergeant explained, "To 'f--- a PUC' means to beat him up.... To 'smoke' someone is to put them in stress positions until they get muscle fatigue and pass out." The horrors perpetrated by U.S. forces and their allies are no aberration but are typical of colonial occupiers. ***Down with the occupation of Iraq! U.S. and allied troops out now!***

A number of bourgeois politicians in the U.S. and internationally have called on the Bush administration to shut down the Guantánamo camp and Abu Ghraib. And with the occupation unraveling and the torture revelations further undermining popular support for the military, Congress overwhelmingly adopted Republican John McCain's amendment to a military appropriations bill ostensibly barring the use of torture. At the same time, Congress backed the administration by overwhelmingly passing a bill stripping federal courts of jurisdiction in lawsuits by detainees challenging their imprisonment and abuse. After weeks of resisting the anti-torture measure, Bush signed the bill on December 30 while issuing a "signing statement" laying out that he will interpret the measure in line with his role as Commander in Chief. Citing White House sources, the *Boston Globe* (4 January) reported, "This means Bush believes he can waive the restrictions."

An insightful article on the U.S. military's School of the Americas at Fort Benning, Georgia, by Naomi Klein in the *Nation* (26 December 2005) captures the hypocrisy of McCain and the Democrats in chastising the administration for its torture policy. Detailing the school's role in training U.S. imperialism's henchmen in Latin America and elsewhere in the use of torture, Klein wrote, "It's not only apologists for torture who ignore this history when they blame abuses on 'a few bad apples'—so too do many of torture's most prominent opponents." Indeed, torture by the U.S. military and its South Vietnamese puppets was rampant during the dirty imperialist war in Vietnam. Klein noted that what was "unprecedented" about the latest revelations was "not the torture but the openness."

Imperialism's Liberal Tribunes

Bush's liberal critics in particular seized on a May 2005 report by Amnesty International (AI) condemning the U.S. for its mass detentions, torture, disappearances and elimination of the right to trial for those caught in the web of the "war on terror." AI's Irene Khan announced at the time, "Guantanamo has become the gulag of our times, entrenching the notion that people can be detained without any recourse to the law."

In using the term "gulag," Khan was invoking a timeworn anti-Soviet battle cry derived from the 1973 book *The Gulag Archipelago* by Alexander Solzhenitsyn. An archreactionary opponent of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, Solzhenitsyn has championed the tsars and Russian Orthodox Church, which organized anti-Jewish pogroms in prerevolutionary Russia. He also lashed out at American liberals for their concerns over the plight of the oppressed black masses in South Africa under the old apartheid regime.

The General Camp Directorate (Gulag) was the name adopted in 1934 by Stalin's regime in the USSR for the apparatus that oversaw the vast prison system that resulted from the degeneration of the Soviet workers state under the Stalinist bureaucracy beginning in 1923-24. Solzhenitsyn's book slandered the Soviet workers state as one giant prison from birth. It thus equated the early workers state under Bolshevik leaders V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky—a regime of workers democracy committed to the fight for international proletarian revolution—with the degenerated workers state under the nationalist Stalinist regime. Painting life in Stalin's labor camps as an archetype of life in the USSR as a whole, the book became an ideological weapon in the imperialists' drive to destroy the Soviet workers state.

Commenting about *The Gulag Archipelago*, historian Moshe Lewin pointed out in *The Soviet Century* (2005) that Solzhenitsyn "did not offer the slightest hint that by the time of its publication

Amnesty International: "Gulag" and Anti-Communism

the Gulag as he had known it no longer existed. To have said as much would have been an act of political honesty." AI's analogy is equally dishonest—and ignorant. Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo are interrogation and torture centers; the gulags were labor camps.

For the anti-Communist liberals at Amnesty International to compare the U.S. to the Soviet Union was remarkable. This, after all, is an organization that in the past has offered only the meekest criticisms of repression in the U.S. For AI to use the "gulag" analogy was a form of shock therapy. And shock it did. President Bush called the report "absurd." Defense Secretary Rumsfeld snorted, "To try to equate the military's record on detainee treatment to some of the worst atrocities of the past century is a disservice to those who have sacrificed so much to bring freedom to others." Even many who have criticized this or that administration policy objected. A *Washington Post* (26 May 2005) editorial declared, "We draw the line at the use of the word 'gulag' or at the implication that the United States has somehow become the modern equivalent of Stalin's Soviet Union."

From our perspective as Trotskyists who uphold the goals and program of the October Revolution and fought to the end in defense of the Soviet Union, AI's equation of the USSR with U.S. imperialism—the biggest terrorist and mass murderer in human history—*is* an outrage. It must be answered by exposing the special role that AI and other liberals have played on behalf of imperialism by cloaking its depredations with the mantle of "human rights." Their slanders of the October Revolution must be combatted in order to educate and politically arm a new generation of proletarian fighters.

Corbis

Archreactionary Alexander Solzhenitsyn, seen with Orthodox priest in Siberia in 1994, slandered Soviet workers state as one vast prison system.

Boni and Liveright

Workers at Petrograd's Putilov metal works, a bastion of Soviet power during Bolshevik Revolution. Banner at left proclaims, "Long Live the Third International."

"Human Rights" Imperialism

In biting the hand it usually licks, AI was motivated by concerns that Bush & Co. are harming the interests of U.S. imperialism. As AI put it in its report, "The rule of law, and therefore, ultimately, security, is being undermined, as is any moral credibility the USA claims to have in seeking to advance human rights in the world." The liberals' primary worry is that the Bush administration is ruining the ability of the imperialists to carry out their wars of conquest in the guise of "human rights" and "democracy."

In the same vein, David Cole moaned in the *Nation* (21 November 2005), a bellwether of radical-liberal public opinion, that the torture practices "ultimately undermine our security, as they impair our legitimacy and create ideal recruiting tools for the enemy." Cole continued, "If we are to prevail in the war on terror, we must do so by distinguishing ourselves from our enemy." Thus Cole affirms the basis of the "war on terror," which is a wholesale assault on civil liberties whose ultimate target is the left and labor movement.

It is such concerns that drive Bush's opponents in the Democratic Party—the other party of racist U.S. imperialism. It was the Democrats who offered Bush a blank check to unleash U.S. imperialism's killers—from Congress' near-unanimous September 2001 military authorization to take whatever steps were deemed necessary to pursue the "war on terror" to the Democrats' overwhelming support for the draconian USA Patriot Act and their vote in support of the Iraq war. Along with the capitalist media, the Democrats retailed Bush's lies about Saddam Hussein's supposed "weapons of mass destruction." Now they look to take electoral advantage of the widespread disaffection and revulsion among the populace at the quagmire in Iraq and the torture revelations.

Bush's bourgeois critics understand that even an imperialist power as militarily predominant as the U.S. should be able to sell the ideological pretenses for its military adventures. Former Democratic president Jimmy Carter complained in a November interview with MSNBC's Chris Matthews that the torture scandal "besmirches America's position as the so-called former champion of human rights. There's not a single major human rights organization in the world that's not now condemning America as one of the foremost violators of basic human rights." It was the Carter administration that launched an anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade in the late 1970s to "morally rearm" U.S. imperialism after its defeat by the workers and peasants of Vietnam. In doing so, it sought to overcome the population's deep mistrust of the government and aversion to further military adventures.

In Defense of the October Revolution

The 1917 Russian Revolution was the greatest victory for the working people of the world. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, after decades of Stalinist misrule, was the working people's greatest defeat. The October Revolution was the epochal event of modern history. For the first time, the program of proletarian revolution was given flesh and blood. Under the Bolsheviks' leadership, the proletariat seized political power and created a workers state based on soviets (councils).

In its initial acts in power, the Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies decreed land to the peasants and pulled Russia out of the slaughter of interimperialist World War I. It demanded an immediate peace without annexations, including freedom for the colonies subjugated by the imperialists. The young workers state eliminated laws discriminating against women and homosexuals and recognized the right to self-determination of the myriad peoples oppressed under tsarist/capitalist rule.

The Soviet government proclaimed the right of working people to jobs, health care, housing and education. The regime went on to expropriate the holdings of the Russian capitalists and the foreign imperialists and repudiated tsarist Russia's massive debt to foreign bankers. Production was organized and collectivized, aiming to satisfy human need. In the space of two decades, state ownership of the means of production and economic planning made possible the transformation of what had been an impoverished, backward, largely peasant country into an industrial and military powerhouse, even under the profoundly deforming bureaucratic means employed by the Stalinist regime.

The proletarian revolution in Russia was not made solely for Russia, but was seen as the opening shot of a necessarily international struggle of labor against the rule of capital. Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks understood the necessity of extending proletarian revolution internationally, particularly to advanced capitalist countries such as Germany, in order to lay the groundwork for a world socialist society. To that end, the Communist International was founded in 1919.

However, the defeat of the anticipated German workers revolution in 1923 greatly demoralized the Soviet working class. The proletariat had already been decimated by the destruction of industry and infrastructure wrought by World War I and the bloody Civil War of 1918-20, when 14 capitalist countries invaded the workers republic in a failed attempt to restore capitalist rule. With the end of the Civil War, bureaucratic tendencies in the party and state administration began to coalesce into a self-conscious caste. By 1923, Lenin was increasingly incapacitated. In the meantime, the burgeoning party bureaucracy, controlled by J.V. Stalin, was beginning to rise to self-consciousness.

Though it only became clear in hindsight, 1923-24 marked the beginning of the Soviet Thermidor, the decisive point at which the bureaucratic caste seized political power from the working class. From this point on, the people who ruled the USSR, the way the USSR was ruled and the purposes for which it was ruled all changed. The nationalist outlook of the bureaucracy was given expression in Stalin's proclamation in the fall of 1924 of the anti-Marxist "theory" that socialism—a classless, egalitarian society based on material abundance—could be built in a single country, and a backward one at that. In practice, "socialism in one country" meant opposition to the perspective of workers revolution internationally and accommodation to world imperialism.

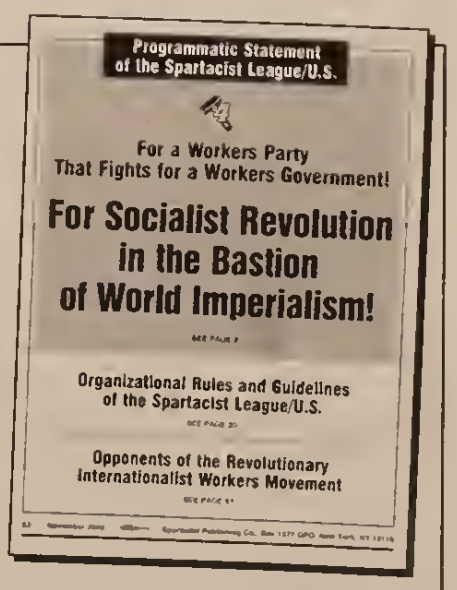
Despite the degeneration of the workers state, the fundamental conquests of the Bolshevik Revolution remained until the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. Those gains were embodied in the collectivized economy built by ripping the productive resources out of the hands of the capitalists and landlords. It was the Soviet Red Army that smashed Hitler's Nazis and liberated Europe. And it was the military might of the Soviet Union that posed a counterweight to U.S. imperialism.

As Trotskyists—i.e., genuine Marxists—we fought to the end for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, we fought for workers political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and replace them with regimes based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism. As Trotsky wrote in "Once Again: The USSR and its Defense" (1937), "Stalin overthrown by the workers—that's a great step forward toward socialism. Stalin crushed by the imperialists—that's the counterrevolution triumphant." Today we apply the same program toward the remaining deformed workers states—For unconditional military defense of China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam! For proletarian political revolution!

The destruction of the USSR ushered in a global offensive against the working class and oppressed and an ideological climate dominated by widespread belief in the "death of communism"—the lie that the collapse of Stalinism represented the failure of Marxism and the struggle for socialist revolution. Pseudo-socialist organizations that occasionally spoke of the need for proletarian revolution have all but abandoned their Marxist pretensions, instead increasingly becoming mouthpieces for bourgeois liberal ideology.

It is in this context of political retrogression that a term like "gulag"—which only 20 years ago was a term associated with the more virulent anti-communists—has gained common currency. While in the mouths of Amnesty International it is meant as an anti-Communist slur, "gulag" has become a synonym for brutal state repression even among leftists. Our revolutionary Marxist organization has not been immune to such pressures. In an article on the conviction of leftist attorney Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar in *WV* No. 842 (18 February 2005), we wrote the subhead "Mr. Gonzales's Gulag," referring to Attorney General Alberto Gonzales and the government's wholesale attacks on democratic rights. This glib echoing of liberal opinion ran counter to our task of promoting the Marxist program and

continued on page 8



Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

$2 (40 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

U.S. Torture...

(continued from page 7)

worldview against the pervasive ideological pressures of the post-Soviet world.

Amnesty International Covers for Imperialist Brutality

From its inception, Amnesty International has embraced the U.S. as the epitome of "human rights." Under that rubric, AI has supported numerous U.S.-led imperialist military adventures, concerned solely that the pillage of dependent countries like Serbia or Iraq is carried out in conformity with "international law." In its statement of "Core Values," AI boasts of being part of a "global community of human rights defenders," among whose principles are "impartiality and independence and democracy and mutual respect." That "community of human rights defenders" includes fronts for the CIA such as Freedom House—a major sandbox for anti-Communist Cuban *gusano* exiles—and the National Endowment for Democracy, whose recent beneficiaries include the anti-Chávez coup plotters in Venezuela in 2002 and the "Orange Revolution" in Ukraine in 2004.

Fundamentally, what defines AI is its ideology of liberalism. For such liberals, the highest pinnacle of human civilization is Western democracy. "Democracy" in the U.S., West Europe, etc. is a sham. It is especially in the most advanced capitalist countries that democratic forms of government serve to veil the nature of the state as a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the exploited and oppressed masses in a garb of "equality of all citizens." In *The State and Revolution*, written in 1917, Lenin wrote, citing Karl Marx's comrade Friedrich Engels:

> "In a democratic republic, Engels continues, 'wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely', first, by means of the 'direct corruption of officials' (America); secondly, by means of an 'alliance of the government and the Stock Exchange' (France and America)....
> "A democratic republic is the best possible political shell for capitalism, and, therefore, once capital has gained possession of this very best shell...it establishes its power so securely, so firmly, that *no* change of persons, institutions or parties in the bourgeois-democratic republic can shake it."

The capitalist rulers who claim the banner of "freedom" and "civilization" have carried out mass murder and torture on an immense scale in their drive to secure world markets, cheap labor and raw materials. Much of the wealth that laid the foundations of Western capitalism was acquired from trade in African slaves. As Karl Marx put it in *Capital*, capitalism was born "dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt."

From the Indian subcontinent to Africa and Latin America, European colonialists killed tens of millions, subjugating entire populations. Decades of barbaric British colonialism in Kenya culminated in the suppression of the nationalist Mau Mau uprising (1952-56), during which tens of thousands of men, women and children were imprisoned in concentration camps where forced labor was practiced and hangings were common. Belgian colonization of Congo included enslavement and mutilation of the native population, with estimates of the death toll reaching ten million. Trying to drown in blood the Algerian War of Independence in the 1950s-early '60s, the French imperialists killed a million people—over a tenth of the total population. In Indochina between 1946 and 1954, between 800,000 and 2,000,000 were killed by French forces.

But it is the rulers of the United States whose hands are the bloodiest. Having built much of its vast wealth on the unpaid labor of black slaves, the U.S. made its appearance on the world scene as an imperialist power with the Spanish-American War of 1898, a time when black people in the U.S. were being lynched at a rate of one every other day. After driving Spain out of Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines, U.S. forces slaughtered up to half a million Filipinos between 1899 and 1902 to suppress a nationalist uprising. The U.S. is the only country to have used nuclear weapons, massacring hundreds of thousands in Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of World War II. Particularly after WWII, the U.S. has supported and armed murderous neocolonial rulers—from Mobutu in Zaire (now Congo) to Pinochet in Chile—to reinforce imperialist subjugation.

NY Public Library

Bookwright Press

Drawing depicts atrocities during U.S. occupation of Philippines following 1898 Spanish-American War. Below: British troops in India fire on protest in Amritsar in 1919, leaving almost 400 dead.

Determined to prevent social revolution, U.S. imperialism later killed three million in the Korean War and another three million more in Vietnam. The entry of the Chinese People's Liberation Army into Korea in 1950 was decisive in throwing back U.S./UN forces, sealing the division of Korea between a deformed workers state in the North and a brutal capitalist police state in the South. And in South Vietnam, U.S. military defeat resulted in the overthrow of capitalist rule.

The 1917 Russian Revolution was a beacon of liberation for oppressed peoples around the globe. At its 1919 founding conference, the Comintern declared in its "Manifesto of the Communist International to the Proletariat of the Entire World": "Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of proletarian dictatorship in Europe will also be the hour of your own liberation!" That same year, the U.S. was known for its "red summer," named for the blood of black people that ran down city streets in a series of racist pogroms across the country. The road to ridding the world of imperialist barbarism, racist oppression and savage inequality lies in the struggle for ***new October Revolutions***.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Sydney...

(continued from page 3)

killings of Aborigines and the incarceration of refugees in concentration camps.

Break with Laborism: For a Class-Struggle Fight!

There are plenty of workers itching to take on the bosses. This was quite palpable on 15 November when more than half a million workers from many different ethnicities rallied in cities throughout the country against the government's vicious anti-union attacks. However, the pro-capitalist ACTU leaders are deeply opposed to launching a militant fight against the bosses' anti-working-class assaults. For instance they have no intention of organising a fight for jobs for all at union wages. Politically supporting the ALP, these labour lieutenants of capital play the role of channelling working-class unrest and justified hatred of the bourgeoisie into deadly class collaboration under the capitalist system.

Importantly the New South Wales Teachers Federation and the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) have condemned the white racist violence in Cronulla. However it is necessary to turn these words of condemnation into union actions. Instead the MUA "call[s] on all levels of Government and community organisations to take a stand and work to eradicate these racist sentiments from our society" (Statement by the Sydney Branch Executive, 12 December 2005). Such appeals to capitalist governments only serve to legitimise the state, which is the key source of racist terror under capitalism. The unions must realise that the "lockdown a suburb" laws will be used to prevent mass union picket-line mobilisations like those in the 1998 Patrick's waterfront lockout where thousands of workers assembled to defend the MUA at places like Port Botany, Webb Dock and Fremantle.

The hundreds of thousands of immigrant workers facing racist attacks are not just victims. They form a key component of the multiracial working class, which has the social power and class interest to combat racist divisions and push back the bosses' attacks. A fighting unity of oppressed minorities with the social power of the heavily multiracial trade unions needs to be forged in struggle and completely independent of the capitalist state. What is needed are organised racially integrated workers defence guards, drawn from responsible union men and women, mobilised in places such as Cronulla as a show of force. A few weekends of multiracial workers contingents patrolling the Cronulla beach area would teach the white fascist scum a lesson should they dare raise their heads. It would also ensure that anyone, of any colour or background, could take a swim and enjoy the sun. Such a perspective for independent proletarian defence of immigrant rights demands a political fight within the unions to break with Laborite nationalism and loyalty to the capitalist state.

Earlier this year the fascists of the Patriotic Youth League mobilised outside the offices of the CFMEU construction union, complaining that the union was "importing foreign workers." They were rightly dispersed by angry unionists, including from the MUA. We Trotskyists of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club stand for united working-class struggle against capitalist rule. Racist terror must be met with working-class justice. United actions mobilising the power of the organised working class and minority organisations must be brought to bear to smash fascist terror. Such a course demands a political fight to split the working-class base of the ALP from the racist pro-capitalist tops. Forging an internationalist proletarian revolutionary party is the key to building a society where racism no longer exists. For that to be achieved we need to overturn the whole capitalist system through workers revolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
International rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail

❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

❑ I would like to contribute $_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

862

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

Capitalist "War on Terror," Anti-Muslim Bigotry Fuel Religious Reaction

Racism, Religion and Reaction

Saturday, January 28, 6:30 p.m.
International Student Centre
University of Toronto
33 St. George Street
(north of College St.)

For more information: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

TORONTO

Mine Disaster...

(continued from page 1)

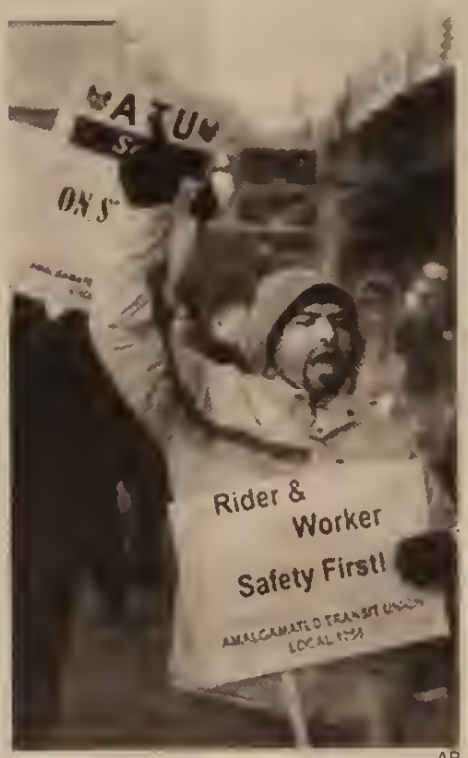
and Health Administration (MSHA) inspectors, who are normally in the coal operators' hip pocket, issued 208 violations last year, half of which were deemed "significant and substantial," such as failure to properly ventilate the mine. Ventilation is essential to prevent the dangerous buildup of methane (the principal component of natural gas) and flammable coal dust. Amplifying the danger was that four natural gas wells lie in close proximity to the Sago mine, including one adjacent to the area of the explosion. There were 19 roof collapses at the mine in the last year. A mine collapse in eastern Kentucky killed Cornelius Yates, a 44-year-old miner, on January 10.

The Sago mine operators were rolling the dice with miners' lives. The mine's injury rate was three times the national average—and the safety record of the mining industry as a whole is abysmal. The bosses' murderous greed creates conditions that ensure that deadly "accidents" happen with appalling regularity. A wide range of recently developed technology, from radio communication to vibration and pressure sensors, exists to make mining far safer than it is. But as a *New York Times* (10 January) exposé noted: "Throughout the industry, the oxygen canisters, the telephones, the ventilation equipment and almost every other piece of safety equipment are nearly identical to those used more than 20 years ago." More than 1,000 people die from black lung annually, although the technology to prevent it has been available for almost 100 years.

The coal companies don't want to update the equipment because it would cut into their profits. Many mines still dislodge coal with explosives rather than machines. The coal barons often do not even keep maps of abandoned mines, which nearly spelled death for nine Quecreek, Pennsylvania, miners in 2002, when they unknowingly drilled into an old flooded mine. Most mine operators do not maintain one, much less two, rescue teams on site. Twelve critical hours were lost assembling the mandatory two teams for the Sago mine rescue.

Nationwide each year, thousands of workers lose their lives doing their jobs, and millions more are injured. To the capitalists, the death of a wage slave is just business as usual. Many times more working-class Americans have fallen victim to industrial murder than have died as cannon fodder in the wars of U.S. imperialism. According to a 2004 census report by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, over 10,000 fatal work injuries occurred in the first two years of the bloody imperialist occupation of Iraq.

Following the Sago mine disaster, the *New York Times* (5 January) sanctimoniously editorialized about the particularly dangerous working conditions of non-union mines. But when New York City transit workers defied the anti-union Taylor Law and went on strike last month to defend their benefits, livelihood and safe working conditions, this same capitalist mouthpiece (21 December 2005) condemned Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 for holding the city "hostage."



AP

Striking NYC transit workers protest unsafe work conditions, December 20.

In the last two decades, 22 NYC transit workers have died on the job. Shortly before the strike, train operator Lewis Moore lay dying on December 1 while the MTA transit bosses delayed getting him medical care for a critical 20 minutes. The TWU stated that the MTA Control Center did not want to disrupt service by rerouting the train to a nearby local station only a block from an ambulance. After the train finally got to a station, Moore was declared dead. As Local 100 president Roger Toussaint bitterly put it, the MTA will stop trains for a dog but not for a worker.

Workers in the TWU and Amalgamated Transit Union collectively face some ***$40 million*** in fines for their December strike (see article, page 2). In contrast, for Sago's "significant" violations, the capitalist government issued fines between ***$60 and $440***, totaling a mere $25,000. Last November, the operator of an Alabama mine where 13 miners were killed in a September 2001 explosion saw its fine reduced from $435,000 to ***$3,000***. Paying the fines is less expensive than observing safety guidelines. Some coal companies do not even bother to pay, and are still allowed to continue operations.

AP

UMWA miners burning rotten contract proposal during 1977-78 strike that defied Carter administration's Taft-Hartley injunction.

Democrats, Republicans: Parties of the Bosses

As part of a muckraking series on workers' deaths, *New York Times* writer David Barstow pointed out in a 22 December 2003 article, "U.S. Rarely Seeks Charges For Deaths in Workplace": "When Congress established OSHA [Occupational Safety and Health Administration] in 1970, it made it a misdemeanor to cause the death of a worker by willfully violating safety laws. The maximum sentence, six months in jail, is half the maximum for harassing a wild burro on federal lands."

Even this slap on the wrist is rarely applied. As Barstow documented, referring to roughly 100 workers killed each year by their companies' willful disregard of safety: "Every one of their deaths was a potential crime. Workers decapitated on assembly lines, shredded in machinery, burned beyond recognition, electrocuted, buried alive—all of them killed, investigators concluded, because their employers willfully violated workplace safety laws." Yet from 1982 to 2002, OSHA investigated only about half of these horror stories and in *93 percent* of the cases refused to seek prosecution!

The Bush administration—not one to shy away from helping to line the pockets of its corporate cronies—has accommodated the coal barons by slashing funds for MSHA, eliminating inspector posts and installing former mining bosses to run the agency. The administration has even tried to take money away from black lung victims. But it's not just Bush. The Democratic Clinton White House redefined the "New OSHA" by stressing "partnership" with business and "voluntary compliance," the model for MSHA today. Overall mining death totals for Clinton's first five years in office were 208 versus 149 during the first five years of the current Republican administration.

Sago's owner Wilbur Ross is not only a capitalist parasite but a longtime Democratic Party supporter. This billionaire financier specializes in the takeover of bankrupt steel, textile and coal companies, in the process slashing jobs, dumping pension and health care obligations and tearing up union contracts. Admired within bourgeois circles for running a "growing empire of the damned" (*Business Week*, 22 December 2003), Ross was a major fundraiser for Clinton and is personal friends with John Kerry.

Yet it is these capitalist politicians that the union tops promote as "friends of labor," chaining workers to the capitalist class enemy. The UMWA tops preach reliance on the likes of West Virginia's Democratic Senators Robert Byrd, a former Klansman, and Jay Rockefeller, the heir to Standard Oil and beneficiary of a wealth acquired over piles of workers' corpses, such as at Ludlow, Colorado, where 20 miners, their wives and children were massacred in 1914. Accepting the capitalist profit system and acting as enforcers of class peace, the labor bureaucracy has overseen the precipitous decline of the UMWA and other unions. Labor needs a leadership based on the policy of class struggle, mobilizing union power independent of the capitalist government and politicians. *Break with the Democrats! For a workers party that fights for a workers government!*

Unleash Labor's Power!

West Virginia is synonymous with the struggles of the coal miners, for years the shock troops of American labor, including in the building of the CIO industrial unions in the 1930s. Miners have more than once turned strike bans into scraps of paper, including in the 1943 national strike during World War II when they defied Franklin D. Roosevelt's back-to-work order. Democrat Jimmy Carter found out the hard way when he slapped a Taft-Hartley back-to-work order on the UMWA in the 110-day strike of 1977-78. The UMWA ranks shut down non-union mines with their militant tactics while scab coal was dumped on the highways, coal barges burned on the rivers and railroad bridges on coal spurs were blown up. A year earlier, a federal judge fined Local 1759 $300,000 but changed his mind after 80,000 miners joined the "anti-injunction" strike and shut down half of U.S. coal.

The 1977-78 strike was carried out *in defiance of* UMWA president Arnold Miller. Epitomizing the subordination of the unions to the capitalist state, Miller won office in 1972 through an election run by the Labor Department in the name of fighting "corruption" in the union. Miller was one of many union "reformers" who acted as tools of the bosses' government, whose only purpose in intervening into union affairs is to stifle labor's ability to engage in class struggle.

In place of hard class struggle, the UMWA leadership has increasingly resorted to impotent "corporate campaign"-style boycotts and endless civil disobedience arrests. In an interview with *WV*, Larry Bartram, a retired West Virginia UMWA safety committeeman and local union officer, aptly described civil disobedience as "just a show." He continued, "If you really want to stand up for what you believe in, you go a lot farther than just sitting down there in the middle of the road, and then when state troopers or federal marshals walk up and say, 'OK buddy, let's go,' you get up and put your hands behind you." Union leaders have also demoralized the membership by bowing to a court order, issued following a 1984 strike, that workers watch "strike training" films produced by the government warning them about using "illegal" strike tactics.

The bankruptcy of the UMWA misleaders is shown by their refusal to mobilize the union in defense of its own militants, such as safety committeeman Jerry Dale Lowe, who was framed up on false charges stemming from the shooting death of a scab in a bitterly fought 1993 strike in Logan County, West Virginia. As a result, Lowe spent eleven years in federal prison.

Fight for a Workers America!

The capitalist rulers are waging an unrelenting war on the right of workers, the poor, immigrants and black people to live any kind of decent life, whether you're on the job or unemployed, whether you're a kid trapped in a prison-like public school or an old person warehoused in a barracks-like nursing home. Pensions and whatever health care workers have are being ripped up. More than a quarter of those who sought workers' compensation due to their involvement in the cleanup at the World Trade Center following September 11 have had their applications denied.

In the U.S., race and class are inextricably intertwined with the cold statistics of poverty and death. Hurricane Katrina revealed again American capitalism's racist bedrock, the legacy of slavery, as thousands of poor people, mainly black, were abandoned to die. The government's open racist cruelty toward the helpless population outraged millions. Today, months later, thousands of the survivors are dispersed across the country in conditions of squalor, homeless and jobless, their former homes callously bulldozed as businessmen scheme about making a profit off the disaster. So cheaply were these peoples' lives held that we still don't even know how many died.

Only when the working class rips the means of production out of the hands of the corrupt, obscenely rich capitalist class and establishes a planned socialist economy can the health and safety of every person be ensured. That requires the forging of a multiracial workers party, leading all the exploited and oppressed in the struggle for socialist revolution.■

Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." This was the policy of the Democratic Party president, Lyndon Johnson, and his attorney general, Ramsey Clark. Because Mumia appeared and spoke in public at the age of 15 and 16, the FBI put him under daily surveillance. They put him on the Security Index, which was then the version of a terrorist list—those to be rounded up and thrown into a concentration camp if there is a national emergency. Despite the state's efforts shown in some 900 pages of FBI COINTELPRO files on Mumia, which the PDC secured on Mumia's behalf, the state could not come up with even one offense to pin on him.

Mumia's case is a textbook case of police frame-up, an object lesson in the class nature of the capitalist state, which is by no means neutral. The state is an instrument for the organized violence by one class, the capitalist class, defending the profit system—against the working people, against minorities. In the United States, the segregation of the majority of the black population at the bottom of society is key. This state violence is expressed in the terror and frame-ups carried out by racist, brutal, corrupt police and enforced in the capitalist courts.

Understanding this, and acting on this understanding, provide the only way forward to victory—to Mumia's freedom. While all legal proceedings and legal remedies must be pursued on Mumia's behalf, we cannot have any illusions in or reliance on the capitalist courts, nor in bourgeois politicians, whether they be black or white, Democratic, Republican or Green. The fight to free Mumia must be undertaken independent of the racist capitalist state.

The capitalist injustice system is neither fair nor reformable. Demands for a new trial will not lead to Mumia's freedom. These demands only breed illusions in the capitalist courts, and these illusions demobilized a movement of millions around the world. They were raised by many so-called socialist organizations and their front groups, organizations such as the Workers World Party, the International Socialist Organization, Socialist Action and the like. The mass movement has to be built anew on the basis that Mumia's conviction and death sentence were politically driven, and that it is in the interests of all working people, black and white, citizen and immigrant, to join together and fight for his freedom. The fight for Mumia's freedom is part of the fight for black equality in America, which itself is part of the broader fight against the capitalist system.

Owens/Philadelphia Bulletin

Philly mayor Rizzo lashed out at Mumia (far left) at press conference defending murderous 1978 cop raid on MOVE home.

That truth has been shown over two decades of court appeals in Mumia's case. His case has been through the Pennsylvania courts to the U.S. Supreme Court three times, including three post-conviction evidentiary hearings. Each and every court has rejected evidence of Mumia's innocence, evidence of police and prosecutorial frame-up, of trial and appeal proceedings which denied even a scintilla of due process. And over the past three years, courts—federal and state—refused to consider the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed police officer Faulkner. Federal court judge Yohn overturned Mumia's death sentence over three years ago. But while the government appeals, Mumia is still on death row, 23 hours a day, locked in solitary in a cell which he has described as if you're living in a bathroom.

Mumia Was a Marked Man

So I want to talk a little bit about what happened on the early morning hours of 9 December 1981. The prosecution's story is a pretty simple one, and that story has been exposed over and over as false—as lies based on witnesses who were threatened or bought, on non-existent ballistics evidence and on a totally fabricated confession invented by police some two months after the shooting. According to the D.A., two people were on the street corner at Locust and 13th in Philadelphia at approximately 4 a.m.: Mumia's brother Billy Cook and police officer Daniel Faulkner. Mumia reportedly ran across the street when he saw his brother being beaten by the cop. Then, according to the police, Mumia—some 26 years old, known for his mild manner and levelheadedness—supposedly shot the cop in the back. Then the cop shot back at Mumia, and then Mumia stood over the fallen cop and shot him "execution style" several times in the head. This is all lies—even by close examination of the cops' and D.A.'s own "evidence."

Now, to understand the frame-up of black radical journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, you need to remember COINTELPRO and some of the particulars of Philadelphia. In many ways it's a Southern city up North. The Philly police and its intelligence division provided a model for the FBI's COINTELPRO. Mumia was personally very well-known to the Philly police and the FBI as a key founder and leader of the Philly Black Panther Party. He was known for things like protesting the December 1969 Chicago cop and FBI murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark and for mobilizing students to change the name of Benjamin Franklin High School to Malcolm X High School. Also for writing for the Black Panther national newspaper and then becoming an award-winning radio journalist, exposing the rampant cop brutality, including the attacks on the MOVE organization and the frame-up trial of the MOVE 9.

Susan Schary

Artist's depiction of attorney Rachel Wolkenstein being ordered to jail by Judge Sabo at 1995 hearing seeking overturn of Mumia's conviction.

The Philadelphia Police Department is also uniquely the only police department in the country that the federal Justice Department tried to put into receivership because of its racial bias, police brutality and corruption. That was 1979. At the time of the murder of Faulkner in 1981, there were at least *three* ongoing federal investigations into police corruption, including police and mob connections. Police working as FBI informants were victims of hits in the early '80s. A former federal prosecutor acknowledged that the Feds had a police informant whose brother was a cop, just as Faulkner had a brother who was a cop.

An FBI informant who worked the prostitutes in the red light district, under police protection, confirms that at the time of Faulkner's shooting the word was out that the Feds had a police informant. The commanding officer of the Central Police Division, where the murder of Faulkner took place, the chief of the homicide division and one Inspector Alfonzo Giordano were all under investigation at the time on federal corruption charges. These cops were literally the chain of command in the frame-up of Mumia.

Inspector Giordano was the ranking officer on the scene. He was the central witness against Mumia at the preliminary hearing after Mumia's arrest. He not only was one of the cops under investigation for corruption, but he had been Frank Rizzo's right-hand man. Rizzo had been Philadelphia police chief and then became a notorious mayor. Giordano was involved in the daily surveillance of Black Panther Party members, leading the police "Stakeout" squad in the 1970 attacks on the Black Panther Party headquarters. And Giordano was also the police supervisor of the year-long siege of the MOVE Powelton Village house through 1978. He knew just who Mumia was.

It is with these facts in mind that the confession of Arnold Beverly must be considered. Beverly states that he and another man were hired by the police and the mob to murder Faulkner, and that Faulkner was a problem for the corrupt police and the mob because he interfered with the graft and payoffs in the Center City area.

The proof of Mumia's innocence is more than Beverly's confession or the lie detector test that Beverly passed. It is the volumes of previous, internally contradictory witness testimony, of physical evidence that did not fit the prosecution's story but which clearly supports Beverly's version of what happened on 9 December 1981.

Faulkner was shot and killed by more than one hired hitman in the Center City red light district as the after-hours clubs were closing. Billy Cook confirms that there was a plan to kill Faulkner that night and that the other person in his car, Ken Freeman, was involved in that plan. Witnesses said that a second person was in Cook's car and ran away. Many police were either on the scene or close to the scene to make sure the hit went off without any problems. This included members of the police Stakeout unit and undercover cops.

Prosecution's Web of Lies

Even with police and prosecution threats and favors at the time of the 1982 trial, no witnesses testified that they saw Mumia actually shoot Faulkner, and only one witness, the prostitute Cynthia White, testified that she thought she saw a gun in Mumia's hand when he ran to the scene. Since then, several other prostitutes have sworn that she admitted she lied due to police and prosecution threats and favors. Witnesses have said that the shooter ran away, and some five witnesses, including two of the cops, have said that the shooter wore a green army jacket. Both Beverly and Freeman were wearing green army jackets that night. But Mumia was wearing a red quilted ski jacket with wide vertical blue stripes, and Billy Cook wore a blue Nehru-style jacket with brass buttons. There is no green army jacket in any of the police evidence.

Beverly states that Faulkner was shot and killed before Mumia ever got on the scene and that Mumia was not shot by Faulkner but by another police officer. Homicide cops on the scene told the medical examiners that Mumia was shot by an arriving police officer. That evidence was suppressed. A witness said that Faulkner's gun was still in his holster when he was taken away. And, moreover, the gun that was allegedly Faulkner's was likely a "throwaway"—it was inoperable and dirty.

The available ballistics and blood evidence at the scene is contrary to the prosecution's frame-up version of what happened. The trajectories are wrong—the ballistics supports more than one shooter of Faulkner. The bullets and bullet jackets found do not fit with the prosecution theory. There is absolutely no evidence that Mumia's gun was fired that night. And Mumia's wounds do not fit at all with him being shot by Faulkner. The

Spartacist Black History Month Speaking Tour

Race, Class and Socialist Revolution: Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

Don Alexander, SL Central Committee (New York and Chicago)
Don Cane, SL Central Committee (Los Angeles and Oakland)

Mumia Is an Innocent Man! The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee, former counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal

NEW YORK
Saturday, Feb. 4, 1 & 4 p.m.
6 Harrison Street, Manhattan
(No.1 subway to Franklin St., walk west on Franklin to Hudson, one block south on Hudson to Harrison)
For more information: (212) 267-1025 or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

OAKLAND
Sunday, Feb. 19, 12 & 3 p.m.
YWCA Tea Room
1515 Webster Street
(near 12th & 19th BART stations in downtown Oakland)
For more information: (510) 839-0851 or e-mail: slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, Feb. 11, 12 & 3 p.m.
Immanuel Presbyterian Church*
3300 Wilshire Boulevard
(at Berendo Street, 2 blocks west of Vermont/Wilshire Red Line Station)
For more information: (213) 380-8239 or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net
*The views expressed by the participants are not necessarily those of the Immanuel Presbyterian Church

CHICAGO
Saturday, Feb. 25, 1 & 4 p.m.
University of Chicago, Reynolds Club
South Lounge (2nd floor)
5706 South University Ave.
For more information: (312) 563-0441 or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

Richard Williams

Richard Williams, one of three remaining Ohio 7 prisoners, died at the Federal Medical Center in Butner, North Carolina, on 7 December 2005, one month after his 58th birthday. The cause was complications resulting from cancer and Hepatitis C. Prison and government authorities hounded Williams—who maintained to the end his anti-imperialist, anti-racist beliefs—to his grave. When he could barely walk, he was still shackled and chained any time he left the Butner facility. Interferon treatments were delayed until it was far too late.

This is bitter news. Williams had been held at U.S. Penitentiary Lompoc, California, and was remanded to solitary after the September 2001 terror attacks. As his son, Netdahe Williams Stoddard, wrote in a recent letter: "Richard was a strong and healthy man up to that autumn of 2001. Fifteen months of solitary confinement, lack of exercise, medical neglect and abuse by a reactionary and vengeful federal government left dad suffering from an array of medical problems." Even after he suffered a mild heart attack in February 2002, during a short stay back in the general prison population, Lompoc authorities sent him back to solitary.

Richard Williams came of age politically in prison. A working-class kid from Beverly, Massachusetts, in 1967 he chose prison over joining the Army when convicted of marijuana possession. In prison again in the early '70s, he organized protests and strikes for better conditions. After his release, he joined other activists in protecting the homes of people in the Boston area who were targeted by anti-busing racists. In 1979, he and his comrades went to Greensboro, North Carolina, to protest the Klan's murder of five unionists, civil rights workers and supporters of the Communist Workers Party. In 1981, he joined what he called "the armed clandestine movement."

Williams was convicted in 1986 of five bombings of military recruitment and corporate facilities and sentenced to 45 years. But an effective life sentence wasn't enough for a government that wanted to bury such radicals in prison. The next year he went on trial for the 1981 killing of a New Jersey state trooper. Fellow Ohio 7 defendant Tom Manning testified that he had shot the officer in self-defense and that Williams was not even present. The result was a hung jury.

In 1989 Williams was tried on charges of conspiring with fellow Ohio 7 defendants Ray Luc Levasseur (released from prison in November 2004) and Patricia Gros Levasseur to overthrow the government of the United States. The charges of "seditious conspiracy" were based on a 1948 law designed to criminalize left-wing political and labor activity (see "RICO Witchhunt Targets Ohio 7," *WV* No. 476, 28 April 1989). But despite spending millions on a trial that dragged on for months against an isolated handful of leftists, the government's attempt to revive "thought crime" sedition prosecutions was rejected when the jury refused to convict.

The government wasn't finished, however. In 1991 he was retried and convicted of the New Jersey killing in a courtroom packed with state troopers and their supporters. Criminally, Williams and the rest of the Ohio 7 were abandoned by the bulk of the left, including many of those who had vicariously cheered their earlier actions. As Ray Levasseur wrote in 1992: "The real deal with those that renounce us and retreat from trials and prison battlegrounds is that we are seen as anti-imperialists with guns.... The dichotomy was striking: a frenzied police power bent on exacting their pound of flesh, and the wilted response of the Left."

The actions of the Ohio 7 are not crimes from the standpoint of the working class. However, as Marxists, we do not share the political views that animated Richard Williams, Jaan Laaman, Tom Manning and the rest of the Ohio 7. Despairing of organizing the proletariat in struggle, they decided that the road to fighting this racist, exploitative system was "clandestine armed resistance" by a handful of dedicated leftists. Despite these political differences, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have forthrightly defended these militants, adding Williams, Laaman, Manning and Levasseur to the PDC's prisoner stipend program, and have always respected their commitment and integrity.

At the PDC's Holiday Appeal benefit in New York City, two days after Richard Williams' death, leftist attorney Lynne Stewart spoke movingly of her years-long association with Williams. Stewart, who faces sentencing on trumped-up charges of "aiding terrorism" for her defense of Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, noted that Williams and his comrades "truly believed in what they were doing. And they truly believed that victory was around the corner."

Richard Williams stood up to some of the worst that the rulers' courts and prison system could inflict and never wavered. He never repudiated his road taken, and more than 20 years in prison hellholes could not break him. Honor Richard Williams! Free Jaan Laaman and Tom Manning!

* * *

Richard Williams' family requests that any donations in his memory be made to: the Rosenberg Fund for Children, the Lynne Stewart Defense Committee, the Jericho Movement, or other organizations that support political prisoners or fight against the prison system.■

Stakeout officer who purportedly found Mumia's gun in fact testified at trial that the bullets in Mumia's gun were of a different make than those listed even on the cops' own ballistics report.

So what else happened on the scene after Faulkner was shot? The cops tried to kill Mumia. He was shot in the chest. He was taken and rammed into a light post and then taken in a police van. Giordano beat Mumia in the police van. He later said that Mumia had confessed to shooting Faulkner and throwing his gun on the ground. The other cop who was in the van with Giordano said there was no such confession.

Giordano arranged the supposed identification of Mumia by the cab driver, Robert Chobert, who became a witness having been promised favors and protection by the police. Later, Chobert admitted that he never saw the shooting. And Giordano also was the first cop who reported that Mumia's gun was found on the street. According to the police radio records, this was some 14 minutes after hordes of police had arrived on the scene, thus contradicting the official police story that Mumia's gun was found within a minute. Giordano's intention was to finish Mumia off by taking him to police headquarters for further questioning. Mumia's only crime was that he survived the cops' attempt to kill him, too.

To complete the picture: Despite Giordano being the senior officer at the scene, despite allegedly hearing Mumia confess and finding the murder weapon (and testifying to that in a preliminary court hearing), Giordano never testified at Mumia's trial. In fact, he was put on desk duty in about May 1982 while the trial was about to take place, and he resigned from the police force the day after Mumia's trial was over. In 1986, he copped a plea on federal charges based on his receiving tens of thousands of dollars in illegal payoffs during the period of 1979-80, and he didn't spend a day in jail.

Mumia's former lawyers, so-called radical leftist lawyer Len Weinglass and Dan Williams, found this evidence too hot and unbelievable. Williams said it could lead to actually arguing that the police knowingly framed up an innocent man! Now I don't have to tell people here that not only is this not unbelievable, but it's the reality of the cops and the courts. And furthermore, just for some empirical fact, as we litigated the 1995 post-conviction hearing in Philadelphia in the summer of 1995, daily we shared the headlines in the papers with the exposés of cop frame-ups of blacks on false drug charges, of which over 300 cases were overturned. Then of course there's the L.A. Rampart case, the Boston cop with mob ties, and more recently in the news, two New York homicide detectives who murdered while on Mafia payroll.

There is more, much more that the investigation that I and Jon Piper, with some help from comrades in the PDC, turned up, none of which has yet been presented in court. It's filed in court, but the court has refused to hear it.

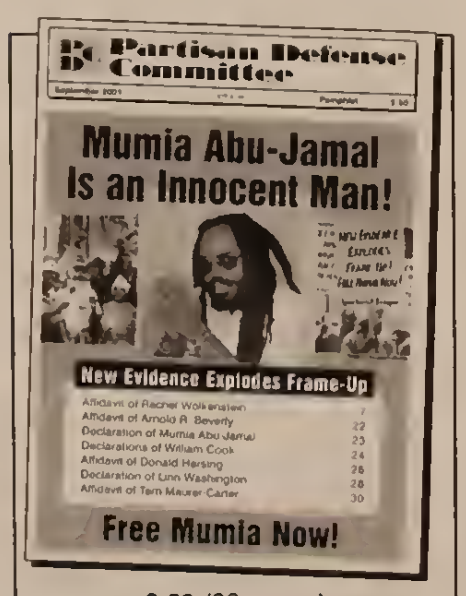
Mobilize to Free Mumia!

Now, what is the significance of the Beverly evidence and why has it been suppressed? There is a really simple answer: It exposes the fraud that the American legal system can provide justice. It demonstrates the unity of purpose of the cops, the prosecution and the courts to uphold the capitalist rulers' interest. It makes it clear that the injustice to Mumia was not the action of one rogue cop, or prosecutor or judge, but the entire functioning of the so-called criminal justice system, the capitalist system of injustice. Democrats, including former mayor, former D.A., now-Pennsylvania governor Ed Rendell and former president Clinton, as well as Republicans are united in seeking Mumia's execution, no less than they are united in increasing government repressive powers, in seeing leftist attorney Lynne Stewart locked away for life, and, most importantly, in continuing the capitalist system, which can only lead to increased poverty, racial oppression and war.

I want to make it clear that the courts will not free Mumia, nor grant him a new trial or new appeals on the grounds that are before them, without the weight of an international mobilization of the masses, centrally based on the labor movement. The power of international mobilization based on labor, from South Africa to Europe to the U.S., helped stay the hand of the executioner when Mumia was but ten days away from execution in August 1995. So now we need to mobilize again to exert the type of pressure that will impact this appeals court—a mass movement based on labor and its allies. That Mumia is innocent is the truth. That the capitalist state has spent decades framing him up is the truth. That the state will use its lying, corrupt, class- and race-biased forces to see Mumia dead is the truth. But we need to use those truths to bring out more power—social power—to fight for Mumia's freedom *now!*

Send badly needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, made payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" and earmarked for "Mumia," to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 130 Morningside Drive, Suite 6C, New York, NY 10027.

If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.■



$.50 (32 pages)

Order from/pay to:
Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

CHICAGO

Tuesday, January 24, 7 p.m.
Defend China Against Imperialism, Counterrevolution! For Workers Political Revolution!
University of Chicago, Cobb Hall
5811 S. Ellis Avenue, Room 104
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, January 28, 2 p.m.
Capitalism Part II: Imperialism and War
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Vermont/Beverly Red Line station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

Wednesday, January 25, 7:30 p.m.
Lessons of the Transit Strike Students: Ally with the Power of Labor! For a Revolutionary Workers Party that Fights for All the Oppressed!
Columbia University
Meet in the lobby of Hamilton Hall.
(take 1 train to 116th St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

TORONTO

Wednesday, February 1, 6:30 p.m.
China: Defend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution! For Workers Political Revolution to Oust the Stalinist Bureaucracy!
University of Toronto
Sidney Smith Building, Room 1080
100 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, February 1, 5 p.m.
Defend China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam Against Imperialism and Counterrevolution! For Workers Political Revolution!
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 224
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: tllt@look.ca

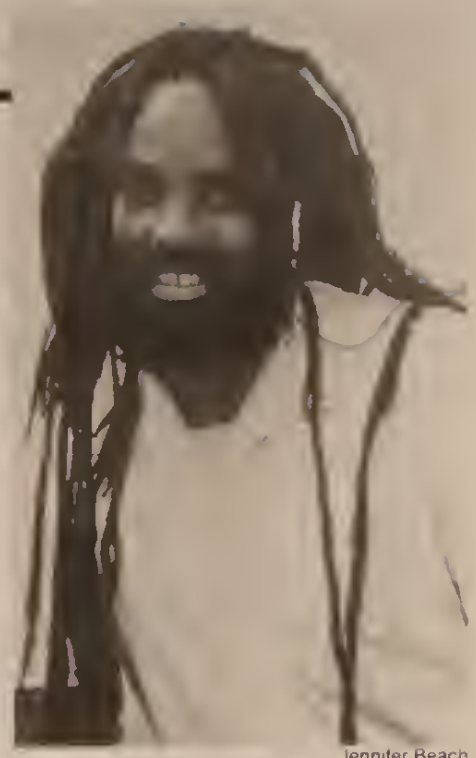
Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

WORKERS VANGUARD

Court Battle Looms

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man

Free Him Now!



Jennifer Beach

The fight for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, America's foremost class-war prisoner, has reached a critical juncture. On 6 December 2005, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit in Pennsylvania ordered Mumia's legal team to file his appeals brief by January 17. The possible outcome of this appeal could range from overturning his conviction and granting a new trial, or mandating new hearings on his constitutional claims, to reinstating the death sentence, paving the way for a new death warrant.

Mumia Abu-Jamal was convicted on demonstrably false charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981. As an outspoken journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization, he was known as "the voice of the voiceless." In 1982 Mumia was sentenced to die explicitly for his political views and his past membership in the Black Panther Party. His case must become a focal point of struggle against the capitalist "justice" system and its death penalty—a legacy of black chattel slavery that exposes the naked brutality of this class-divided and racially segregated society. The execution of Stanley Tookie Williams in California last month signaled the rulers' intention to carry out Mumia's execution and to speed up the machinery of legal lynching. In denying Williams clemency, California governor Schwarzenegger cited the fact that Williams had dedicated his 1998 book, *Life in Prison*, to Mumia, Nelson Mandela, Malcolm X and others. ***Abolish the racist death penalty!***

In December 2001, U.S. District Court judge William Yohn threw out Mumia's death sentence but left the conviction intact despite mountains of evidence of his innocence. Prosecutors are appealing to reinstate the death sentence. Mumia's lawyers have continued to add to the evidence of innocence, most importantly Arnold Beverly's confession that he shot the Philadelphia police officer for whose killing Jamal was falsely convicted. But the courts have repeatedly refused to allow Beverly's confession to be heard because it would expose the fact that Mumia's conviction was an intentional frame-up of an innocent man.

Due to the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act signed by Democrat Bill Clinton in 1996, which dramatically cut back the rights of state prisoners to appeal their cases in federal court, the appeals court is not required to consider all of Mumia's claims. One issue it will hear is the racist jury-rigging in the 1982 trial, where Philadelphia prosecutor Joseph McGill struck at least 10 of 14 eligible black jurors. Of the two black people who made it onto the jury, one black woman was removed during the trial by Judge Albert Sabo.

Of the two additional issues the court is allowing, one is the outrageous bias of Judge Sabo. Mumia's legal papers have repeatedly challenged the bias of this racist "prosecutor in robes," which infected every stage of the trial, from blocking important evidence of innocence and saddling Mumia with an incompetent lawyer to barring him from the courtroom for days. Court stenographer Terri Maurer-Carter came forward in 2001 to reveal that during the period of the trial she overheard Sabo say, referring to Mumia, "I'm going to help 'em fry the n----r."

Mumia's post-conviction appeals from 1995 to 1997 were assigned back to Sabo, allowing him to "judge" the fairness of his own conduct. Throughout the post-conviction proceedings, Sabo interfered with Mumia's presentation of new evidence and declared all of the defense witnesses "incredible," with the intent of shielding evidence of his innocence from further court review. The federal appeals court is only hearing the issue of Sabo's bias during the post-conviction hearings and not of the bias so vividly displayed at the original trial.

The other issue the court will hear is McGill's closing argument to the jury, which erased the "reasonable doubt" standard. In effect, McGill argued that jurors should convict Mumia despite any doubts they had, because "If you find the Defendant guilty, of course, there would be appeal after appeal and perhaps there could be a reversal of the case, or whatever, so that may not be final." In earlier death penalty cases, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court had overruled the same arguments by the same prosecutor. But in this case the court and the prosecutors applied "Mumia rules" in their effort to railroad him.

The urgent need to mobilize the social power of organized labor and its allies for Mumia's freedom was a central theme of the Partisan Defense Committee's 20th annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners, held last month in New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Oakland and Toronto. We print below a speech at the New York City benefit, edited for publication, by Rachel Wolkenstein, staff counsel for the PDC and formerly a member of Mumia's legal team.

* * *

Today marks the 24th anniversary of Mumia's arrest for the murder of police officer Daniel Faulkner, a crime the police, the prosecution and the courts know Mumia did not commit. For over 23 years Mumia has been on death row. All elements of the "criminal justice system" have colluded to kill this man for the crime of being an eloquent and effective critic of racist oppression. Mumia has said that he is "fighting to create revolution in America. Revolution means total change." To the American capitalist state, that means Mumia is a dead man on leave.

It is necessary and urgent, now more than ever, as Mumia's case moves into the last stages of the legal proceedings, to mobilize on the basis that Mumia is an innocent man, known as the voice of the voiceless. He's on death row because of a political, racist frame-up. The federal appeals court has now put Mumia's case on what they call a "fast track" for decision. That means within about six months' time the court will decide what is next for Mumia: death, life in prison or more legal proceedings.

The federal appeals court is not required to consider all the issues that Mumia has raised—and virtually every right guaranteed by the Bill of Rights was violated in Mumia's case. Nor is the appeals court considering the evidence of Mumia's innocence or the state frame-up. It is going to decide in the first instance whether or not to uphold Mumia's death sentence. It is very good and important that the appeals court is now allowing other challenges. These are based on the racially biased jury selection; the D.A.'s prejudicial summary argument to the jury in which he falsely stated that Mumia would have "appeal after appeal," meaning that it didn't matter if he was convicted by the jury; and lastly, a challenge to the kangaroo, lynch mob appeal hearings before the notorious judge Albert Sabo in 1995, '96 and '97. Sabo was popularly known as the King of Death Row. But the real point is that Mumia should never have been arrested, tried or convicted. And our fight is to free Mumia, *now!*

The courts do not sit in judgment and rule in isolation. There has been and continues to be a concerted effort by all wings of the capitalist class—represented by both the Democratic and Republican parties—to see Mumia executed. It will take the social power of organized labor and its allies to create the type of pressure needed to obtain Mumia's freedom—a mass movement centrally based on the power of the working class. The power to withhold labor—to strike. Imagine what it would mean if New York transit struck—not only to secure a decent wage, health care and job conditions, but to demand Mumia's freedom!

The danger faced by Mumia today began back in 1969 when he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party, targeted by the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO campaign. The message to the Black Panther Party by FBI director Hoover was: "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary

continued on page 10

WV Photo

August 1995: PDC-initiated labor-centered mobilization in New York City, part of international outpouring of protest that helped stay executioner's hand.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 863 — GCU C-701 — 3 February 2006

Down With Imperialist Nuclear Blackmail!

U.S. Hands Off Iran!

Lockheed Martin — AFP

Reuters

Armed to the teeth with nukes, U.S. imperialists threaten Iran over reopening of nuclear facility. Right: Iranian student demonstration outside Uranium Conversion Facility in Isfahan, August 2005.

Less than three years after the invasion and occupation of Iraq, U.S. imperialism now has Iran in its crosshairs. Claiming that Iran is seeking to develop nuclear weapons, President Bush on January 26 delivered an ultimatum: "Your desires for a weapon are unacceptable" (*New York Times*, 27 January). This is rich coming from the president of a country with a stockpile of nukes capable of destroying the world several times over. The U.S. ruling class is the only one to have used nuclear weapons, incinerating some 200,000 in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, and the U.S. government today proclaims a policy of "pre-emptive" nuclear attack against any country it deems a threat.

There is clear agreement across the U.S. bourgeois political spectrum, from the religious fanatics in the White House to the Democratic Party, that Iran has to be "dealt with." In fact, a common criticism of Bush by the Democrats is that the occupation of Iraq has been a distraction from dealing more forcibly with Iran, as well as with the North Korean deformed workers state. Senator Hillary Clinton recently denounced Bush for being soft on Iran, declaring, "I believe we lost critical time in dealing with Iran because the White House chose to downplay the threats" (*Washington Post*, 20 January).

Another group of belligerent fanatics arrayed against Iran are Israel's Zionist rulers. The British *Sunday Times* (11 December 2005) reports that Israel's armed forces have been ordered "to be ready by the end of March for possible strikes on secret uranium enrichment sites in Iran." And on January 21, Israeli defense minister Shaul Mofaz threatened: "Israel will not be able to accept an Iranian nuclear capability and it must have the capability to defend itself, with all that that implies, and this we are preparing" (*Spiegel* Online, 23 January).

In the event of military attack against Iran by U.S. imperialism or by Israel, or by any other force operating on behalf of the imperialists, we Marxists declare: ***The internatianal proletariat must stand for the military defense of Iran against imperialist attack.*** At the same time, we give not one iota of political support to the reactionary Tehran regime. Our defense of capitalist Iran is conditional: In military conflicts between an imperialist power and a dependent semicolonial country, our policy is revolutionary defensism. We defend the oppressed country against the oppressor country and promote class struggle in the imperialist centers, as well as in the oppressed country. Every victory for the imperialists in their military adventures encourages more predatory wars; every setback serves to assist the struggles of working people and the oppressed.

The U.S. bourgeoisie, with its media in tow, is straining every nerve to foment hysteria about an Iranian "threat." They portray Iran's Islamic regime as a bunch of demented fanatics. But the real nuclear crazies are the Christian fundamentalists at the head of U.S. imperialism, who may not feel constrained from attacking Iran by whatever obstacles are in their way. The true enemy of working people, minorities and the oppressed in the U.S. is the U.S. bourgeoisie. The ruling class that is today threatening Iran is the same capitalist class that has slashed the pensions, health care and jobs of America's working people while shredding democratic rights through the reactionary "war on terror."

A letter to the *New York Times* (29 January) by the head of the press section of the Iranian Mission to the UN emphasized, "Iran has no ambition to build nuclear weapons," and noted that Iran's nuclear research work "is completely in accord with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty." The fact of the matter is that in the context of threats by the nuclear-armed imperialists, Iran desperately *needs* nuclear weapons and adequate delivery systems to defend itself. In today's world, possession of nuclear arms has become the only real measure of national sovereignty. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92 removed the primary military and political counterweight to U.S. imperialism. Since then, the U.S. rulers have developed a policy of using their overwhelming military might, which dwarfs that of even the rival imperialist powers, to prevent the rise of any perceived challenge to U.S. dominance.

A letter to the *New York Times* (17 January) aptly noted in response to an editorial by the paper:

> "You write that 'no one has yet come up with any very good ways of deflecting Iran from its nuclear course.' But it is obvious that Iran seeks a bomb principally to counter the barely concealed ambition of Bush administration hardliners to force 'regime change' there.
>
> "After seeing what has happened in Iraq, and listening to the 'axis of evil' rhetoric, any patriotic Iranian military leader must be advising his government that only a bomb will deter the United States."

The reactionary nature of Iran's mullah regime does not in any way diminish the duty of proletarian revolutionaries to stand on the side of Iran against U.S. imperialism. When Mussolini's Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky addressed the concerns of proletarian militants who objected to defending Ethiopia because of Haile Selassie's reactionary regime, which maintained slavery in that country:

> "If Mussolini triumphs, it means the reinforcement of fascism, the strengthening of imperialism, and the discouragement of the colonial peoples in Africa and elsewhere. The victory of the Negus, however, would mean a mighty blow not only at Italian imperialism but at imperialism as a whole, and would lend a powerful impulsion to the rebellious forces of the oppressed peoples."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "On Dictators and the Heights of Oslo" (April 1936)

Iran today needs nuclear weapons to fend off a U.S. threat no less than Ethiopia in the 1930s needed Mausers to fend off the Italian imperialists. *U.S. hands off Iran! For the immediate and uncanditional withdrawal af all U.S. traaps and military bases from Iraq, Afghanistan and Central Asia!*

For Class-Struggle Opposition to Imperialism!

The only nuclear-armed state in the Near East today is key American ally Israel, whose rulers have repeatedly made clear that they are prepared to use nuclear weapons. The demented Zionist rulers have a policy—dubbed the "Samson Option" by journalist Seymour Hersh—of plunging the whole region into nuclear holocaust if Israel were threatened with military defeat. In 1986 Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu proved to the world that Israel had nuclear weapons—over 200 nuclear warheads at the time, many of them aimed at the Soviet Union. For his act of courage, Vanunu spent nearly two decades in Israel's dungeons.

While the U.S. and Israel openly threaten to use their nukes, the current Iranian regime has said that the use of nuclear weapons is contrary to its Islamic beliefs. A 1989 book, *The Longest War: The Iran-Iraq Military Conflict*, by Dilip Hiro noted that when Ayatollah Khomeini was approached by Iranian military officials about launching chemical weapons in response to Iraq's extensive use of such during the 1980-88 Iraq-Iran War, "he reportedly reiterated his earlier refusal based on the argument that Islam prohibits its fighters from polluting the atmosphere even in the course of a jihad, holy war." At the end of the war, which was reactionary on both sides, United Nations investigations turned up no evidence that Iran used chemical weapons. In contrast, after Germany used poison chlorine gas during World War I, France and Britain responded with their own poison gas attacks. Thus Iran has credibility in a way the imperialist powers do not.

A 15 March 2005 draft Pentagon paper that was leaked last fall, "Doctrine for

continued on page 9

7 25274 81030 7 05

Twentieth Annual Holiday Appeal

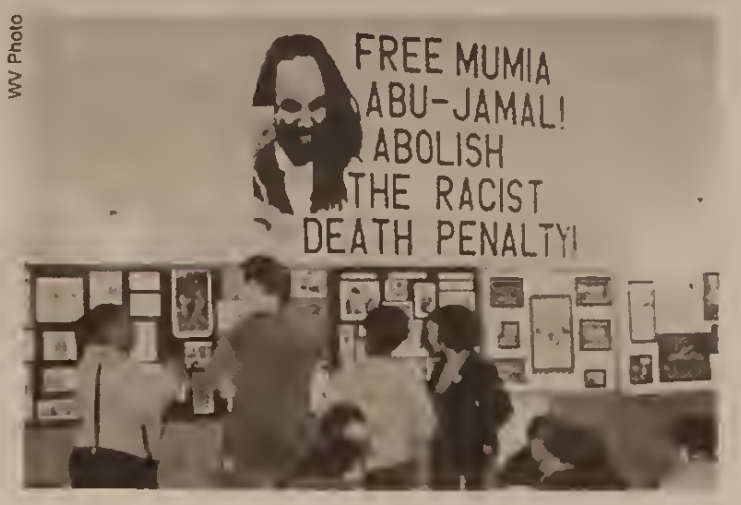
Free Mumia! Free All Class-War Prisoners!

The Partisan Defense Committee's 20th annual Holiday Appeal netted over $10,000 at December fundraisers in New York, Chicago, Oakland, Los Angeles and Toronto. The funds raised for the PDC's Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund are a concrete expression of solidarity with those imprisoned for standing up to racist capitalist repression, reflecting the PDC's character as a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization.

It is more important than ever to carry on this working-class duty in today's "hypocritical, murderous, revolting so-called democracy," as a Spartacist League spokesman said at the Chicago event. The speaker pointed out that the capitalist profit system left the poor and black population of New Orleans to die in Hurricane Katrina's aftermath—a racist atrocity that "can't be separated from the bloody colonial occupation of Iraq, the shredding of civil liberties in the name of the so-called 'war on terror' and the imprisonment of the class-war prisoners."

This year's Holiday Appeal highlighted the urgent need to mobilize the power of labor and its allies to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal. A former Black Panther Party spokesman and powerful journalist, Mumia is an innocent man who has been on Pennsylvania's death row for over 23 years, framed up on false charges of killing a police officer. Speakers emphasized that Mumia's case has now been put on a "fast track," as a new court battle looms over appeals in his case.

WV No. 862 (20 January) contains a speech at the New York benefit by Rachel Wolkenstein, PDC staff counsel and formerly a member of Mumia's legal team, as well as speeches in New York and Oakland by Spartacus Youth Club members, who emphasized the need for youth to ally with the working class. Wolkenstein detailed the massive evidence of Mumia's innocence that has been suppressed by the capitalist courts. In Toronto, a national representative of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers spoke of the importance of Mumia's case and the need "actually to take job action if Mumia is put on the block and the execution date approaches."



Chicago Holiday Appeal benefit, December 11.

This year's benefits also highlighted the case of Leonard Peltier, imprisoned for nearly three decades because of his activism in the American Indian Movement. The PDC last year added Peltier to its monthly stipend program. His frame-up trial for the deaths of two FBI agents at the South Dakota Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975 is yet more proof that there is no justice in the capitalist courts. In Oakland, Donna Wallach of the Leonard Peltier Support Group spoke, and Peltier's attorney Barry Bachrach sent a taped message to the New York event.

The benefits provided an occasion to honor Ohio 7 prisoner Richard Williams, who died on December 7 (see our commemoration last issue). The PDC continues to fight for freedom for the two remaining imprisoned Ohio 7 members, Jaan Laaman and Tom Manning. Embattled leftist attorney Lynne Stewart, who faces sentencing on trumped-up charges of "aiding terrorism," spoke movingly at the New York benefit of her own years-long association with Williams.

Among those attending the New York event were a number of city workers, including TWU transit workers in the midst of the union's contract battle with the MTA bosses. A number of people attended the Chicago event after hearing it publicized on a black radio talk show. The Oakland benefit was attended by three members of the family of Patrick Gaston, a 34-year-old black man brutally killed by police in West Oakland in front of his mother and neighbors on November 10 (see "LBL Protests Cop Killing of Patrick Gaston," *WV* No. 861, 6 January).

Many attending the benefits wrote messages of solidarity to the class-war prisoners in the PDC stipend program, who also include: Jamal Hart, Mumia's son; eight Philadelphia MOVE members—Chuck Africa, Michael Africa, Debbie Africa, Janet Africa, Janine Africa, Delbert Africa, Eddie Africa and Phil Africa—who are in their 28th year in prison; Ed Poindexter and Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa, former Black Panther supporters; and Hugo Pinell, a prison rights organizer and the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison.

* * *

Those who would still like to contribute can send a check or money order, earmarked "Class-War Prisoners Fund," to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013; (212) 406-4252. ■

TROTSKY

Black Freedom and the Proletarian Revolution

On the eve of the explosive civil rights struggles that led to the end of legally enforced segregation in the South, veteran Trotskyist Richard Fraser explained the unique role of racial oppression in underpinning the course of U.S. capitalism. Integrated into the industrial proletariat, black workers are destined to play a leading role in the American socialist revolution, the only road to the emancipation of the black population as a whole.

LENIN

A hundred years ago Karl Marx, in urging the American workers to support the struggle of the slaves for emancipation and to support the northern cause in the Civil War, proclaimed the following truth: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." This is just as true today in the modern context of racial discrimination as it was during the struggle against slavery.

At each point, the fundamental interests of the industrial working class and of the Negro people are tied together. At no point is this revealed more strongly than in the problems of unionism.

Working class solidarity is a mighty antidote to race prejudice. Without the overthrow of prejudice unionism itself is always in danger. This is demonstrated in the great struggles against the giant corporations of auto, rubber, steel. Here the working class was forced, in spite of prejudice, to present a united front to the employers or meet sure defeat. This action was the beginning of the overthrow of race prejudice, just as it was the beginning of industrial unionism....

But capitalism, even in the southern United States, has created the conditions necessary for its own destruction. It has disrupted the old agrarian pattern, undermined the privileged white middle class, thus weakening the whole fabric of social repression. It has created great industries, proletarianizing white, urbanizing black. This process has centralized the Negro community in positions of great strategic advantage in large city communities, whereas before they were dispersed over the countryside. Capitalism has likewise created the conditions for the overthrow of race prejudice by working class solidarity.

—Richard S. Fraser, "The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution" (1953), printed in "In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser," *Prometheus Research Series* No. 3, August 1990

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@iiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 31 January

No. 863 **3 February 2006**

Spartacist Black History Month Speaking Tour

Race, Class and Socialist Revolution: Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

Don Alexander, SL Central Committee (New York and Chicago)
Don Cane, SL Central Committee (Los Angeles and Oakland)

Mumia Is an Innocent Man! The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee, former counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal

NEW YORK
Saturday, Feb. 4, 1 & 4 p.m.
6 Harrison Street, Manhattan
(No.1 subway to Franklin St., walk west on Franklin to Hudson, one block south on Hudson to Harrison)
For more information: (212) 267-1025 or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

OAKLAND
Sunday, Feb. 19, 12 & 3 p.m.
YWCA Tea Room
1515 Webster Street
(near 12th & 19th BART stations in downtown Oakland)
For more information: (510) 839-0851 or e-mail: slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, Feb. 11, 12 & 3 p.m.
Immanuel Presbyterian Church*
3300 Wilshire Boulevard
(at Berendo Street, 2 blocks west of Vermont/Wilshire Red Line Station)
For more information: (213) 380-8239 or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net
*The views expressed by the participants are not necessarily those of the Immanuel Presbyterian Church.

CHICAGO
Saturday, Feb. 25, 1 & 4 p.m.
University of Chicago, Reynolds Club
South Lounge (2nd floor)
5706 South University Ave.
For more information: (312) 563-0441 or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

The "N" Word:
"To This Day, I Wish I'd Never Said the Word"

A Salute to Richard Pryor

Richard Pryor was so funny he could make you laugh at a funeral on Sunday Christmas day, as his character Mudbone said. He made you laugh so hard you felt like you broke something, and in a broken society crazed with race- and sex-hate, laughter and the pain of being black in America went together. "I wanted to be just like him," Damon Wayans said a few years ago, "except for the drug habit and the failed marriages and the temper and the guns."

Debilitated by multiple sclerosis, which was diagnosed in 1986, Pryor died of a heart attack on December 10 at the age of 65. He was in 40 movies and co-wrote, with Mel Brooks, *Blazing Saddles* (which the studio wouldn't let him appear in). But his main legacy is his stand-up work, captured in such classics (available on DVD) as *Richard Pryor—Live in Concert* (1979), *Live on the Sunset Strip* (1982) and *Here and Now* (1983). If you've never watched him, you're missing a major piece of 20th-century American culture.

Pryor wasn't merely a comedic genius but a piercing social observer and critic. In his 1995 autobiography, *Pryor Convictions*, Pryor (as Mudbone) remarks that "the truth is gonna be funny, but it's gonna scare folks." There was nothing he wouldn't talk about on stage, including his upbringing in his family's brothels and bars in Peoria, Illinois. He inspired several generations of comedians, black and white. He started off as a mainstream storyteller in the Bill Cosby mold. As Pryor recalled, "I made a lot of money being Bill Coshy, but I was hiding my personality." In 1967, Pryor stormed off stage at the Aladdin Hotel in Las Vegas, shouting, "What am I doing here? I'm not going to do this anymore!" As he wrote in *Pryor Convictions*, at around that same time, "I read and re-read a copy of Malcolm X's collected speeches. I put Marvin Gaye's song 'What's Going On?' on my stereo and played it so often it became the soundtrack to my life."

Columbia Records

1940-2005

Pryor took a brief hiatus in 1970 and re-emerged with the hard-hitting humor that became his trademark. The cover to his album *Is It Something I Said?* showed Pryor about to be lynched. He told audiences that he used to be a "Negro" but had given it up because there was "no room for advancement."

Pryor won broad popular appeal with his biting routines, which included regular use of the "N" word, along with every obscenity in the book. Among the many reasons to honor Richard Pryor is his later public repudiation of the "N" word as utterly demeaning and wounding to black people. Citing the current prevalent embrace of the word among black hip-hop artists and intellectuals, we wrote in "The 'N' Word in Racist America" (*WV* No. 807, 1 August 2003): "Far from being a protest against racial oppression, as some leftist black intellectuals would have it, the pervasive use of the 'N' word is a result of the racist rulers' denigration of black people. This is a form of 'defiance' born of demoralization and despair, a product of the ever-worsening conditions of black life and the absence of any significant social struggle in the decades since the collapse of the civil rights movement."

Richard Pryor rejected the use of this hurtful and deadly racist epithet a quarter century ago. He made a trip to Africa in 1979, escaping the poisonous American atmosphere saturated with race-hatred long enough to take a clear look at it. He told about his experience in *Live on the Sunset Strip*:

> "There's nothing like going and seeing nothing but black. Black people. I mean from the wino to the president, it's black people. ...
>
> One thing I got out of it was magic. I'd like to share it with you. I was leaving, and I was sitting in the hotel and a voice said to me, it said, 'Look around, what do you see?' And I said, 'I see all colors of people doing everything, you know.' And the voice said, 'Do you see any n----rs?' And I said, 'No.' And it said, 'You know why? Because there aren't any.' And it hit me like a shot ...
>
> "I was sitting there, I said, 'Yeah, I been here three weeks and I haven't even said it, I haven't even thought it.' And it made me think, Oh my God, I've been wrong I've been wrong."

Pryor continued:

> "I ain't never going to call another black man a n----r. You know, because we never was no n----rs. That's a word that's used to describe our own wretchedness. And we perpetuate it now. Because it's dead. That word is dead. [We're] men and women."

Pryor said in conclusion:

> "And I don't want them hip white people coming up to me, calling me no n----r or telling me n----r jokes. I don't like it. I'm just telling you, it's uncomfortable to me. I don't like it when black people say it to me.... So I love you all, and you can take that with you."■

Letter

On the Anti-Smoking Witchhunt

November 25, 2005
"Black" Friday

Workers Vanguard:

Perhaps this is not a class struggle issue, but recently I have been accosted by signature-gatherers for a proposition to "Tax tobacco to pay for emergency rooms". Now smokers are mostly low-income—the middle and upper classes have rejected this habit—and constitute about 20% of the population, many of whom are people of color. Smoking, at least in California, is no longer "cool"—it is prohibited almost everyplace, including on the sidewalk within thirty feet of a business entrance, and, in San Francisco, in many parks.

Smokers are a despised minority. When I began smoking around 1960, cigarettes were 29¢ a pack—today they are $5 a pack, most of it taxes. This proposition would add $1.70 to the cost of a pack of cigarettes, which assuming a pack a day habit is average, amounts to about $500 a year in additional taxes to be paid by each smoker, above and beyond the taxes she already pays. This proposition is a slam dunk to get on the ballot and to pass because the non-smoking population hates and despises smokers, who are unable to defend themselves. Nevertheless, I am here bringing the issue before the Tribune of the People—what do you think? Smoking definitely IS bad for your health, as every smoker has heard ad nauseam, but it is a very pleasurable vice and not nearly so deadly as, say, joining the US Army and going to Iraq! Do you defend the right of smokers to smoke, or do you stand with the enemies of this addiction? If it is OK to smoke, should the habit be taxed to the max, on some cruel premise that this will "discourage" us from smoking? Or should we be left alone to "increase the cost of health care" without serious financial damage to ourselves? Is smoking a class issue? And should there be any recourse at all for the workingclass, black and Latino individuals constituting the smoking class, against enforced taxation by the non-smoking majority? (I quit a year ago, but I identify myself as a smoker).

C.O.
Oakland, CA

***WV* replies:**

Anti-smoking hysteria is very much a class issue, and it has been rampant for decades now. The most typical venue for this "purer than thou" moralism is California. Some time back, a black San Francisco State University student was stabbed by an anti-smoking fanatic who ranted, "She thought she had a right to pollute my air." Unfortunately, this puritanism is increasingly gripping parts of the globe that used to provide a limited "safe haven" for smokers.

In this country, working people routinely die because the capitalist ruling class doesn't want to spend ***any*** money to keep them healthy and workplaces safe—like by enforcing industrial safety standards, or repairing the levees in New Orleans. The tragic deaths at non-union, deathtrap West Virginia mines this month, and the deaths and abandonment following Hurricane Katrina of thousands of poor, particularly black people, reveal the callous indifference of the ruling class to the lives of workers and the black population. It is grotesque that the same rapacious rulers who begrudge every dime they spend on working people want to put moral blame and the financial burden of the capitalist system that kills them on...working people.

As we wrote in "Anti-Smoking Tyranny" (*WV* No. 612, 9 December 1994):

> "Despite absurd denials by the tobacco industry, it's never been a big secret that 'coffin nails' or 'cancer sticks,' as cigarettes used to be called, aren't healthy. But most Americans somehow believe they're supposed to have the right to choose their own poison—whether it's cigarettes, cholesterol-rich steaks or martini lunches....
>
> "As far as we're concerned, people ought to be able to read, eat, drink, smoke, and enjoy whatever consensual activities they want without cops, courts, employers and yuppie totalitarians sticking their noses in."■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net
National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
tllt@look.ca

WORKERS VANGUARD
Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
International rates $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail
❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)
❑ I would like to contribute $ _____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____
Address _____
_____ Apt. # _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____
863

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Young Spartacus

Fight Racist Reaction on Campus!

On December 2 the walls and doors of a dorm suite at Columbia University were covered in racist, anti-gay and anti-Semitic graffiti, prompting black and minority students to speak out against the barrage of racist filth they are subjected to on campus. At the University of California at Berkeley, black student Erika Williams was called "n----r" by Sherman Boyson, an academic adviser for the School of Social Welfare, who also threatened to beat her up. Black and Latino students at the University of Colorado have been subject to threats: in November, black student government leader Mebraht Gebre-Michael received an e-mail telling her that black students should "disappear" off the campus, which concluded, "You will die if you run for student government again." At Syracuse University, a student TV "comedy" show featured an image of a lynching, joking that this was "fun on the Quad" in 1870, with the punch line, "Doesn't get much more fun than that, folks."

Far from being isolated incidents, these and countless other outrages on campus reflect rising racist reaction throughout the country. The profound race and class divide in the U.S. was graphically exposed by Hurricane Katrina. The catastrophic destruction of lives and livelihoods in New Orleans showed that the oppression of black people is rooted in the very bedrock of American capitalism. The capitalist rulers' one-sided class war against working people, from the attacks on pensions and health care to the gutting of education and welfare, has fostered the political climate in which these attacks on black and minority students are taking place. Also whipping up the reactionary climate on the campuses are the right-wing junior McCarthyites who seek to drive out not only pro-Palestinian and leftist professors and organizations, but also black and minority students.

What is needed in response to these grotesque incidents are not appeals to the campus administrations to "clean up" racism on campus, but militant joint student-worker protest to beat back the racists and bigots. The kind of social power that student protesters must seek to ally with was shown by the recent New York City transit strike. By crippling the finance capital of the world, this heavily black and minority union backed down the racist rulers who had branded them "thugs." Their fight in opposition to a rotten contract offer showed that defense of the interests of working people and the oppressed requires struggle, not begging the powers that be.

Young Spartacus

Columbia University, September 7: Spartacus Youth Club speaks out during campus protest called in response to racist atrocity in New Orleans.

Students protesting racist reaction on campus must look to the social power of the working class, which is derived from its ability to shut down production, and especially to those sectors of the labor movement in which there are large numbers of blacks, Latinos and immigrants. And because racism on campus is merely a reflection of the pernicious bigotry that pervades capitalist society more broadly, students protesting these attacks must link up with and support broader struggles, such as the fight to free class-war prisoners like Mumia Abu-Jamal, whom the capitalist rulers want to execute for his fight for black freedom.

The campus bigots are creating a climate of intimidation and threatened violence in order to further marginalize black and minority students at colleges and universities. This is clear from the use of the "N" word and the swastika, both of which represent a program of race terror. And as the threats and acts of physical violence at Berkeley, Columbia and in Colorado show, these racist, bigoted thugs often go beyond "speech." As Marxists, we understand that those who organize for race terror, such as the fascist KKK and Nazis, must be swept off the streets through mass, militant labor/black mobilizations, such as the 23 October 1999 anti-Klan demonstration in New York City that the Spartacus Youth Club helped build. As for racist ideologues like David Horowitz, who tour academia to spout the "virtues" of black chattel slavery in the pre-Civil War South, and whose campus minions organize racist provocations like anti-affirmative action "bake sales," we seek to *refute* their lies and combat the corrosive effect of their retrograde ideas. The SYC has mobilized united-front protests against Horowitz and his ilk from UCLA to Columbia (see "Racism and Witchhunts on Campus," *WV* No. 756, 13 April 2001).

Protests at Columbia

At a December 7 speakout at Columbia in which the Black Students Organization, Columbia Queer Alliance, and the Asian American Alliance participated, students spoke of their outrage at having their rooms defaced with the "N" word and swastikas, at being told by students and professors alike that they don't belong on campus and at the physical threats they face. Black students have stated that being called "n----r" is a regular occurrence on campus. In the 19 January *Columbia Spectator* student Jacob McKean relates having a piece of glass thrown at him by frat boys calling him "f----t" as he walked home last semester.

In response to this vile climate of racism and bigotry, students presented university president Lee Bollinger with a series of demands to "Stop Hate on Columbia's Campus" as part of a December 14 rally. These demands are similar to those raised in protests against the Columbia College Conservative Club's February 2004 anti-affirmative action "bake sale." While the SYC certainly solidarizes with calls for greater minority enrollment and for more resources for minority and black studies programs, we oppose the demands appealing to the administration to clean up "hate" at Columbia through "anti-oppression" training.

The use of the term "hate" as an umbrella for racist, anti-immigrant, anti-gay and anti-woman bigotry has been popularized by liberal demands for "hate crimes" legislation and "hate speech" codes. For years, liberals and many leftists have promoted "sensitivity training" and restrictive speech codes as the means to supposedly combat racism, sexism and anti-gay bigotry. We oppose demands on the campus administrations and on the capitalist state to police "hate" because this not only fosters illusions in the neutrality of the racist administrations, cops and courts, but also bolsters the repressive power of those institutions, enabling them to use such codes and laws to victimize student protesters, minorities and leftists. As we wrote about San Francisco State University (SFSU) last year: "In [SFSU president] Corrigan's arsenal, 'hate speech' regulations are a threat to every critic of racist American imperialism on this campus: he will use them against us—as he did against GUPS [General Union of Palestine Students] (as in 2002, to put the group on probation for a year), as he did against the Pan-Afrikan Student Union and others" ("Down With the 'Anti-Terror' Witchhunt Against the Four S.F. State Students!" *WV* No. 841, 4 February 2005).

The reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) has often joined calls for such measures against "hate," as they did following the racist "bake sale" in 2004. Among the demands the ISO supported was one calling for "disciplinary actions and policies to prevent and handle transgressions against marginalized student populations." At the time the SYC warned, "One could well imagine legions of rabid Zionists, as has happened on other campuses, running to the administration with cries of 'anti-Semitism' to encourage a crackdown on any pro-Palestinian protest" ("Campus Right-Wingers Target Black Students," *WV* No. 821, 5 March 2004).

That is in fact what happened later that year at Columbia with the notorious right-wing, Zionist witchhunt against pro-Palestinian professors, such as Joseph Massad. And now the ISO themselves are being hounded by pro-military right-wingers, after a Puerto Rican Marine Reservist filed a "discrimination" complaint against three ISOers because they had argued with him at the Columbia Military Society's table at last fall's clubs fair. The SYC says: ***No reprisals against the ISO! Keep ROTC, military recruiters off campus!***

One of the more ludicrous demands in response to the racist graffiti incident at Columbia states: "Columbia Security also needs to participate in anti-oppression training addressing transphobia and gender policing, as well as broader issues of race, gender, and power." At Columbia, the job of the campus cops is to "protect" the hallowed grounds of Columbia from "undesirables," such as the Harlem poor. The cops who police this bastion of race and class privilege exist to crack down on any protest that the administration deems out of bounds, like the protests of 1968. Last semester, Columbia cops arrested a young man who was jailed overnight for the "crime" of handing out anti-Bush flyers in front of Lerner Hall! At the University of Chicago, police brutality charges against two campus cops who beat black student Clemmie Car-

Defend the De Anza 8!

We reprint below a protest letter sent by the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club to the Santa Clara County District Attorney on January 22.

The Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club vehemently protests the brutal arrests of eight protesters and students (including two Muslim bystanders) on 11 November 2005 at De Anza College in Cupertino. The demonstration that night was part of three days of protest against former Secretary of State Colin Powell and in opposition to the Iraq war. Santa Clara County Sheriffs arrested seven young men outside of the Flint Center, where Powell was speaking, and elsewhere around the campus. All of them were black and/or Muslim. They were tackled, beaten and, in some cases, pepper-sprayed. Two of the arrestees required hospitalization, one was left unconscious. Police stepped on one protester's head. The eighth person was arrested for protesting inside of the Flint Center. These arrests come in the context of ongoing "war on terror" witchhunts of immigrants, especially of Near Eastern descent and Muslim background.

The protesters and students were arrested and charged with an outrageous litany of trumped up felonies and misdemeanors including assault and battery on a police officer, assault with a deadly weapon, disturbing the peace, and resisting arrest. One was even charged with making a false bomb threat.

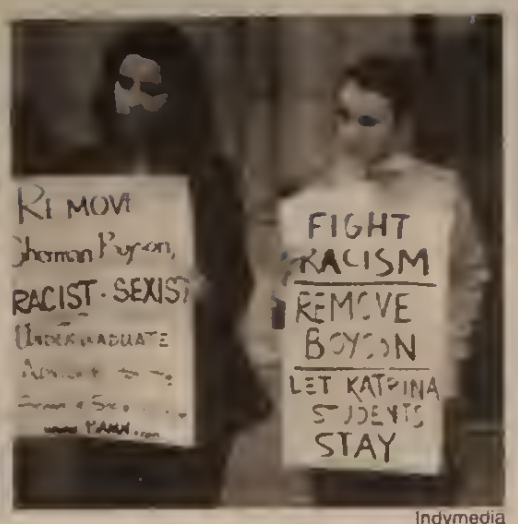
This aggressive police intimidation and violence shows that the Santa Clara Sheriff's Department is doing its part in the government's attempt to stifle dissent and regiment the population. Drop all charges against the De Anza 8 immediately!

thans in 2004 were recently dismissed. The SYC says: *Cops off campus!*

Calls on the administration to redress "hate" on campus reduce the fight against oppression to a matter of circumscribing bad words or ideas. This is consistent with the false view that the *source* of racism and oppression is backward ideas. The capitalist ruling class deliberately fosters anti-black racism, above all to prevent unified working-class struggle. Many white workers imbibe racist, backward ideas and don't understand that they have fundamentally shared interests with black workers against a common class enemy. Liberal preaching cannot overcome these racist attitudes—a higher level of working-class consciousness is achieved through heightened struggle of labor against capital and the intervention of revolutionary Marxists. Racism and all forms of oppression are rooted materially in the class-divided capitalist system, and it is only through the struggle to get rid of this system and replace it with a socialist, egalitarian social order that the material roots of oppression can be eliminated.

The main obstacle to such struggle is the illusion promoted by liberals, black politicians and trade-union misleaders that the capitalist system can be reformed to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed. This is expressed in their promotion of the racist, capitalist Democratic Party as a friend of labor and the oppressed, and in the liberals' and reformist left's promotion of the campus administration as a potential fighter against oppression.

Hicks/NY Times



Indymedia

New Orleans evacuees following Hurricane Katrina, September 2005. Right: UC Berkeley, December 12. BAMN affirmative action coalition press conference protests racist administrator, calls for allowing displaced New Orleans students to stay at Berkeley.

Young Spartacus

SYC mobilized students in speakout against anti-affirmative action "bake sale" at Columbia, 9 March 2004.

For Worker-Student Protest, Not Begging the Administration!

Students at the December 14 rally expressed frustration that Bollinger, known as a legal champion of affirmative action, had not followed up on his promises to address campus racism after the 2004 "bake sale." A look at Columbia's long history as a notoriously racist slumlord in upper Manhattan should dispel any illusions in the administration's credentials for fighting oppression. As the third-largest landowner in New York City, Columbia is currently pushing yet another expansion plan that would drive even greater numbers of black and Latino people out of the areas surrounding the campus. Bollinger's job is to administer Columbia on behalf of the capitalist class that rules this exploitative, repressive society. That includes training administrators, technicians, educators and intellectuals as well as the next generation of war criminals, union-busting lawyers and murderous spies needed to enforce capitalist exploitation and imperialist plunder—such as the brutal neocolonial occupation of Iraq.

Bollinger and the rest of the Columbia administration have been running their own union-busting campaign on campus, most recently by refusing to recognize the graduate student employees' union. No doubt the Columbia administration is closely following the attempts of the New York University administration to bust the NYU Graduate Student Organizing Committee (GSOC), which has been out on strike for a contract since November 9. The SYC says: *Victory to the GSOC strike!* Rather than looking to the Bollinger administration to fight racist attacks at Columbia, student protesters should be looking to link up with the heavily black and minority campus workforce organized in TWU Local 241 and UAW Local 2110 who themselves are subject to racism and exploitation at the hands of this very administration.

The fight against racist reaction on campus must also be linked to the fight for free, quality, integrated education for all. Right-wing and racist attacks on campuses are aimed at driving out those black and minority students who haven't already been purged through the gutting of affirmative action and skyrocketing tuition. We demand the nationalization of the university system under student-teacher-worker control—abolish the administration! We stand for open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for students! *Tear down the Columbia gates and let Harlem in!*

Right-wing forces on campuses around the country have been on an offensive against anything smacking of integration, public education, secularism, sexual liberation, anti-imperialism and defense of oppressed peoples in general. The latest chapter in right-wing snooping and sniping on campus developed this semester at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), where the right-wing Bruin Alumni Association launched an "Exposing UCLA's Radical Professors" initiative, offering payments of up to $100 to students who provide information on professors who are "abusive, one-sided or off-topic." The association also published a "Dirty Thirty" list of left-wing and liberal professors. While outcry over this transparent witchhunt has led the association to drop its monetary incentive, such campaigns are sure to continue, and must be fought.

The Fight to Eliminate Racial Oppression

While militant struggle of students and broader social forces can succeed in temporarily beating back the most overt expressions of racism on campus, the fight must extend to uprooting the source of racism, the capitalist system. The oppression of black people in the U.S. derives from the heritage of chattel slavery, a barbaric remnant of which is the racist death penalty, a form of legal lynching. While the Civil War succeeded in ending slavery, the northern capitalists betrayed the promise of black liberation in favor of an alliance with the former Southern slavocracy.

The capitalist class today continues to profit from and enforce the subjugation and segregation of the black population as an oppressed race-color caste, overwhelmingly concentrated at the bottom of this society. The color bar has been a fundamental dividing line in American society, a key means for obscuring the class divide between labor and capital and retarding working-class struggle. As the last hired, and the first fired, black people have served as a desperately poor reserve army of labor for the capitalist rulers. The social conditions that imprison the impoverished black masses in the ghettos—the lack of decent jobs, education and housing as well as rampant police terror—cannot be solved through legislative reform. Providing decent jobs, education and housing to all is entirely incompatible with the maintenance of American capitalism.

Full political, social and economic equality for the black masses requires that the working class rip the economy out of the hands of the racist capitalist rulers and reorganize it on a socialist basis, where production is for human need, not profit. Only in this way will it be possible to eliminate the material roots of black oppression, through the full integration of black people into an egalitarian socialist society. It is only through this struggle for integration by revolutionary socialist means that black equality can be achieved.

At the same time that capitalism socially segregates black people, it has also served to integrate black workers into the industrial economy. While the immiseration of the black population has intensified in recent years, black people continue to have enormous potential social power as a strategic component of the American working class, serving as a bridge between the ghetto poor and the organized labor movement. The power of black workers must be mobilized in joint, multiracial working-class struggle against the capitalist system as a whole.

This requires a political struggle against those misleaders who tie the workers movement to the capitalist class enemy, primarily through the vehicle of the capitalist Democratic Party of racism and war. Successive Democratic and Republican administrations have taken deadly aim at the gains of labor and black people that were wrested from the exploiters through struggle. From the racist atrocity in New Orleans to the ever-worsening conditions of life for working people and the oppressed, it is clear that looking to the Democratic Party is a dead end.

As we wrote in the preface to *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 (Revised), "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism":

> "Wage slavery has placed in the hands of black workers the objective conditions for successful revolt. But this revolt will be successful only if it takes as its target the system of class exploitation, the common enemy of black and white workers. The struggle to win black activists to a proletarian perspective is intimately linked to the fight for a new, multiracial class-struggle leadership of organized labor which can transform the trade unions into a key weapon in the battle against racial oppression. Such a leadership must break the grip of the Democratic Party upon both organized labor and the black masses through the fight for working-class political independence."

In taking up the fight against racist attacks on campus, the SYC seeks to win students and youth over to the perspective of building a revolutionary workers party. Our model is the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the workers to power in the Russian Revolution of October 1917, shattering capitalist rule. A revolutionary vanguard party would lead the fight against all manifestations of oppression, seeking to mobilize labor in defense of black people, immigrants, women and gays as part of the struggle to liberate humanity through socialist revolution. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

CHICAGO

Tuesday, February 7, 7 p.m.

Finish the Civil War! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

University of Chicago, Cobb Hall
5811 S. Ellis Avenue, Room 104

Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, February 18, 2:00 p.m.

Capitalism Part III: Imperialism and the Third World

3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Near Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

Wednesday, February 22, 7:30 p.m.

The Russian Revolution— How the Working Class Took Power

Columbia University
Hamilton Hall, Room 703
(116th & Broadway—take 1 train to 116th St.)

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

TORONTO

Wednesday, February 15, 6:30 p.m.

Venezuela: Bourgeois Nationalism vs. Proletarian Revolution! No Support to Chávez! For International Workers Revolution to Defeat Imperialism!

University of Toronto
Sidney Smith Building, Room 2112
100 St. George Street

Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, February 22, 5 p.m.

From Berlin to Moscow—The ICL's Fight Against Capitalist Counterrevolution— For New October Revolutions!

University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 224

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: tllt@look.ca

Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

Imperialist "Democracy" at Work

U.S. Torture Machine

Amnesty International: "Gulag" and Anti-Communism

We print below the conclusion of this article. Part One appeared in WV *No. 862 (20 January).*

Amnesty International (AI) was launched by British attorney Peter Benenson in 1961, at the height of the anti-Soviet Cold War. Benenson looked to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) as a model, and among his collaborators was his longtime friend Roger Baldwin, who helped set up AI's section in the U.S.

Baldwin was a contradictory figure. During World War II, he assisted the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which defended Trotskyists against Smith Act prosecution for their opposition to U.S. entry into the interimperialist war. But he

PART TWO

was also head of the ACLU in 1940 when it purged the well-known Communist Party member Elizabeth Gurley Flynn from its board. Eleven years later the ACLU incorporated an anti-Communist resolution into its constitution, and throughout the McCarthyite witchhunts the organization regularly exchanged confidences and information with J. Edgar Hoover's FBI. (Baldwin resigned as ACLU director in 1950 to campaign for international "human rights.") Among AI's other founding fathers was Lord Peter Archer, who went on to serve as solicitor general in the Labour Party government from 1975 to 1979 as it administered the British occupation of Northern Ireland, carrying out vicious repression that included frame-ups and torture of Irish Republican Army members.

From its inception, AI excluded from the category of "prisoners of conscience" those accused of advocating violence or carrying out violent acts. Under this rubric, AI refused to defend left-nationalist guerrillas fighting U.S.-backed puppet regimes and those imprisoned in anti-colonial wars of liberation. In 1964, AI dropped its designation of Nelson Mandela—imprisoned in apartheid South Africa—as a "prisoner of conscience" because he advocated armed struggle to overthrow that bloody white-supremacist regime. Francis Boyle, a former member of AI's board of directors, noted in *CovertAction* (13 June 2002) that AI is "the only human rights organization in the entire world to have refused to condemn apartheid in South Africa."

Also excluded from AI's umbrella are those charged with espionage or treason (although this never stopped Amnesty from championing Soviet "dissident" and imperialist spy Anatoly Shcharansky). Thus Amnesty refused to give its vaunted "prisoner of conscience" designation to Mordechai Vanunu, the courageous Israeli nuclear technician imprisoned in 1986 for publicly exposing the Zionist state's nuclear arsenal.

AI has repeatedly acted as a shill for U.S. and British military adventures. Its 1986 report critical of the Nicaraguan Sandinista regime was timed to help the Reagan administration gain additional Congressional funding for the counterrevolutionary Contra terrorists. To make the case for invading Iraq in 1991 after Saddam Hussein's troops had entered Kuwait, the first President Bush appeared on national TV waving a copy of an AI press release retailing a concocted story by the Kuwaiti ambassador's daughter that Iraqi soldiers killed 300 Kuwaiti babies by ripping them from their incubators and tossing them on a hospital floor. It took over ten years for AI to even mildly oppose the U.S.-imposed UN sanctions that killed over one and a half million Iraqis.

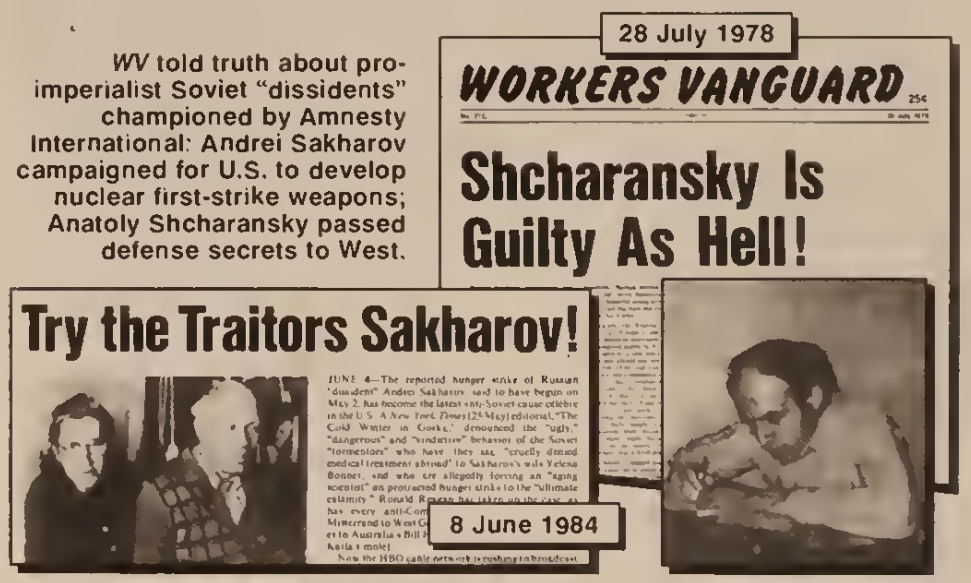
In 1996, AI sponsored a 25-city U.S. movie tour featuring a spokesman for the Croatian nationalist regime of Franjo Tudjman—an admirer of the fascist World War II-era Ustashi regime—who retailed lurid tales of mass rapes in Bosnia-Herzegovina by Serbians. This was part of an international campaign by liberals and feminists to drum up support for imperialist intervention against Serbia, culminating in the 1999 U.S./NATO war. At the time of the failed U.S.-backed coup in Venezuela in 2002, Amnesty jumped into action—to condemn President Hugo Chávez for "crimes against humanity." At its human rights film festival in Vancouver the following year, AI censored the film *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised*, which documented the failed coup.

In the past period, Amnesty has faced criticism from liberal opponents of the Iraq war for its failure to oppose the invasion. In fact, William Schulz, executive director of Amnesty International USA, attacked antiwar organizations for not joining Bush's "war on terror," railing that "the political left" has failed "to give the necessary attention, analysis and strategizing to the effort to counter terrorism and protect our fundamental right to security."

One prominent member of AI is Diana Negroponte, wife of John Negroponte, Bush's Director of National Intelligence. As ambassador to Honduras from 1981 to 1985, John Negroponte oversaw the U.S.' dirty war against Sandinista-ruled Nicaragua. Working through Honduran military commander Gustavo Álvarez Martínez and his sadistic death squads, Negroponte used Honduras as a staging ground for Contra attacks on Nicaraguan hospitals, schools and bridges.

Diana Negroponte also sits on the Board of Trustees of Freedom House, whose main activity is supporting the counterrevolutionary Cuban *gusanos*. Her "human rights" colleagues at Freedom House include such Cold War criminals as Reagan's former UN ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick, who used her post to champion U.S.-backed torturers in Latin America and engage in bellicose diatribes against the Soviet Union. Another Freedom House veteran is Clinton's former CIA director James Woolsey. After leaving the administration, Woolsey and his fellow neo-cons at the Project for the New American Century wrote to Clinton in 1998 urging military action against Iraq's Saddam Hussein and his purported "weapons of mass destruction." A leading light at Freedom House is Samuel Huntington, whose book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* provides ideological justification for the Bush gang's occupation of Iraq.

WV told truth about pro-imperialist Soviet "dissidents" championed by Amnesty International: Andrei Sakharov campaigned for U.S. to develop nuclear first-strike weapons; Anatoly Shcharansky passed defense secrets to West.



Soviet Dissidents and Trotskyist Defensism

Anti-Communism has always been a hallmark of Amnesty International. Throughout their histories, organizations such as Amnesty and Human Rights Watch have played a significant role in the imperialists' propaganda offensive against the USSR and, today, against the Cuban, Chinese, Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states. AI was particularly instrumental in aiding the imperialist "human rights" crusade of the Democratic Carter administration in the late 1970s by turning a slew of anti-Communist Soviet dissidents into international causes célèbres.

As Trotskyists who fought for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, we noted that among the Kremlin's crimes was that its stifling repression drove pro-socialist members of the intelligentsia into the arms of "democratic" counterrevolution. We sought to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and re-establish workers democracy through proletarian political revolution. From that standpoint, we defended the right of free political expression even for anti-Communists provided that they did not actively work for the overthrow of the workers state. We also opposed the Soviet bureaucracy's stripping dissidents of their citizenship while they were abroad.

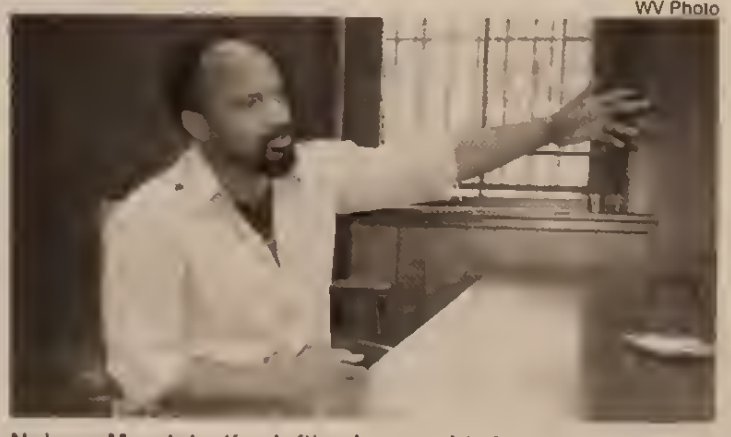
In contrast to the bourgeois civil libertarians and the fake leftists who joined in the imperialist anti-Soviet campaign, we stated in "Imperialists Howl Over 'Human Rights': The Main Enemy Is at Home" (*WV* No. 163, 24 June 1977):

> "We repeat the warning we have sounded since the beginning of Carter's 'human rights' ploy: behind the liberal rhetoric stands the threat of imperialist war, principally directed against the Soviet Union. We are no friends of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which murdered thousands of Left Oppositionists, including Trotsky himself, and suppressed soviet democracy for all dissidents, socialist or otherwise. But in the face of this imperialist propaganda blitz aimed at undermining the Soviet degenerated workers state, we insist that the incomparably greater danger is the restoration of capitalism through bloody counterrevolution."

In their efforts to undermine the Soviet workers state, AI and its brethren prominently publicized such pro-imperialist "dissidents" as right-wing Zionist Anatoly Shcharansky and Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov. We supported Moscow's refusal to allow Sakharov, the father of the Soviet nuclear bomb, to emigrate to the West. This was a vital measure in defense of the Soviet Union, keeping its military secrets out of imperialist hands. Shcharansky was no mere "dissident"—he was guilty of treason for passing secrets to the West, something that even members of the bourgeois press at the time acknowledged

Pictorial Parade

WV Photo



Nelson Mandela (far left), shown with fellow ANC leader Walter Sisulu in Robben Island Prison, South Africa, 1965; former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), San Quentin, 1985. Amnesty International dropped Mandela as "prisoner of conscience," shunned Geronimo for years.

(see "Shcharansky Is Guilty As Hell!" *WV* No. 212, 28 July 1978).

Proletarian Rule and the Early Soviet Republic

Common to the entire spectrum of bourgeois ideologues—from Bush and the right wing of the Republican Party to Al and Democratic Party liberals—is the longstanding maxim that the Soviet Union, born of the only successful workers revolution in history, was the epitome of brutal repression. Barely a month goes by without another tome rehashing anti-Communist slanders—from outright reactionaries such as Harvard's Richard Pipes, a former member of Reagan's National Security Council, to ex-leftists like the authors of *The Black Book of Communism* (1997), an amalgam of Cold War propaganda and CIA lies about supposed Communist "crimes." The 2004 Pulitzer Prize-winning book by Anne Applebaum, *Gulag: A History*, declared, "More broadly, 'Gulag' has come to mean the Soviet repressive system itself."

These apologists for the bourgeois order want to impose the idea that capitalist society is the only world possible. They uphold the capitalist profit system built on centuries of the most vicious colonial oppression. In its highest stage, capitalism created a world dominated by a handful of imperialist powers, whose struggles for markets and sources of raw materials and cheap labor has led to two world wars and the plundering of colonies and neocolonies. Capitalism is a system predicated on exploitation and mass impoverishment, on brutal racial and national oppression and imperialist depredation.

One of the main techniques of the bourgeois ideologues has been to equate Communism with fascism, thereby not only smearing the former but also trivializing the unique and unspeakable crimes of the Holocaust, in which the *capitalist* government of Hitler's Nazis murdered millions of Jews, Gypsies and others in a demented effort to eliminate whole peoples from the face of the earth. Some 27 million Soviet citizens died as result of the Nazi invasion. It was the Red Army that liberated central and East Europe from the fascist scourge.

In the London *Guardian* (19 September 2002), columnist Seumas Milne remarked on the equation of Communism with fascism: "The battle over history is never really about the past—it's about the future." He added, "Those who demonise past attempts to build an alternative to capitalist society are determined to prove that there is none." The capitalist rulers are bent on spreading the most despicable lies in the hope of finally putting an end to the spectre of the October Revolution.

The world bourgeoisies and their mouthpieces loathe the fact that Lenin and the Bolsheviks applied the measures not only necessary to attain state power but essential to defend and consolidate working-class rule. In the name of "democracy," the capitalist powers subjected the Russian Revolution not merely to the hammer and tongs of military encirclement and invasion, provocations and isolation, but to mountains of slander as well. Foremost among the slanders is the big lie that Stalinism—with its police-state repression and stultifying censorship, its bureaucratic privileges and economic mismanagement, its Great Russian chauvinism toward the USSR's minority peoples—was the offspring of Leninism.

The main anti-communist argument is that the roots of the Moscow Trials of the 1930s and of the Stalinist gulags are to be found in the October Revolution itself, and in particular the "Red Terror" during the Civil War. In reality, the October Revolution was carried out with barely any human losses. As we wrote in "*Black Book*: Anti-Communist Big Lie" (*WV* No. 692, 5 June 1998):

> "The fact that the Russian revolutionary proletariat, which came out of WWI decimated in an economically devastated country, was able to win the Civil War was itself irrefutable proof of the depth of support for the revolutionary cause. The workers fought heroically, sacrificing themselves to the point that the most conscious proletarian layers were virtually wiped out."

Basil Blackwell, Inc.

Novosti

Left: Red Army commander Leon Trotsky rallies troops during 1920 war with French-backed Pilsudski dictatorship in Poland. Below: Soviet troops enter Ukrainian city of Odessa in 1919 during Civil War.

Repression of counterrevolutionaries became more severe as counterrevolutionary atrocities increased—e.g., the 1918 attempts on the lives of Lenin and other leading Bolsheviks and the massacres of Communists and the terror wreaked against Jewish villages during the Civil War. Civil law in the early workers state guaranteed political rights for parties that recognized the rule of the soviets and codified the humane rehabilitation of common criminals. The early Bolshevik regime made a major distinction between the workers state's legal codes—which had a more permanent quality and were based on rehabilitation and integration into society rather than on the cruel, religious concept of punishment—and the necessary and extraordinary measures needed to crush the forces of counterrevolution. The measures of the Red Terror and the campaigns of the Red Army against counterrevolutionaries were dictated by the laws of civil war.

Proletarian Justice

It would have been a crime had the Bolsheviks not utilized all means necessary to ensure victory. Trotsky, commander of the Red Army during the Civil War, explained in *Terrorism and Communism* (1920): "The working class, which seized power in battle, had as its object and its duty to establish that power unshakably, to guarantee its own supremacy beyond question, to destroy its enemies' hankering for a new revolution, and thereby to make sure of carrying out Socialist reforms. Otherwise there would be no point in seizing power."

For this task not only the Red Army was required. The war against counterrevolution was understood as an episode requiring temporary and drastic measures, and for that purpose the Cheka (Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage) was established. The Cheka's methods reflected the proletarian morality of the Soviet power. In 1918, Cheka head Felix Dzerzhinsky issued the following instructions:

> "Let all those who are assigned to conduct searches, take people into custody, and imprison them behave solicitously toward those being arrested or searched. Let them be much more courteous even than toward close friends. Let them remember that the incarcerated cannot defend themselves and that they are in our power. Each and every one must remember that they represent Soviet power, the workers' and peasants' government, and that any verbal abuse, rudeness, injustice, or impropriety is a blot upon the Soviet power."
>
> —quoted in Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko, *The Time of Stalin* (1981)

When a small Moscow journal, *Cheka Weekly*, published a letter calling for the use of torture, the Cheka responded, "The proletariat is merciless in its struggle. At the same time it is unshakable and strong. Not a single curse at our most wicked enemies. No tortures and torments!" The Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the highest governmental body, passed a decree that read, "Although the Soviet regime resorts of necessity to the most drastic measures of conflict with the counterrevolutionary movement, and remembers that the conflict with the counterrevolution has taken the form of open armed conflict, in which the proletariat and poor peasants cannot renounce the use of terror, the Soviet regime fundamentally rejects the measures advocated in the indicated article, as despicable, dangerous, and contrary to the interests of the struggle for Communism" (quoted in Roy A. Medvedev, *Let History Judge* [1972]).

The *Cheka Weekly* was closed down, the authors of the letter dismissed and forbidden to hold office in the Soviet republic. In the U.S., the authors of the Justice Department memo justifying torture, Alberto Gonzales and Jay Bybee, have been rewarded with appointments as U.S. attorney general and federal appeals court judge, respectively. Amnesty International and other liberals are concerned that such moves tear away at the "democratic" facade of murderous U.S. imperialism.

The revolutionary Bolsheviks intended their prisons to isolate counterrevolutionaries and rehabilitate them with the aim of reintegration into the society. What anti-communist ideologues portray as the "regime of forced labor" for counterrevolutionary prisoners was based on the idea that productive labor is the norm for all able-bodied citizens of a workers state. Article Two, point 18 of the 1918 Soviet Constitution explained, "The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic considers work the duty of every citizen of the Republic, and proclaims as its motto: 'He shall not eat who does not work'." In a 29 June 1918 speech, Trotsky stated, "For centuries the workers and peasants have been cleaning the dirt of the ruling classes, but now let [the former ruling classes] clean [the dirt] which we are leaving behind, until such time as they join the working class in the pursuit of a common goal. We must place them in such conditions that they will lose the desire to remain bourgeois" (James Bunyan, *The Origin of Forced Labor in the Soviet State 1917-1921* [1967]).

Prisoners were offered "full opportunities for moral regeneration." This meant labor aimed at training them to work and acquire skills, enabling them to be integrated into society as productive members of the working class. Even under conditions of extreme hardship, the Bolshevik regime insisted that working conditions in the prisons be covered by the general labor code that provided trade-union pay rates, food rations and other benefits.

Trotskyists Were Main Targets of Stalinist Repression

Following the political counterrevolution of 1923-24, the Stalinist bureaucracy made permanent many of the measures employed temporarily by the young workers state and twisted them into the most grotesque opposite of what the Bolsheviks had implemented. Under the Stalinist regime, prisons were transformed from institutions for re-education through labor into instruments of punishment through forced labor and all the old "tortures and torments" denounced by the early Soviet government.

The prisons under Lenin and Trotsky's regime, which were filled with active counterrevolutionaries, cannot be equated with the bureaucracy's concentration

continued on page 8

Corbis

Above: Former aristocrats put to work in Soviet Russia, 1921. Below: Former mansion became House of Rest for workers following October Revolution.

New York Public Library

From Early Soviet Correctional Labor Law

Graphic depicting Justice watching over factory and field headed chapter on "People's Commissariat of Justice" in 1922 book *Five Years of Soviet Power* by Soviet Central Executive Committee.

We print below a translation of selected statutes and guidelines of the early Soviet workers state pertaining to prison labor, from the Russian-language book Gulag 1918-1960 *(A.I. Kokurin, N.V. Petrov, eds. [Materik, 2002]).*

Directive of the People's Commissar of Justice on Prison Work Crews, 24 January 1918

1) From among the able-bodied detainees in jails, crews are to be formed for production needed by the state. The difficulty of this work is not to exceed that of an unskilled laborer.

2) Those under arrest (both those under investigation, and those convicted) receive pay at the level of salaries of the given field of industry for the labor they perform.

3) One-third of the above-specified pay goes into the prison's general fund for improvement of the lives of the arrested; two-thirds is held in account for the arrested, and paid out upon their release.

4) Upon the request of the arrested, one-tenth of the money earned by him may be paid out in cash at the end of each workweek.

Correctional Labor Codex of the Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics, 16 October 1924

Article 4: In order that the effect of corrective labor on the arrested be complete and genuine, the jails of the previous period must be replaced by a continual improvement, and the maximal development, of a network of agricultural, artisan and workshop colonies and transitional correctional labor homes, built for the most part outside of cities.

Article 6: In detaining prisoners in correctional labor institutions, the latter must strive for proper influence on the prisoner, and reinforce those of his characteristics and skills that could constrain him from further crimes. Detention must be consistent with this aim, and not inflicting physical torments or humiliation of human dignity.

Article 51: The employment of prisoners in labor has an educational-corrective character, aimed at training them to work, acquiring skills of a particular profession, giving them the chance to live the life of a worker upon their release.

Article 83: The task of cultural-enlightenment work is to raise the intellectual level and civil development of the prisoner by means of imparting to him a general education, a professional skill and a familiarity with the basis of Soviet society and the rights and obligations of citizens of the USSR.■

U.S. Torture...

(continued from page 7)

camps, which were filled with old Bolsheviks, left-wing intellectuals and class-conscious workers, as well as numerous others caught up in the web of Stalin's terror. To consolidate his power, Stalin had to murder virtually every surviving member of the Bolshevik Central Committee of 1917 during the bloody purges of the 1930s, disproving the equation of Bolshevism with Stalinism.

The central purpose of Stalin's terror was to repress and intimidate the proletoriat whose political power the bureoucracy hod usurped. Its primary victims were communist oppositionists, beginning with the Trotskyist Left Opposition, whose progrom wos centered on the fight for internotional socialist revolution.

Significantly, the imperialist "democracies" had little problem with the Moscow Trials. The conservative Kremlin bureaucracy offered to the world bourgeoisie the renunciation of proletarian revolution internationally in exchange for empty pledges of "peace" toward the Soviet Union. Thus Stalin's regime was seen as a "reasonable" alternative to the Bolshevik-Leninist opposition led by Trotsky. What the bureaucracy's anti-Marxist dogma of "socialism in one country" meant was captured in Stalin's 1936 interview with American journalist Roy Howard, where he explicitly disavowed the early Communist International's aim of world socialist revolution as a "misunderstanding." Stalin's support to "democratic" imperialism through the policy of the "People's Front" served to chain the proletariat in the capitalist world to a mythical "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. Its results were seen in the brutal suppression of the 1936-38 Spanish workers revolution by the Popular Front government that included the Spanish Communist Party.

New York Times Moscow correspondent Walter Duranty and U.S. ambassador Joseph E. Davies were among those who, as Trotsky put it, "assayed the Moscow trials as unalloyed gold." Ambassador Davies' 1941 book *Mission to Moscow*, later made into a film, was a despicable apologia for the purge trials. *Time* magazine picked Stalin as their "Man of the Year" for 1939 and 1942. As Trotsky noted in *Their Morals and Ours* (1938): "The big bourgeoisie of the democratic countries watched the execution of the revolutionists in the USSR, not without pleasure, though feigning abhorrence."

In Stalin's prison camps, the Trotskyists were the most resolute defenders of the prisoners' rights. This produced innumerable cases of individual and collective heroism, which won the admiration of even those prisoners who did not share their revolutionary Marxist convictions, including many ex-Stalinists and purged bureaucrats. Most importantly, the Trotskyists remained steadfast in their defense of the October Revolution. Individual Trotskyists who survived the executions of 1937-38 were among the hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries in Stalin's prison camps who requested to be sent to the front to fight against Hitler's 1941 invasion of the USSR. When Stalin refused to allow this, they did what they could for the Soviet war effort by agreeing to the extension of the working day to 12 hours. In 1941, Stalin ordered a further wave of executions of political prisoners, including Trotsky's sister Olga Kameneva and former Left Opposition leader Christian Rakovsky.

For New October Revolutions!

While Amnesty International takes no formal position on the violence and terror unleashed by the imperialists in war, it is resolutely opposed to the violence of the oppressed in their struggle for freedom. Projected backward in history, for the likes of Al "violent" slave rebellions such as those led by Denmark Vesey and Gabriel Prosser, as well as the Haitian Revolution, would have been unacceptable. Al & Co.'s campaigns for the bloody capitalist rulers to live up to their Constitutions, Conventions and Declarations serve to ideologically fortify a brutal system of exploitation that on an hourly basis maims, kills and tortures—not merely through military and police violence but through poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy and preventable industrial accidents. It was with the aim of ridding the world of capitalist barbarism that the Bolshevik Party took power, and that is the reason why Amnesty & Co. so despise the October Revolution and the workers state it created.

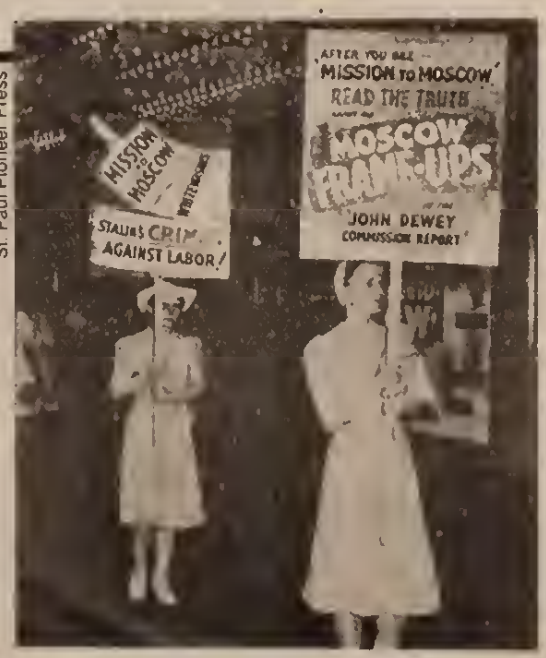
Basil Blackwell, Inc.

Trotskyist Left Oppositionists exiled to Siberia by Stalin demonstrate on anniversary of October Revolution, 1928.

We fought for the defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe against the capitalist class enemy. We threw the bulk of our forces internationally into the incipient proletarian political revolution in East Germany in 1989-90, fighting for a Red Soviet Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe. Immediately following Boris Yeltsin's August 1991 coup, our comrades in Moscow distributed thousands of leaflets titled "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" calling for the workers to sweep away Yeltsin's rabble. Today we are steadfast in our unconditional military defense of China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam.

As the founder of American Trotskyism, James P. Cannon, affirmed, "Who touches the Russian Question, touches a revolution." The Soviet Union may be gone—but the necessity of defending the Russian Revolution is as vital as ever. The imperialists and their liberal torchbearers seek to rewrite history in order to ensure that the rule of capital is never again challenged. They would like to wipe out of the consciousness among the proletariat and the oppressed any attachment to the program or ideals of communism.

Our aim is to educate revolutionary-minded youth and proletarian fighters with the aim of building revolutionary parties modeled on Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, in the U.S. and internationally, to lead the working class to power. Thus will he finally realized the goal expressed in the workers' anthem, the "Internationale": "The international Soviet shall be the human race." Only then will mankind be able to achieve a society of abundance, free of coercion, where the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.■



St. Paul Pioneer Press

Imperialists saw Stalin as "reasonable" alternative to Trotsky's Bolshevik-Leninists. Left: Former ambassador Joseph Davies' 1941 book *Mission to Moscow*, apologia for Stalin's terror; *Time* (January 1940) named Stalin "Man of the Year." Right: Trotskyists protest *Mission to Moscow* film, St. Paul, 1943.

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

Joint Nuclear Operations," called for giving "joint force commanders" the authority to launch nuclear attacks under a number of scenarios. "It is essential," the document asserts, "that US forces are determined to employ nuclear weapons if necessary to prevent or retaliate against WMD use." Under such guidelines, the commanders would have had authority to launch a nuclear strike against Iraq in 2003. Those who would be given such authority include the likes of retired Lt. Gen. William G. Boykin, who once declared in reference to a 1993 battle in Somalia with a Muslim warlord, "I knew my God was bigger than his."

The irrational, anarchic, profit-driven capitalist system has been made even more irrational in this epoch of imperialist decay. Mass slaughter is the concentrated expression and ultimate logic of the "normal" brutal workings of the capitalist system, which daily condemns countless numbers around the world to death by malnutrition, lack of medical care and industrial murder.

What is necessary is class-struggle opposition to U.S. imperialism by the multiracial proletariat in the U.S. The primary obstacle to this course is the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, whose acceptance of the capitalist profit system and promotion of U.S. imperialism's interests internationally chain the working class to the class enemy. The working class needs revolutionary leadership. If there is to be a future for the working class, minorities and youth other than one of grinding exploitation, joblessness, repression and war, if the impoverished masses of the world are to have a future other than starvation and imperialist subjugation, then this whole system must be torn up by its roots through socialist revolutions and replaced by a rational, planned economy internationally. The Spartacist League fights to build a revolutionary workers party—a U.S. section of a reforged Fourth International—that will lead the U.S. proletariat in a fight to sweep away the bloody imperialist system and establish workers rule.

Defend China!

The U.S. saber rattling against Iran also poses a serious threat to China. Having emerged victorious from the Cold War against the USSR, U.S. imperialism now has as a strategic target the Chinese deformed workers state, where capitalist rule was overthrown through the 1949 revolution. The imperialists have pursued a two-pronged strategy for capitalist restoration in China: economic penetration and military pressure.

An *Asia Times* (2 December 2004) article noted: "Increasingly, the image of the Islamic Republic of Iran as a sort of frontline state in a post-Cold War global lineup against US hegemony is becoming prevalent among Chinese and Russian foreign-policy thinkers." China gets 14 percent of the oil for its growing economy from Iran. In late 2004, China signed a $70 billion deal with Iran for oil and natural gas for some 30 years, under which China's state-owned oil company Sinopec will get a 51 percent stake in Iran's Yadavaran oil field and its estimated three billion barrels of reserves.

U.S. imperialism has placed military bases in Central Asia, aiming toward a strategic encirclement of China as well as enhancing U.S. efforts to control oil resources against both capitalist Russia and the Chinese workers state. While the U.S. has been bogged down in Iraq, it has pursued a "containment policy" against China, including by strengthening military ties with Japanese imperialism—for example, through last year's U.S.-Japan pact to defend capitalist Taiwan against Red China. Last year, the U.S. agreed to provide nuclear-armed India with additional nuclear technology in an attempt "to improve ties with India, in part as a counterweight to China" (*New York Times*, 19 July 2005). Simply put: It's OK for allies of U.S. imperialism to have nukes, but not for so-called "rogue states."

As Trotskyists, we fight for the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states—China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against military attack and capitalist counterrevolution. Thus we support China and North Korea's testing and possessing nuclear arms as a necessary deterrent against imperialist nuclear blackmail. China's modest nuclear arsenal is an important measure of such deterrence.

It is vital that China oppose the imperialist drive to disarm Iran. However, while verbally opposing UN sanctions against Iran, the Beijing Stalinist regime is collaborating with the imperialists. Along with Russia, China has just agreed to U.S. and European demands that Iran be hauled before the UN Security Council. Similarly, China helped broker imperialist "negotiations" aimed at stopping nuclear weapons development by North Korea, which last year announced that it had developed nuclear weapons. Beijing's role was particularly criminal given that anything that undermines the defense of the North Korean deformed workers state will redound against the Chinese deformed workers state.

The Beijing Stalinists' policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism undermines China's own defense. We fight for workers political revolutions in the deformed workers states to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and replace them with regimes based on democratically elected workers and peasants councils. Such revolutionary regimes must be guided by a program of revolutionary internationalism, fighting to extend proletarian rule through international socialist revolution, particularly in the imperialist centers of the U.S., Japan and West Europe.

Nuclear Cowboys on the Loose

Since 2003, Iran has been subject to inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which has found no evidence of a nuclear weapons program. After Iran announced on January 3 that it would restart its enrichment facility at Natanz, Bush pushed to bring Iran before the UN Security Council to impose sanctions. Economic sanctions are an act of war. Both the 1991 and 2003 wars against Iraq were preceded and prepared by UN-imposed sanctions.

The Bush White House has embraced many of the positions of the Zionist "neoconservative" think tank "Project for the New American Century," which has long advocated "regime change" in Iran as well as Iraq as part of securing U.S. control of the Near East. Central to that perspective is the carving of a "cordon sanitaire" around Israel through installing pliant regimes in surrounding countries.

As reported by Seymour Hersh in a 24 January 2005 *New Yorker* article, "The Coming Wars":

> "The [Bush] Administration has been conducting secret reconnaissance missions inside Iran at least since last summer. Much of the focus is on the accumulation of intelligence and targeting information on Iranian nuclear, chemical, and missile sites, both declared and suspected. The goal is to identify and isolate three dozen, and perhaps more, such targets that could be destroyed by precision strikes and short-term commando raids."

Israeli politicians have hinted that Israel, which bombed Iraq's Osirak nuclear plant in 1981, might bomb Iran's nuclear facilities. With the recent Hamas victory in the Palestinian legislative elections, the Zionist rulers will likely further whip up hysteria about "Islamic terrorism" to both ratchet up threats against Iran and step up repression of the Palestinian people. The U.S., which last year supplied Israel with 500 "bunker buster" bombs, might give Israel the go-ahead to attack Iran. But unlike Iraq in '81, Iran today has at least nine different facilities, mainly underground, making such an operation far more difficult. Iran has warned that it would respond to an attack by hitting Israel and Western forces in the Persian Gulf, with one Iranian general pointing out, "The world knows Iran has a ballistic missile power with a range of 2,000 km" (London *Observer*, 29 January).

There are a number of obstacles to a U.S. assault on Iran. Since Iran sits on 10 percent of the world's oil reserves, an attack would propel oil prices even higher internationally, likely sparking an international economic crisis. Moreover, the U.S. military is severely stretched in enforcing the savage occupation of Iraq. Under such circumstances, the U.S. cannot occupy a country as large and populous as Iran without re-instituting a draft, which would not go down well with a U.S. populace that increasingly opposes the Iraq occupation. Meanwhile, as an unintentional consequence of the U.S. occupation, Shi'ite parties that have historically had close ties with the Shi'ite regime in Iran now hold power in Iraq. An attack on Iran would enrage Iraq's Shi'ite majority and rally much of the Iranian population behind the fundamentalist regime in Tehran.

France and Germany support the U.S. demand that the UN Security Council "handle" Iran, which could lead to sanctions. Bush has found an ally with the new, right-wing German chancellor, Angela Merkel, who declared at a January 29 press conference in Jerusalem that a nuclear-armed Iran "is not just a threat to Israel, but also to the democratic countries of this world" (*New York Times*, 30 January). Meanwhile, French president Jacques Chirac launched a political storm in Europe by announcing his own doctrine of pre-emptive nuclear war. Threatening "the leaders of states who use terrorist means against us, as well as those who would consider using, in one way or another, weapons of mass destruction," he said that the "response" by nuclear-armed France "could be a conventional one. It could also be of a different kind."

But Germany, which trades heavily with Iran, and France, which has large investments there, have also sought to balance U.S. belligerence by pushing "negotiations" and diplomatic pressure. Even the staunchly pro-American British Labour government has declared, in the words of Foreign Secretary Jack Straw, that "there isn't a military option." Hedging its bets, the Bush administration has announced its support for a recent Russian proposal that would allow Iran to operate civilian nuclear facilities as long as uranium enrichment takes place on Russian soil. While not rejecting the proposal, Iranian officials have complained that it is "not sufficient for Iran's nuclear energy needs."

Workers to Power!

Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who won office in June, is a reactionary who spreads poisonous anti-Semitism. In November he called the slaughter of six million Jews in the Nazi Holocaust a "myth" and said that Israel should be "wiped out from the map of the world."

The 1979 Iranian "Islamic Revolution" that overthrew the CIA-backed Shah was supported by the bulk of the left internationally in the name of "anti-imperialism." This included the pro-Moscow Tudeh (Masses) party in Iran, which had a base in the country's strategic, heavily Arab oil workers. The International Communist League (then the international Spartacist tendency) uniquely warned from the outset of the 1978-79 upheaval that, absent a decisive break by the working class with the Islamic forces, the struggle would have a disastrous outcome. We said: "Down with the Shah! Don't bow to Khomeini! For workers revolution in Iran!" After taking power, the mullahs enslaved women in the veil, slaughtered thousands of leftists and trade unionists and intensified repression against Kurds and other minorities.

It is the task of the working class in Iran, leading all the oppressed behind it, to overthrow the Persian-chauvinist Islamic regime. Key to this perspective is the forging of a Marxist workers party. Such parties must be built throughout the Near East to unite the proletariat—Arab, Persian, Kurdish and Hebrew, Sunni and Shi'ite, Muslim and Christian—in struggle against imperialism and against the Zionists, mullahs, colonels, sheiks and all the other capitalist rulers. The fight for workers rule in the Near East crucially includes shattering the Zionist garrison state from within through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution. The Stalinized Communist Parties of the Near East, which made a mockery of this revolutionary perspective, share responsibility for the growth of Islamic fundamentalism among the working and oppressed masses. Marxist workers parties are essential to break the proletariat of the region from fundamentalism and all forms of nationalism in the struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East.

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not complete the socialist revolution, but only opens it by changing the direction of social development. Short of the international extension of the revolution, particularly to the advanced, industrialized imperialist centers, that social development will be arrested and ultimately reversed. Defense of those subjugated by the imperialists around the globe demands the pursuit of class struggle in the U.S. and other imperialist centers, and ultimately requires a proletarian struggle for power. If the imperialists are not to plunge humanity into nuclear Armageddon, they must be overthrown through socialist revolutions internationally. This underscores the urgent need to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution. ■

Landau/Jerusalem Post

THE SUNDAY TIMES

Revealed: the secrets of Israel's nuclear arsenal

Israeli technician Mordechai Vanunu, shown being taken to Jerusalem court after 1986 abduction by Mossad, was imprisoned for 18 years for revealing Zionists' nuclear arsenal in London *Sunday Times* (5 October 1986).

Dockers...

(continued from page 12)

13 workers were arrested and charged with property damage, assault and resisting arrest. In accelerated trials, recalling the police-state justice meted out to North African youth following the November ghetto revolts in France, nine of these workers were sentenced to prison terms of two to four months.

In a wretched capitulation to the chauvinist violence-baiting of the workers attacked in Strashourg, the bureaucrats of the German ver.di service 'sector union stated that the workers' "action has elicited sharp criticism from the union" (*Hamburger Abendblatt*, 17 January). This has outraged class-conscious workers from the Hamburg port and undermines the international unity of the harbor workers, which is vital for defending their interests against the bosses. ***An injury to one is an injury to all! Free the imprisoned dockers! Drop all the chorges!***

We print below excerpts from a translation of a special 9 January supplement of *Spartakist*, newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party, German section of the International Communist League.

* * *

The European Transport Workers Federation (ETF) has called on port workers and seamen across Europe to protest on January 11 and 16. On January 16 there is to be a harbor workers' demonstration in Strasbourg, France, where the EU Parliament will decide on the Port Package 2 bill on January 18. Port Package 2 would allow cargo handling by seamen or the ship owners' own employees, who are not covered by the harbor union contract. It would also mean that when new owners take over a container terminal facility, they would not be obligated to retain the existing workforce and contract. Port Package 2 can and must be beaten back. The key to doing that is international class struggle, which must he independent of the interests of the hosses and their state. Shut the harbors down tight on January 11 and 16! Picket lines must ensure that no containers and no cargo move, that everything comes to a standstill.

The Port Package and Bolkestein are meant to play workers against each other all across Europe. In many West European countries, East European workers are hrought in to undermine union wages and drive the wage level down. In Hamburg, young newly hired harbor workers are forced to work for lower wages. Attempts are already being made to hring in seamen to break union wage scales. And within individual countries they are trying to play workers against each other, as in France, where harbor workers on the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts have different working conditions and are hardly ever mobilized in joint struggle. East European workers are used as cheap lahor to suppress the wages of the existing workforce. The lowest-paid workers are being shipped all around Europe. These attacks, like the rollback of the "welfare state," are being carried out across Europe by both "leftist" social-democratic and conservative governments.

When the trade-union leadership raises slogans such as "Harbor work for harbor workers," we have to point out: This slogan is craft unionist in character and potentially nationalist-protectionist. In the U.S., it is a right won through struggle that seamen who unload ships in smaller ports are paid dock workers' wages. Harbor workers must ally with everyone—seaman or immigrant—who unloads ships, and unionize them and fight for full union wages for all. The same applies to port truckers and everyone else who has to slave away in the harbor for wages below contract levels. ***Horbor workers' woges for harbor work!*** This is the only way to spike attempts by the capitalists to pit different sectors of the workers against each other. ***The Port Packoge scheme meons destruction of the harbor workers' unions ond even worse working conditions for seamen! Hurbor workers must support seamen fighting for union wages! Organize oll the unorgonized working in the port! Defend the harbor warkers union!***

The international union movement must also mobilize against "anti-terror" measures like ISPS [International Ship and Port Facility Security], Port Security and security fences, which are aimed at massively restricting the freedom of movement of seamen, harbor workers, union representatives, including to and from seamen's missions [service centers run hy the church]. With their "war on terror," the capitalists and their governments are taking aim at the multiethnic working class and seek to divide it. ***Down with the onti-Muslim witchhunt! For full freedom of movement of horbor workers throughout the horbar! Defend the right of seamen to unrestricted shore leove!***

The hourgeoisie's attacks can be thrown back only through class struggle! But that is not the outlook of the current union leadership. It is bound with a thousand threads to the SPD [Social Democratic Party] and in part to the PDS/Linkspartei. These social-democratic parties are bourgeois workers parties. That means that they have a capitalist program and pro-capitalist leadership, with a working-class base. ***For a class-struggle union leudership! For o multiethnic revolutionory workers porty!***

Resistance against the Port Package and Bolkestein affects the imperialist EU itself. The EU is a bloc of capitalist states for the oppression and exploitation of the working masses of Europe and other countries, mainly in competition with the U.S. While the individual EU countries can keep the lid on their mutually conflicting interests only with difficulty, the EU unites the ruling classes of Europe to exploit the laboring masses. ***Down with the imperiolist EU! Down with racist fortress Europe! For the sociolist united stotes of Europe!***

It is necessary for workers to unite against the exploiters rather than be played off against each other. It is in the unions' hest interests to fight for the rights of every worker, wherever he comes from. On 9 Decemher 2005, 150,000 workers demonstrated in Ireland in solidarity with seamen from Irish Ferries. The union members took to the streets in droves to support the Irish Ferries workers, who had occupied two ships to prevent the company from forcibly removing the mainly Irish crew and replacing them with immigrant workers at only half the Irish minimum wage. Dermot Meagher, one of those occupying the *Isle of Inishmore*, said: "We have no objection to any nationality working here—but they must be paid properly and given proper conditions" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 10 December 2005). The leadership of the union the seamen belong to, SIPTU, then accepted a contract for the East European seamen which instead of establishing equal wages only established the Irish minimum wage, thus sanctioning wage slashing. It is the internationalist duty of the West European unions to support the workers of East Europe in huilding powerful unions. ***Equol pay for equal work! Full citizenship rights for everyone who's made it here! Stop deportotions through workers octions! Down with ull employment bans!***

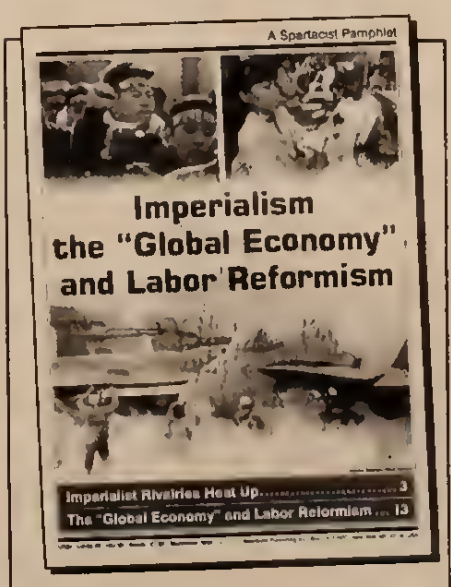
The millions in profits that make it into the pockets of a few port hosses and ship owners come from the surplus value created by the sweat and the hlood of workers. In a socialist society with a planned economy social wealth would go to benefit all—for example, schools with enough teachers, free education, free medical care and generous pensions. But to attain that we need a workers revolution led hy a multiethnic revolutionary workers party that smashes the capitalist system and replaces it with an international, egalitarian socialist society. The Marxist Spartakist Workers Party seeks to convince workers of the need to put an end to the system of exploitation, racism and war. ***Victory to the port workers!***■

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 12)

Dues collections should be done by elected union officers, making them answerable to the membership.

Transit workers, who have already been docked pay, are threatened with heavy fines. The TWU and ATU locals and officials face their own penalties, including $3.4 million in fines and possible jail time. It is the duty of the entire labor movement to rally to the defense of the NYC transit unions (see article, page 11). The court date to contest these penalties has been postponed to March 3. But transit workers are still under the gun. The *New York Post* (28 January) rails that "if the union is suicidal enough to think about striking again" then the courts should "toss Roger Toussaint and the *rest* of the TWU leaders behind bars."



$2 (32 pages)
Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Company
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

The transit workers face a tough decision. They felt their power to turn back the tide of assaults on labor when they shut down subways and buses in December. But they are increasingly distrustful of a union leadership that, after calling them out on strike, did not finish the job and sweep all the givebacks off the table. The union bureaucracy then kept the membership atomized, with voting on the contract done by e-mail and by phone rather than at a mass meeting. Just such a mass meeting is needed *now* to remobilize the workers. Workers must he able to debate what to do and who should lead them through this battle. It was only by engaging in class struggle that they heat back the MTA's most onerous demands in Decemher. Transit workers must now prepare to resume strike action if pushed to the wall by the MTA. That means critically reviewing the December strike and electing bargaining and strike committees responsible to the membership.

Labor Solidarity Is Key

The transit strike resonated with workers nationally and internationally. It galvanized broad support among New York's working people and poor, among blacks and Latinos, who cheered this powerful, integrated union for fighting the MTA bosses. Despite the inconveniences caused by the strike, working people recognized the transit workers struggle as their own. The strike intersected anger at the U.S. government's criminally negligent abandonment of the poor and hlack population of New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina and the ever-widening gap hetween the obscenely rich capitalists and the mass of the population. The strike also intersected growing opposition to the U.S. rulers' bloody neocolonial occupation of Iraq and their broad-gauge attacks on democratic rights in the name of the "war on terror." The TWU could further strengthen its support in the city by revivHendrickson/Local 100 Express

TWU Local 100 head Roger Toussaint embracing Democrat Hillary Clinton at December 2001 union meeting.

ing the historic union demand for free mass transit.

As *Workers Vanguard* has stressed from the heginning of the transit contract battle, key to smashing the Taylor Law is forging a fighting alliance of the transit unions and all of NYC labor at the head of the city's working masses and its ghetto and harrio poor. Mayor Bloomberg intends to foist the 1.5 percent health care concession on other municipal unions, some of which are working without contracts. What was needed in Decemher and is needed now is solidarity *action* hy all regional rail unions and city lahor. But despite the hroad public support, the transit workers were left high and dry by the city labor officialdom. Beholden to their capitalist political bosses in the Democratic and Republican parties, UFT teachers union president Randi Weingarten, SEIU 1199 head Dennis Rivera and the other union tops refused to even say that they supported the strike. For its part, the Local 100 leadership failed to spread the strike by throwing up pickets at regional rail locations, including at Metro-North where workers are on the job without a contract. One TWU member told *WV* on the picket line that some union officers encouraged probationary and provisional workers, who lack full union protection, to scab on the strike! A union leadership worth its salt would fight for all workers to have full union rights from the first day on the job.

The urgent need for hard class struggle against the MTA highlights the importance of fighting for labor's political independence from the capitalist state and political parties. A New York *Daily News* (22 January) article, titled "TWU Money Train for Pols," documents how the Local 100 leadership has doled out $3.7 million since 2001 to sleazy politicians—both Democrats and Republicans—in the city council, state legislature and federal government. The Local 100 and city lahor tops are no different from the national AFL-CIO and "Change to Win" hureaucracies, whose class collaborationism is exemplified hy their political support to the Democratic, and sometimes Repuhlican, parties and hy their "America First" chauvinism. What did this money huy? Empty promises and false friends.

The newspapers report that some in the union are weighing whether the union should drag out negotiations until after the November gubernatorial elections, when Democratic attorney general Eliot Spitzer hopes to replace the Repub-

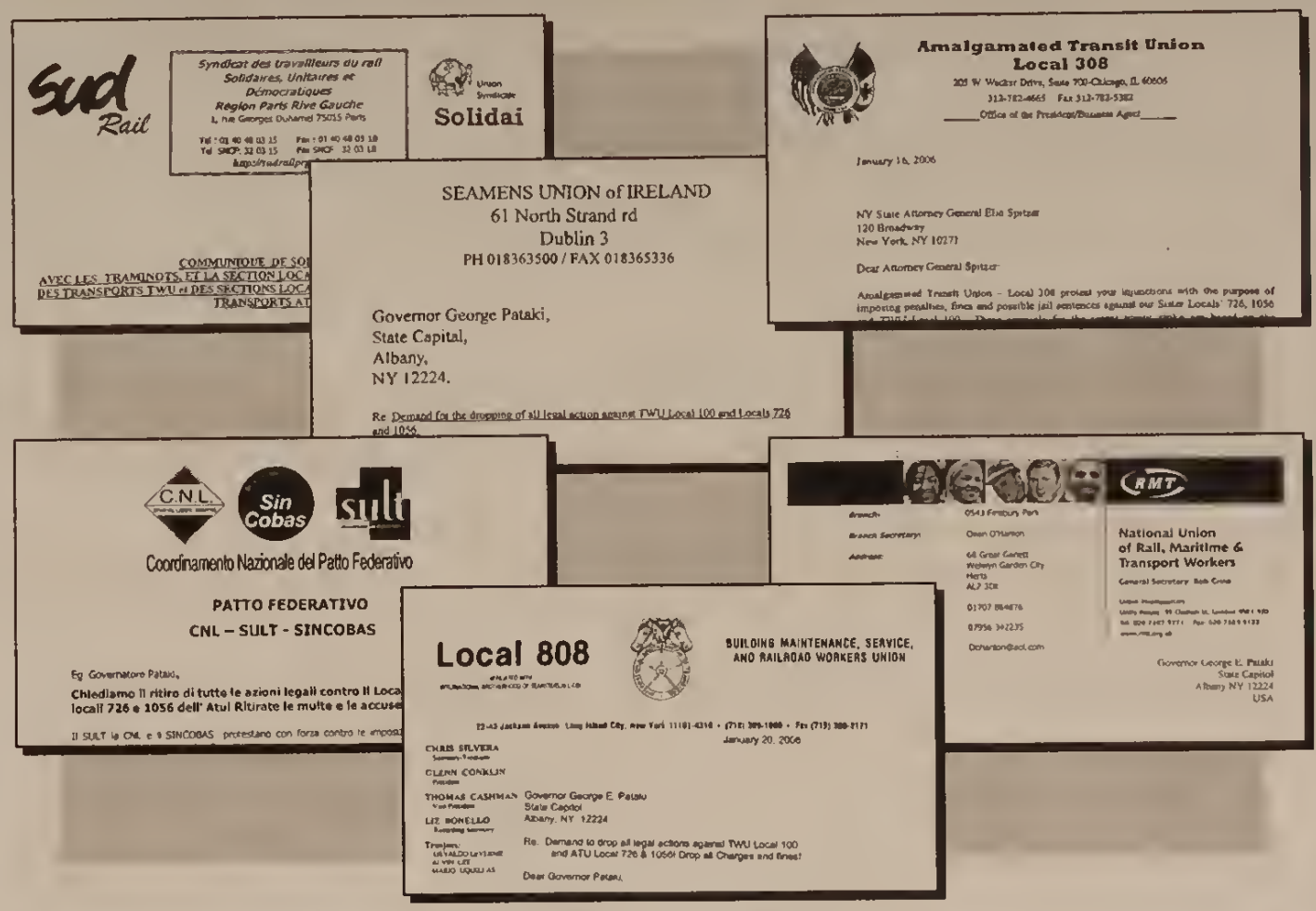
International Solidarity with TWU, ATU

Trade unions nationally and internationally have responded to an appeal by the Partisan Defense Committee (see *WV* No. 862, 20 January) for solidarity with NYC transit unions facing massive fines and possible jailing of their leaders following their strike in December, which defied the state Taylor Law's ban on public workers strikes. The unions have sent protest letters to New York State attorney general Eliot Spitzer, Governor George Pataki and NYC mayor Michael Bloomberg demanding no reprisals against Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 and Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) locals 726 and 1056, as well as messages of support to the unions.

As Chicago ATU Local 308's letter to Pataki stated, the threats against the transit unions "prove once again that the supposed rights of the population are in fact honored only in the breach when it comes to working people, the poor and minorities." Demonstrating the impact of the strike internationally was a letter to TWU Local 100 from the Betriebsrat der Gesamthafenarbeiter (port workers council) in Hamburg, Germany, which recently shut down the port to protest threatened anti-union legislation (see article, page 12). The letter stated: "Your strike in defiance of the vicious anti-union Taylor law was an absolutely necessary stand to stop mounting attacks against the transport workers of New York City. Your strike set an example for the other NYC workers, as well as working people across the U.S. and internationally."

Other messages of solidarity include letters from Teamsters Local 813 sanitation workers and AFSCME District Council 1707, in New York City, National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200 in Pasadena, AFSCME Local 444 water utility workers in Oakland, and Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association Local 9 in San Bruno, California, which has been victimized by Northwest Airlines' vicious union-busting. Unions in Britain, Ireland, France and Italy have also issued protest letters.

The court hearing for the TWU and ATU locals, originally scheduled for January 20, has been postponed to March 3. All of labor must take a stand with the NYC transit unions. Down with the Taylor Law! Defend the right to strike!



Top from left: French SUD rail union, Paris region; Seamens Union of Ireland; ATU Local 308, Chicago. Bottom from left: Italian Federation of CNL-SULT-SINCOBAS unions; Teamsters Local 808, New York; National Union of Rail, Maritime & Transport Workers, London.

lican Pataki. But Spitzer is the one who brought down Taylor Law injunctions against the union, not only last month but in 1999 and 2002 when TWU members voted to strike!

A Rotten "Opposition"

The kind of class-struggle leadership the TWU needs is not what's offered by the "Vote No Coalition" formed by various and sundry opponents of the Toussaint bureaucracy, most of whom were at one point members of the former New Directions (ND) group that propelled Toussaint into office. The left side of this lash-up, now called the "Committee for a Better Contract," includes former NDers Steve Downs, who is supported by the fake-socialist Solidarity outfit, and Executive Board member Marty Goodman, who is supported by the reformist Socialist Action group. They are joined by Eric Josephson, who is hailed by the counterfeit "Marxists" of the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP). Occupying the right side of this opportunist alliance are Local 100 vice presidents and former NDers John Mooney, a vice president from the Stations division who urged workers to support Bloomberg in the last mayoral election, and Ainsley Stewart, who echoed the traitors of the TWU International by *opposing* the strike.

After the vote against the contract deal, Local 100 Secretary-Treasurer Ed Watt railed against "some people whose only goal is to disrupt the union, who were working with the governor's office and the MTA." This is from the same Ed Watt who sits on the MTA board—a living example of the TWU bureaucracy's class-collaborationist program. Watt labeled the opposition campaign "a COINTELPRO style of disinformation," essentially baiting his opponents as police agents. This really takes chutzpah. The Toussaint leadership has long touted Patrolmen's Benevolent Association head Patrick Lynch as a union "ally." During the strike, Toussaint repeatedly invoked the cops as fellow workers. The Local 100 tops even put a photo and quote by Lynch, from a rally prior to the strike, in the January edition of the union newsletter under the headline, "We Were Not Alone."

Haywood-James/Chief-Leader

January 27: Local 100 executive board members Marty Goodman (left), supported by Socialist Action, and Ainsley Stewart, who opposed strike, are part of opportunist lash-up against Toussaint bureaucracy.

Make no mistake: The cops are the armed thugs of the capitalist state whose job is to repress labor, including by enforcing Taylor Law injunctions, and to terrorize minorities. Cops and security guards, whose job is to protect the bosses' property, have no business in the unions: MTA Property Protection Agents out of the TWU! You won't hear this basic truth from the opposition bloc's fake "militants." In a January 21 television interview on *New York 1*, Goodman was asked about contract negotiations for teachers and police. He replied: "We all deserve contract justice."

Class-struggle militants also oppose on principle bringing the courts into union affairs. The intervention by the courts, or any other agency of the capitalist state apparatus, is meant only to weaken the unions and reduce their capacity to struggle against the bosses, as the anti-strike injunctions and massive fines under the Taylor Law attest. Labor must clean its own house!

Stewart, Mooney and three other vice presidents brought a $3.3 million lawsuit against the union last year (although it was put in abeyance in the lead-up to the strike). This is not surprising, given that such suits were the stock in trade of New Directions when it was fighting the "Old Guard" Local 100 bureaucracy. Steve Downs openly supports such suits, while Goodman pretends to oppose them. But Goodman was a New Directions activist through Toussaint's election in 2000, which was prepared by years of anti-union lawsuits. And no sooner had Toussaint become president than he tossed Goodman and the other servile "militants" aside, like so many squeezed lemons. Not one to learn from experience, Goodman, in an article he co-wrote in *Socialist Action* (January 2006), bemoans the demise of New Directions as leaving "dissidents" without a vehicle to challenge the Toussaint leadership. In fact, New Directions was always and only a vehicle to promote the careers of phony "militants" inside the TWU bureaucracy.

The rotten history of Toussaint and New Directions in suing their opponents in the TWU did not keep opportunist "militant" Eric Josephson from voting for New Directions and Toussaint in 2000 and urging other union members to do likewise. Josephson justifies this betrayal of class principle hy saying he gave Toussaint "critical support." How Josephson defines "critical" can be gleaned from an article on the transit strike in a special edition of the LRP's *Proletarian Revolution* (Winter 2006). The article includes not one word of criticism of Josephson's bloc partners—not on their history of supporting ND and suing the union, not on Stewart's opposition to the strike. Not only that, it calls for extending the "united front," aiming for the union's elections this fall—i.e., they want a warmed-over version of New Directions.

At a January 27 "Transit Workers Fightback" event organized by *Labor Notes*, which has itself long supported court intervention into the Teamsters and other unions in the name of fighting "corruption," Steve Downs, the principal speaker, barely gave lip-service to the need for further strike action. From the floor, one transit worker noted that Downs never addressed the obstacle posed by the union leadership's ties to the Democrats. He continued by calling for a workers party—"not a British Labour Party, but a fighting workers party."

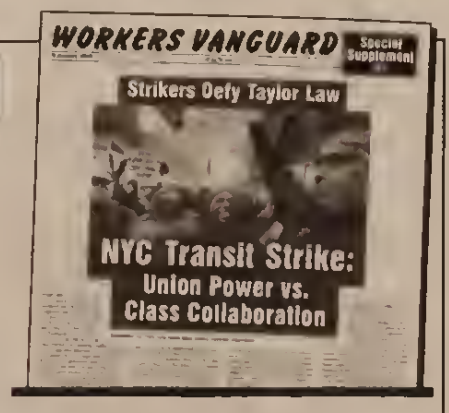
That is exactly what's needed: a multiracial revolutionary workers party to lead all the exploited and oppressed in the struggle for a workers government, which will rip the tremendous wealth of this society out of the hands of the exploiters and create a planned, collectivized economy. This is the only road to providing a decent life for all. ■

Get Your Copies Now!

Special *WV* Supplement on NYC Transit Strike

10¢ each — bundles of 25: $2
bundles of 50: $3

Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

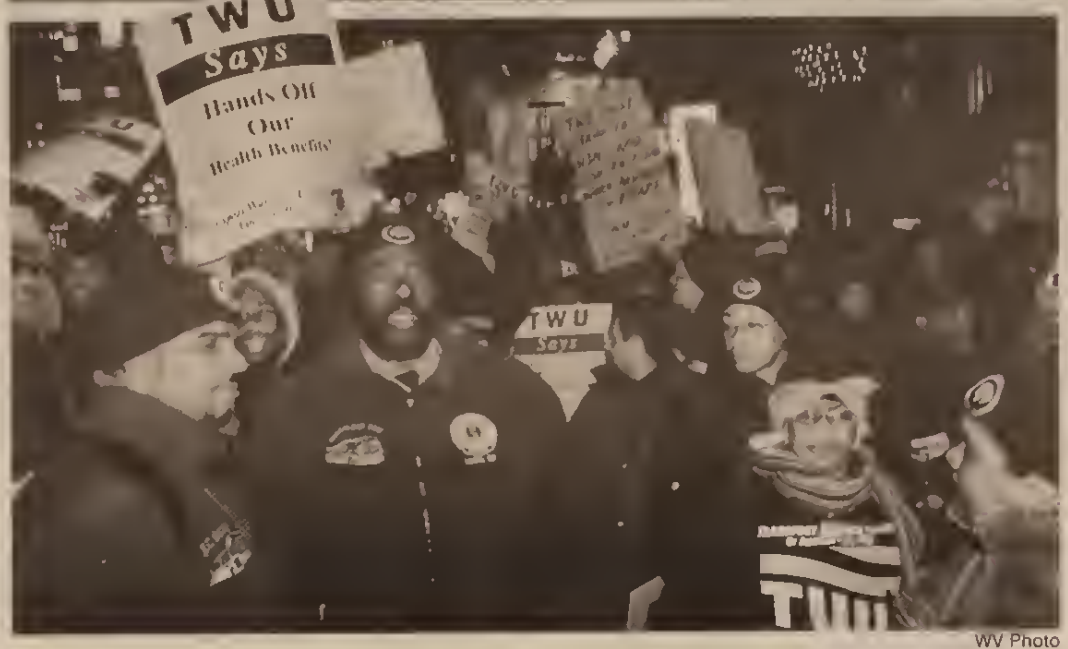


WORKERS VANGUARD

For United Labor Action to Smash the Taylor Law!
Break with the Democrats! For a Workers Party!

Defiant NYC Transit Workers Reject Contract

Arbitration Is a Trap!



WV Photo

December 13: NYC transit workers rallying as contract expiration approached.

JANUARY 30—Continuing to resist attacks on their livelihood, New York City transit workers who shut down public transport in the financial center of U.S. capitalism with a three-day strike in December have rejected the proposed new contract. The stage is now set for further battle against the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) bosses and the capitalist government, who are making no secret of their desire to exact vengeance for the strike, which defied the state Taylor Law banning strikes by public employees.

The first city-wide transit strike in 25 years was an impressive battle by the 33,700 members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, joined by Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) locals 726 and 1056, against the MTA's attacks on pensions, wages and working conditions. But it was stopped after 60 hours by the Local 100 Executive Board under Roger Toussaint without a contract in hand and without winning amnesty from Taylor Law penalties. Strikers' resentment at the squandering of their power grew as the terms of the proposed contract came out. While the strike beat back the MTA's demand that new-hires fork over 6 percent of their pay toward their pensions (workers currently pay 2 percent), the Toussaint leadership agreed to a major concession whereby workers would pay 1.5 percent of gross wages toward retiree health benefits. Despite an all-out ratification campaign by the union tops, the pact was rejected by a narrow margin of seven votes, out of more than 22,000 cast.

Enraged over the rejection of the pact, the MTA bosses, backed by city and state politicians and the capitalist media, have renewed the attack against the union. The MTA is provocatively demanding all of the massive givebacks that led to the strike, from the two-tier pension payments to eliminating train conductors and "broadhanding" (combining job duties) for cleaners and others. The MTA also announced it would take back an agreement, worth some $132 million, returning to union members extra money the workers had put into their retirement fund but which had been kept by the state. With a possible presidential campaign in mind, Republican governor George Pataki had declared that he would refuse to "reward" the workers for the illegal strike by returning their own money to them.

The MTA's demands are a serious threat that the union must counter by relying on the power it showed with the strike. The MTA has appealed to the state Public Employment Relations Board (PERB) for binding arbitration. Prior to the strike, the TWU leadership correctly opposed binding arbitration, which takes contract decisions out of the hands of the membership and puts them into the hands of a supposedly "neutral" board that is in fact on the side of the company. The PERB may also try to revoke the dues checkoff. It is crucial to repulse this attack on the unions' finances. But this threat also shows the danger of letting the employer control dues collection through payroll deduction.

continued on page 10

European Dockers Strike Against Union Busting

On January 11, in the first solid strike since 1978, the cranes of the harbor in Hamburg, Germany stood still and nothing moved on the docks. The 24-hour "information event," accompanied by a demonstration and march of more than 4,000 harbor workers through the city, was part of a series of Europe-wide strikes and protests against the proposed "Port Package 2" bill attacking workers' wages and conditions. Strikes in Hamburg and other German harbors were followed the next week by strikes in Greece, Spain, France and Belgium that gave a taste of the enormous power of the dock workers to stop the flow of the bosses' profits. They point to the kind of international class struggle needed to fight back against the European bourgeoisies' broad attacks on working people.

In the face of the dock workers' determined resistance, on January 18 the European Union (EU) Parliament voted down Port Package 2 by a large margin, indicating that the capitalists themselves are divided over the measure. But this victory does not put an end to the bosses' plans for attacks on port workers. There are already rumors going around about "Port Package 3," and many of the same measures are included in the "Bolkestein Guidelines," an EU proposal for sweeping deregulation in the public services that will be decided in February. The German trade-union federation (DGB) and other European union federations are calling for national demonstrations on February 11 and a main demonstration in Strasbourg, France on February 14 against the Bolkestein Guidelines. However, the real power to stop the anti-union offensive of all the European capitalist governments lies in the ability of the working class to stop production through strike action. The class-collaborationist politics of the trade-union tops is an obstacle to this struggle.

Just two days before the EU Parliament vote on the Port Package, cops brutally attacked a demonstration of more than 6,000 dockers who had come to Strasbourg from all over Europe. Police cordoned off a section of the demo, clubbed protesters and deployed water cannons. The dockers militantly defended themselves. For this,

continued on page 10

HHLA

Hamburg, January 11: Harbor workers shut down port in one-day strike against attacks on wages and working conditions.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 864 — GCU C-701 — 17 February 2006

Racist Anti-Muslim Cartoons Spark Fundamentalist Frenzy

The publishing of a series of anti-Muslim cartoons by the right-leaning Danish paper, *Jyllands-Posten*—several of which depicted the Muslim prophet Muhammad as a bomb-wielding or Satanic terrorist—was a racist and conscious political provocation of a particularly bourgeois-nationalist and imperialist nature. Throughout Europe, right-wing political parties (such as the Danish People's Party) have centered their appeals on anti-immigrant chauvinism, primarily directed against Muslims. Already, a law on the books in Denmark prevents Danes from marrying foreigners until the age of 24. Notably, the cartoons appeared on the eve of a meeting of the European Union (EU) imperialist alliance to discuss the entry of Turkey, with its predominantly Muslim population, into the EU, which Denmark and France, among others, are resisting on a chauvinist basis. The cartoons sought to weld the "war on terror"—initiated by U.S. imperialism and designed to justify whatever attacks seem necessary to effect increased imperialist domination—to anti-immigrant nationalist demagoguery.

Initially, when the cartoons were published on September 30, they elicited protests only from a few Muslim clerics in Denmark who were exercised over the blasphemous pictorial representations of the founder of Islam, a practice proscribed in any form or with any content by many followers of that religion. Then in late December, the clerics publicized more widely the fact that the cartoons were printed, sparking mass protests throughout the Muslim world led

continued on page 9

Reactionary Hamas and Bankruptcy of PLO Nationalism

U.S./Israel Tighten Screws on Palestinians

AP

Reuters

Left: Hamas supporters celebrate electoral victory at Palestinian parliament building in Ramallah, West Bank on January 26. Right: Angry Fatah protesters storm parliament building in Gaza City, January 28.

U.S. imperialism, Israel and the European powers are threatening to throttle the Palestinians in the wake of the victory of the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas in last month's legislative elections. George Bush prattles on about bringing "democracy" to the Near East under the jackboot of the savage U.S. military occupation of Iraq. Meanwhile, the *New York Times* (14 February) reports that the U.S. and Israel plan to "destabilize the Palestinian government.... The intention is to starve the Palestinian Authority of money and international connections to the point where, some months from now, its president, Mahmoud Abbas, is compelled to call a new election." Israel threatens to withhold the customs duties and other taxes it collects for the Palestinian Authority (PA) if Hamas forms a government, a policy of outright theft. Israeli air strikes continue to slam civilian areas, homes are bulldozed, Palestinian men and boys are rounded up and thrown into prison, and Israeli settlements and "bypass" roads continue to carve up and disenfranchise Palestinians in their own land.

Hamas' victory was a black eye for the Bush administration, which backs Israel to the hilt and has labeled Hamas a "terrorist" organization. This is rich coming from the U.S. imperialists, who for decades fostered the growth of Islamic fundamentalism in the Near East as a bulwark against Communist influence. And despite the Zionists' hue and cry, for years they promoted Hamas as a counterweight to the secular Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) nationalists. For its part, while stating that it will not accede to the demand that it recognize the state of Israel, Hamas has made clear its willingness to work with Israel and the West. According to *Al Jazeera* (1 February): "Moussa Abu Marzouk, the deputy head of Hamas's political bureau, said: 'We understand that [the Western states] need a quiet region, without conflicts, and we know that it's possible to attain this goal'."

The victory of Hamas (an acronym for Islamic Resistance Movement) is ominous for all Palestinians—historically among the most cosmopolitan people of the Near East—especially women and secular and Christian Palestinians. The circumstances that gave rise to the Hamas win are the increasingly desperate conditions of the Palestinian masses in the Occupied Territories. The vote was more a rejection of the scandalous corruption and proven political bankruptcy of the PLO—whose leadership delivered the Palestinians nothing but defeat and immiseration—than an endorsement of the reactionary religious program of Hamas.

The Palestinians today have no basis for a viable national economy and are subject to unrelenting Zionist terror. Over half of the population in the Occupied Territories lives on less than $2 a day, with at least one-third unemployed. Israel's apartheid wall in the West Bank has sealed off entire villages and towns, cutting Palestinians off from access to their land.

continued on page 10

7 25274 81030 7 07

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!
For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Racial Oppression and the Supreme Court Hearings

The only things that any of the participants in the Senate Supreme Court confirmation hearings for John Roberts and Samuel J. Alito made a pretense of caring about were the questions of abortion and, secondarily, "executive power." What the hearings dodged were the realities of race in this country, when in fact both of the new Supreme Court justices made their careers largely by pushing racist reaction.

An article in the *New York Review of Books* ("John Roberts: The Nominee," 6 October 2005) points out: "The most intriguing question about John Roberts is what led him as a young person whose success in life was virtually assured by family wealth and academic achievement to enlist in a political campaign designed to deny opportunities for success to those who lacked his advantages." As the article continues, Roberts became part of the Reagan administration, where "he joined in its efforts to dismantle the civil rights gains of the 1960s and 1970s."

There was much discussion in the bourgeois press about Roberts' and Alito's judicial philosophy—"originalism," formerly known as "strict construction"—and about the right-wing Federalist Society, which spawned Roberts, Alito and a good portion of the current federal judiciary. Theirs is not a mere "judicial philosophy" but the expression in the legal/judicial realm of the call that the "South will rise again." Strict construction arose in opposition to *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and other court decisions acknowledging rights for black people. The doctrine also opposed those decisions growing out of the civil rights movement that put some teeth into the supposed protections of the Bill of Rights, such as the 1966 *Miranda* decision on the rights of criminal suspects.

The Federalist Society was formed in 1982 by law students whose primary motivation was overturning, limiting and obstructing enforcement of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights acts. Their mentors were former Chief Justice William Rehnquist, for whom Roberts clerked, Robert Bork, an outright racist whose nomination for the Supreme Court was rejected by the Senate in 1987, and Ed Meese, Ronald Reagan's attorney general. In his early years as a clerk for Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, Rehnquist wrote a memo urging Jackson to vote against what became the *Brown* desegregation decision, declaring, "It is about time the Court faced the fact that white people in the South don't like the colored people."

Forman/Boston Herald American

Racist anti-busing mob in Boston attacks black lawyer, 1976.

Bork was the Federalist Society's chief "theoretician." He opposed the 1964 Civil Rights Act as "an unwanted intrusion on the right of individuals to choose with whom to associate." (George W. Bush's father campaigned against the Civil Rights Act in his unsuccessful run for U.S. Senate in 1964.) Meese's view of the Bill of Rights was expressed in his statement, "If a person is innocent of a crime, then he is not a suspect." Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, who was an adviser of the Federalist Society at its inception, told an audience at Columbia University in 1997 that if presented with *Brown v. Board of Education* now, he would vote against the parents seeking to desegregate the schools.

The Federalist Society's funding comes from a Who's Who of right-wing foundations and think tanks. These include the Bradley Foundation, which helped fund Charles Murray, co-author of the racist *The Bell Curve*. One of the Federalist Society's leading lights is Texas law professor Lino Graglia, whom Reagan considered appointing to the federal appeals court until Graglia publicly admitted that he regularly used racist epithets to describe black people. Graglia has opposed the Seventh Amendment, which permits jury trials in civil cases. Evoking the timeworn racist battle cry of "states' rights," he has also opposed the 17th Amendment, which called for the popular election of Senators instead of appointment by state legislatures, on the grounds that it weakened "state autonomy."

What was striking about the recent Senate hearings was not that Bush's nominees hold reactionary views, but that these views weren't an issue. Senate Democrats barely alluded to the nominees' views. Meanwhile, bourgeois liberal mouthpieces like the *New York Times*, which opposed the Supreme Court nominees, in fact served to cover up their sordid racist records by burying the Federalist Society's role in pushing for the rollback of black rights in article after article on the group.

Alito's record was even more vulnerable to attack than Roberts', but the Democrats barely touched it. This only underscores how fundamental the oppression of black people is to U.S. capitalism. It also underlines that every real gain achieved by working people and the oppressed was, and will be, the result of hard class and social struggle, not appealing to bourgeois politicians or the courts.

During the Roberts hearings, there was some questioning of his views on affirmative action. This was a cynical joke; it was never meant to have anything to do with whether or not he was confirmed. Affirmative action in higher education has been dying since the racist 1978 *Bakke* decision against preferential minority student admissions quotas. Today many liberals cling to that decision under the rubric of advancing "diversity" in educational institutions. The idea that a court nominee, or any prospective government appointee, would be jeopardized by his opposition to affirmative action is laughable. In fact, it is those who have in some way supported affirmative action who have been denied confirmation. Democratic president Clinton abandoned his nomination of Lani Guinier as head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division when her writings on affirmative action became an issue. The Senate refused as well to confirm Bill Lann Lee's appointment by Clinton to the same post because he supported affirmative action.

While striking down the segregation laws, the Brown decisions of 1954 and '55 called for desegregation with "all deliberate speed," which meant at a snail's pace. After 16 years of obstruction, the Court acknowledged calls for "affirmative action." This measure would include busing to desegregate schools. But busing was defeated by a combination of racist mobs on the streets of Boston and other cities, liberals in Congress and the reformist left that tailed after them. In public schools today, especially in the Northeast, black children are more segregated now than at any time since 1968. The Democrats, who were instrumental in killing the only means of providing any, though inadequate, educational opportunities for black people, were certainly not going to challenge Alito and Roberts on the question of racial oppression. They are as committed to the maintenance of the capitalist system that is predicated on the exploitation of labor and the oppression of black people as the Republicans.

Many Democrats bemoan the right-wing predominance in the federal courts today. We would note that Democrats have for years joined in making an icon of Reagan. Now they have the federal judiciary that Reagan and Meese dreamed of. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Capitalist "Democracy": Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie

In a document for the First Congress of the Communist International, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin described bourgeois "democracy" as the dictatorship of the capitalist class over the exploited and oppressed, pointing to the violent suppression of U.S. labor struggles as well as the anti-Semitic frenzy against French officer Alfred Dreyfus in the 1890s. Polemicizing against social democrats who seek to reconcile the working class with its exploiters, Lenin defended the historic necessity for the proletariat to seize power through socialist revolution.

The history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries demonstrated, even before the war, what this celebrated "pure democracy" really is under capitalism. Marxists have always maintained that the more developed, the "purer" democracy is, the more naked, acute and merciless the class struggle becomes, and the "purer" the capitalist oppression and bourgeois dictatorship. The Dreyfus case in republican France, the massacre of strikers by hired bands armed by the capitalists in the free and democratic American republic—these and thousands of similar facts illustrate the truth which the bourgeoisie are vainly seeking to conceal, namely, that actually terror and bourgeois dictatorship prevail in the most democratic of republics and are openly displayed every time the exploiters think the power of capital is being shaken....

In these circumstances, proletarian dictatorship is not only an absolutely legitimate means of overthrowing the exploiters and suppressing their resistance, but also absolutely necessary to the entire mass of working people, being their only defence against the bourgeois dictatorship which led to the war and is preparing new wars.

The main thing that socialists fail to understand and that constitutes their shortsightedness in matters of theory, their subservience to bourgeois prejudices and their political betrayal of the proletariat is that in capitalist society, whenever there is any serious aggravation of the class struggle intrinsic to that society, there can be no alternative but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dreams of some third way are reactionary, petty-bourgeois lamentations. That is borne out by more than a century of development of bourgeois democracy and the working-class movement in all the advanced countries, and notably by the experience of the past five years. This is also borne out by the whole science of political economy, by the entire content of Marxism, which reveals the economic inevitability, wherever commodity economy prevails, of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie that can only be replaced by the class which the very growth of capitalism develops, multiplies, welds together and strengthens, that is, the proletarian class.

—V.I. Lenin, "Theses and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (March 1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

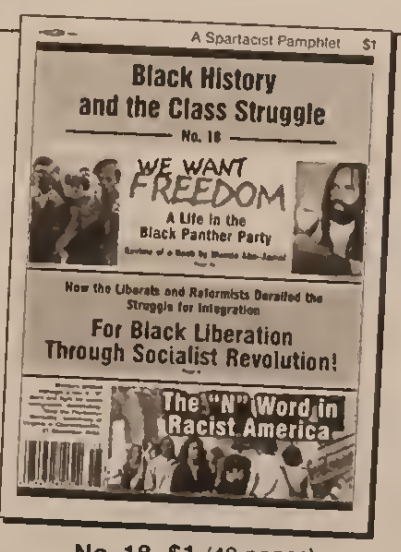
The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 14 February.

No. 864 **17 February 2006**



No. 18 $1 (48 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

Jack Heyman: "In the Bag"

12 January 2006

Dear Editor:

As the speaker for ILWU Local 10 at the Partisan Defense Committee rally held in October in Berkeley in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Lynne Stewart and Assata Shakur, I feel compelled to correct your skewed coverage of that event. My presentation began with the showing of an April 1999 TV news clip announcing that all ports on the West Coast had been shutdown to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal. It showed idled cranes on the docks and then panned to the militant contingent of predominantly black longshoremen leading the 25,000-strong San Francisco demonstration chanting the ILWU slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!" Everyone at the PDC rally enthusiastically applauded that video display of labor power, except some in the leadership of the Spartacist League. As I said from the podium at least twice in my remarks, the Spartacist League erred in abstaining from that important demonstration. The SL should have impemented [sic] the Leninist united front tactic: "march separately, strike together" to differentiate themselves from those in the MOBE, the organizers of the march calling for a new trial, instead of sending a few of your newspaper salesmen. Your coverage shows that you've learned nothing from your past mistakes.

I have stated at many rallies that Mumia is innocent and can not get justice with a new trial in the racist, capitalist courts. A year after that demonstration, the Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal of which I am a member, organized a labor conference with that theme inviting workers from around the country, like the Charleston longshoremen, to participate.

The social power of the integrated trade union movement when mobilized to act can free Mumia. It is a manifestly true refrain often read in the pages of Workers Vanguard. Yet, I have never read in WV that the ostensibly revolutionary Spartacist League, or their supporters in the trade unions, have ever initiated a mass labor action in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal as has the ILWU. Your hypocrisy and hollow exhortations only serve to undermine the important work you did in publicizing Mumia's case early on and in doggedly investigating and revealing police officer Faulkner's real killer, Arnold Beverly.

For labor action to free Mumia,
Jack Heyman

WV replies:

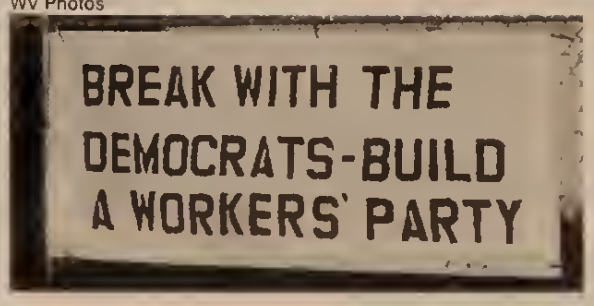
What Jack Heyman seems to find "skewed" in our coverage of the "Fight Government Repression" rally in the Bay Area on October 1—part of a series of united-front rallies initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee around the country—is that we criticized him (see *WV* No. 859, 25 November 2005). Such political debate is a vital component of united-front activities that draw groups and individuals from diverse political perspectives into common action in defense of the interests of the working class and the oppressed.

Heyman's letter points to the 24 April 1999 stop-work action by the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) that shut down the West Coast ports demanding freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal. The port shutdown was indeed a powerful, expression of the kind of social power that needs to be mobilized in a *class-struggle* fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty. But, as we noted in our article on the October rally, "Heyman dodged his own role in initiating the ILWU motion explicitly endorsing the 'Millions for Mumia' rally that same day with its central demand for a 'new trial' for Mumia."

This is not a mere matter of words. Behind the "Free Mumia" and "New Trial" slogans are counterposed political perspectives and strategies. We have mobilized and continue to mobilize around the call to free Mumia based on the fact that he is an innocent man who was framed up and sent to death row because of his defiant and eloquent opposition to the racism, brutality and terror of capitalist class rule. The fight for Mumia's freedom requires mobilizing in opposition to the capitalist state—the cops, courts, prosecutors—that framed him up and whose purpose is to protect capitalist property and profits against the working class, black people and all the exploited and oppressed. The call for a "new trial" sows the illusion that Mumia can get justice from the same racist *in*justice system that railroaded him.

Heyman likes to talk "left" when it's convenient, only to tone things down when he's rubbing shoulders with big-wheel labor bureaucrats and bourgeois liberals. The organizers of the "Millions for Mumia" demonstration consciously *rejected* the call to free Mumia, and Heyman gave them a "labor" cover for their treachery. Their demand for a "new trial" was aimed at appealing to bourgeois liberals and others who were agnostic at best on Mumia's innocence but objected to some aspects of his mistreatment in the courts. At bottom, the reformists who endorsed the "Millions for Mumia" demonstration share the liberal notion that Mumia can get a "fair trial" if only enough pressure is brought to bear on the bourgeois state. Such faith in the ultimate justice of the racist capitalist legal system has served to *demobilize* struggle on Mumia's behalf.

WV Photos



ILWU official Heyman helped build October 2004 Million Worker March that sought to corral workers to back Kerry, Democrats. Above: ILWU banners at the rally. Left: A recent *WV* photo of the banner Heyman kept in the bag.

Heyman, a member of the ILWU Local 10 Executive Board, writes: "I have stated at many rallies that Mumia is innocent and can not get justice with a new trial in the racist, capitalist courts." But not when it counts. You did not hear Heyman criticize the call for a "new trial" from the podium of the April 1999 demonstration in San Francisco, where he was embraced as a stellar leader of the day. And why would he? Heyman himself had signed on to a list of "Labor Organizations Calling for a New Trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal on the occasion of the Millions for Mumia marches, April 24, 1999"! We mobilized our forces to join the thousands of others at the protests in San Francisco and Philadelphia. But we could not *endorse* the protests, which meant signing on to the "new trial" demand.

Heyman, however, had no problem signing his name to "Millions for Mumia." He points to the "militant contingent of predominantly black longshoremen" who headed the demonstration in S.F. "chanting the ILWU slogan 'An injury to one is an injury to all. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!'" But Heyman pulled a hustle on those longshore workers who thought they were being mobilized to fight for Mumia's freedom. Heyman authored the ILWU motion that read: "WHEREAS: On April 24, 1999, there will be national demonstrations to demand a stop to the execution of and a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal... THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the ILWU go on record to: 1) Support the San Francisco demonstration and mobilize our membership on the coast to participate by coordinating our April stop-work meetings for the 24th to demand: 'Stop the Execution! Free Mumia!'" By incorporating "free Mumia" into the motion supporting the "new trial" demonstration, Heyman deceitfully provided a "militant" cover for the liberal-reformist politics of the protest organizers.

Trying to slide over the role he played in this deception, Heyman resorts to the old con game of going after the reds, sneering that he has "never read in WV that the ostensibly revolutionary Spartacist League, or their supporters in the trade unions have ever initiated a mass labor action in defense of Jamal as has the ILWU." This is an ignorant statement that conflates the trade unions—the mass organizations of the working class for their defense against the capitalists—with a revolutionary Marxist political party. Militants in the unions fight to advance labor struggle against the bosses. The Spartacist League is a Marxist propaganda group. Our task is to bring revolutionary consciousness to workers in the course of such struggle, aiming to win the most conscious elements to the fight for a workers party whose purpose is to do away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery.

If we had influence in the unions, we could fight it out over what kind of actions the unions should undertake to win Mumia's freedom. For us, such influence is based on winning support among workers for the program and policies of the class struggle, not on shell games played by the likes of Heyman.

Lacking the necessary weight in the working class, we recognized when the PDC first took up Mumia's cause nearly 20 years ago that we would have to mobilize larger forces than our small revolutionary organization. We realized as well that many of the broader forces that joined in this struggle would be hostile to our Marxist perspective. Through our efforts, and through Mumia's own powerful writings, his struggle became widely known not only in the U.S. but internationally. We took Mumia's fight to the unions and organized united-front actions based on the PDC's non-sectarian, class-struggle perspective. The ILWU, in particular Local 10, came on board early in endorsing the labor-centered protests we initiated. Such actions demonstrate the role and necessity of revolutionary leadership in fighting to bring to the working class the understanding that the capitalist state is not "neutral" and that, as Karl Marx stated in *Capital*, "Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

continued on page 11

Poster at ILWU Local 10 hall pushed Kerry-Edwards ticket. Local newspaper highlights Kerry's agreement with Bush on asserting U.S. military power.

WV Photo

San Francisco, 24 April 1999: Spartacist intervention at "Millions for Mumia" rally emphasized need to fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The Cop Killing of Dudley George

Canada: Racist Hell for Native Peoples

We reprint below an article from Spartacist Canada *No. 146 (Fall 2005), newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League.*

SPARTACIST CANADA

Nine years after the brutal killing of Native activist Anthony "Dudley" George by Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) riot cops, the Ontario government launched a public commission of inquiry last July. George's family has fought for hearings since his death on 6 September 1995, hoping that the full truth would finally come out. Smelling an electoral opportunity, the Ontario Liberal Party quickly seized on this demand in their campaign against the then ruling Conservative government of Mike Harris. Predictably, the NDP [social-democratic New Democratic Party] and the reformist left have saluted the Liberals' cynical maneuver as some form of "justice."

Whatever the information revealed or token rectification offered, such public inquiries always serve a political purpose—to refurbish the image of the racist, capitalist state. Writing about U.S. congressional hearings on the FBI's COINTELPRO program (which targeted black and leftist radicals during the '60s and '70s for surveillance, frame-up and assassination), former Black Panther and political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal explains:

> "While they provided a riveting show, a thrilling political performance, a scripted pantomime of the workings of democracy, they remained, after all was said and done, mere performance. When the curtain came down on the show, the real world, with its painful ambiguities and chilling truths about power, race, and violent white supremacy, remained unchanged. Revelation is not transformation—it only looks like it."
>
> —*We Want Freedom: A Life in the Black Panther Party* (2004)

Over 350 years of history lie behind the bullet that ended Dudley George's life. Beginning with colonial conquest, Canadian capitalism was founded on the destruction of the pre-existing aboriginal societies and terror against Native peoples—from the bloody pacification campaigns by the Northwest Mounted Police and innumerable broken treaties, to the kidnapping and imprisonment of aboriginal youth in "residential schools" and the forced sterilization of Native women. Only revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system, led by the working class, can open up the possibility for the emancipation of Native peoples and all of the oppressed. But such a struggle is impossible so long as the majority of working people and the downtrodden still see the capitalist state as a potential ally, or believe that it can be made "accountable" through mass pressure and public exposure.

Racist State Terror and Government Lies: We Will Not Forget!

The events at Ipperwash were the legacy of one of the numerous racist atrocities committed by the federal Liberal government of Mackenzie King over a half century ago. In 1942, invoking the War Measures Act, the King government seized the Chippewa reserve at Stony Point near Ipperwash to build a military base. Native houses were destroyed in a few hours, their occupants forcibly displaced without warning. Other houses in the area were untouched. It was only in 1995, following a determined two-year occupation by Native militants, that the army finally withdrew from the base.

On 4 September 1995, the day after the end of tourist season and the closing of Ipperwash Park, some 30 Native activists occupied land that had once been part of their reserve, demanding the return and protection of an ancestral burial ground that had been seized by the government. After a three-day standoff, a phalanx of riot cops marched down a darkened road, opening fire on the unarmed protesters,

Buston/CP

Social-democratic NDP government ordered RCMP and army to violently suppress Native protest at Gustafsen Lake, 1995.

killing George and wounding two others. One protester was beaten until his heart literally stopped. OPP sergeant Kenneth Deane later received a slap on the wrist—a conviction of "criminal negligence" and two years community service—for pumping a bullet into the young Native activist.

Now in power, the Liberals in Queen's Park [location of Ontario government] are hanging full responsibility on the flagrantly right-wing and racist Harris regime. Indeed, Harris' cries for Native blood took even the OPP trigger men running the operation aback. In a conversation recorded hours before George was killed, OPP inspector Ron Fox ranted: "We're dealing with a real redneck government. They are f---ing barrel suckers. They are just in love with guns."

But the Ipperwash siege involved every level of the state apparatus, from the federal Department of National Defence on down to the local cops. If tapes played at the inquiry show that orders for a brutal assault came directly from Queen's Park, it was the Liberal federal government who equipped the OPP with armoured personnel carriers and machine guns capable of firing 800 rounds a minute. The Feds knew that the protesters were unarmed and peaceful because *they had a CSIS [Canadian Security Intelligence Service] plant among them the entire time posing as a Native activist* (Hansard No. 126, 2001). The Department of Indian Affairs and the provincial government both had evidence that the activists' claims regarding the burial grounds were true, and concealed it until after the fact.

Whitewash Hearings and the Capitalist State

The capitalist rulers have a time-honoured strategy for dealing with public outrage. First, they lie through their golden teeth. Second, when anger persists, they stall. Then, if things still don't settle down, they "reluctantly" hold an "independent" public inquiry, staffed by judges, professors, priests or other loyal representatives of the ruling class, and perhaps recommending token punishment for someone involved. The more thorough the investigation appears, the better it serves its ideological purpose: to prove that the system works, that the state is accountable to the "will of the people," and that justice has been served.

The police, military, courts and prisons are at the core of the capitalist state, an institution that was created, exists and is replenished for the sole purpose of protecting the power of the racist, exploiting class. The belief that the state can be reformed through grassroots campaigns, mass protest or public exposure is a deadly illusion pushed by those who defend capitalist class rule. As Russian revolutionary V.I. Lenin writes in his classic *State and Revolution:*

> "According to Marx, the state is an organ of class ***domination***, an organ of ***oppression*** of one class by another; its aim is the creation of 'order' which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between classes."

It is possible to win limited concessions from the capitalists, such as wage increases or greater access to social services, through ***hard social struggle***. However, short of a social revolution in which the working class seizes power and dismantles the capitalist state, such gains are temporary and precarious.

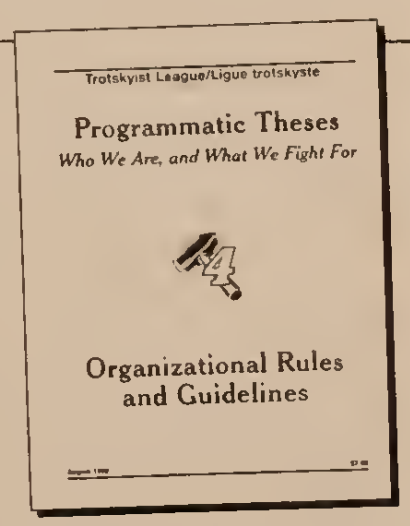
But public inquiries aren't even a limited gain. They are expressly designed to refurbish the state's credibility by blaming this wrong policy or that "bad cop," deflecting attention away from the underlying system of wage slavery. Over the years, there have been scores of Royal Commissions and hearings documenting the brute dispossession of Native people. The ruling class knows exactly what Native people have suffered in the past, and it knows in detail the poverty and devastation they face today. The capitalists have absolutely no interest in any kind of meaningful rectification.

In fact, courts and public inquiries have let cops and racist thugs who murder Natives walk free time and again. In October 2004, an inquiry into the 1990 killing of 17-year-old Neil Stonechild (who froze to death in –28C [-18°F] weather after being dropped off at the edge of Saskatoon) found that there was no basis to lay criminal charges. This was despite the fact that he was last seen in police custody, despite the fact that bloody marks found on Stonechild's face were caused by handcuffs, and despite the report's acknowledgement that the cops systematically lied to cover the whole thing up. The underlying message is lethal: it's a license to murder aboriginal people.

The Reformist Left

But this is completely lost on the reformist left—from the International Socialists (I.S.) to the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP), from the New Socialist Group (NSG) to the anarchists—all of whom called for a public inquiry into George's death. In the name of protesting the right-wing Harris government, they in effect gave a left cover to the electoral posturing of the capitalist Liberals and the maneuvers of the social-democratic NDP. These groups actually ***championed*** the ability of the capitalist state to deliver some kind of justice for Dudley George and other victims of police terror.

The I.S. is particularly blatant on this score. Their long-winded, academic arti-



In English and French
$2 (32 pages)

Subscription: 4 Issues
C$3 US$5

Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Canada Publishing Assoc., Box 6867, Station A, Toronto ON M5W 1X6, Canada
or
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Marxism and the Fight Against Native Oppression

The following excerpt from the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste "Programmatic Theses" summarizes the Marxist perspective for proletarian-centered struggle against the oppression of Canada's aboriginal peoples. The full document, published under the title "Who We Are, and What We Fight For," was adopted by the TL/LT's Eighth National Conference in 1998.

VII. Canadian capitalism was founded on the destruction of the pre-existing aboriginal societies, beginning under French and, later, English colonialism. The possibility of independent development of Indian nations was foreclosed by the expropriation of these peoples through fraud and military conquest, combined with the devastating impact of disease following European contact.

The majority of Native people today live in urban centers, where they are the targets of all-sided racism and police terror. Thus, aboriginal people are disproportionately represented both among the homeless and in the prison population. In Saskatchewan, where they make up less than 10 percent of the population, Native people constitute fully 70 percent of jail inmates. Tens of thousands of Native people continue to live on the squalid reserves established to formalize their dispossession. Others live in isolated communities where no treaties were ever signed, as in most of British Columbia.

Only the destruction of capitalism can hold out the possibility of voluntary integration, on the basis of full equality, for those aboriginal peoples who desire it, and the fullest possible regional autonomy for those who do not. The Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste demands that whatever residual rights Native peoples have been able to maintain, whether through treaty agreements or otherwise, be respected. In some cases, treaty rights and land claims run up against socially useful developments like railways, hydroelectric projects and oil pipelines. The aboriginal peoples should receive generous compensation for any deprivation of land or disruption of activity, based on completely consensual agreement. Only a workers government will guarantee these conditions.

The federal government currently holds out the promise of "Native self-government." We warn that in most cases this is a cover for "transforming" the reserves, with their plagues of alcoholism and early death, into apartheid-style bantustans. Nevertheless, where Native people have a land base, the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste will defend whatever measure of political autonomy they are able to wrest from governments, including the right to govern their land and control its resources. As elementary measures, we demand the immediate abolition of the racist Indian Act and the Department of Indian Affairs; and that the police, courts and state "welfare" agencies keep off the reserves and other Native land.

The Native peoples of northern Quebec have increasingly become a political football in the vicious contest between Anglo chauvinism and Quebec nationalism. We support the right of these peoples to determine their own fate. At the same time, we adamantly oppose the suggestion by some aboriginal leaders that, in the event of Quebec separation, they would call for intervention by the Canadian army. In addressing the concrete "choice" between being part of an independent Quebec or remaining in a rump Canada, our primary point of departure is that within the framework of racist capitalism, this simply means the right of the aboriginal populations to determine by whom they will be oppressed and brutalized. The unremitting proletarian defense of Native people's lives and rights as equal citizens is part of the fight of the multiracial working class to overturn this whole brutal and violent capitalist system. Only an egalitarian-socialist society under workers rule will be able to redress three centuries of abuse and degradation.

VIII. Canadian capitalism's depredations have done immeasurable environmental damage. This falls heavily on Native peoples, as in the horrific mercury poisoning (Minimata disease) of entire Ojibway communities near Kenora, Ontario in the 1950s and '60s. Meanwhile, whole industries are destroyed, throwing tens of thousands out of work. The collapse of the North Atlantic cod fishery, for example, was fundamentally the result of decades of devil-take-the-hindmost plunder by Canadian corporations.

As Marxists, we are for industrial development, and we support the introduction of useful new technologies. But we recognize that the rational exploitation of natural resources is impossible under the irrational, profit-driven capitalist system. We oppose the bourgeois "environmentalism" of groups, like Greenpeace, which push reactionary "back to nature" utopias against the interests of working people and the oppressed.

The history of our species, itself part of nature, is the struggle to master the forces of nature to provide a decent and worthwhile life. Against the spurious atavism of petty-bourgeois "environmentalists," we stand with those workers whose livelihoods depend on development of resource industries, even as we denounce their leaders' treacherous class collaboration with capitalist corporations like forestry giant Macmillan-Bloedel. The international success of "conservationist" campaigns against logging, trapping and the seal hunt has only reinforced the poverty of thousands, including Inuit and other aboriginal peoples. The right of Native peoples to control their resources includes the right to seek their development, a right we defend against the racist moralism of such "environmental activism."

The working people in power, in full control of the productive resources of society, can preserve the co-inhabitants of this planet, while putting an end to human want. Only a centrally planned, socialist economy can ensure that necessary industrial progress proceeds with a minimum of ecological damage. ■

cle on "Aboriginal Rights:.The Backlash and Socialist Strategy" by Valerie Lanon (*Marxism* No. 1, 2003) misquotes Lenin on "self-determination" and espouses hollow "anti-capitalist" rhetoric. But there is not a single word about the state as an instrument of bourgeois repression or the need for the working class to overthrow it. Instead, Lanon bemoans that the reforms called for by the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples went unfulfilled and indicts the Ontario government not only for George's murder, but for then refusing to "call for an independent inquiry into police action"! Calling on the state to police its own is typical of the I.S., who recently advanced the asinine demand for a "full public inquiry" into CSIS (*Socialist Worker*, 23 March 2005). The only reason the Liberal government in Ottawa (or any other capitalist regime) would try to reform its secret police would be to make these hired killers more efficient.

On the crucial question of the state, the politics of the "direct action" and anarchist groups are shown to be no different, whatever their lame assertions to the contrary. The first two slogans on the call for a 24 May 1997 demo at Queen's Park were: "Harris: Blood on Your Hands! Full Public Inquiry Now!" Endorsers included Anti-Racist Action and OCAP. Along the same lines, the NSG presents the public inquiry as a victory: "The fight for justice in Ipperwash has been a multi-pronged one, an instructive example of combining traditional advocacy (in the courts and the legislature) with grassroots agitation" ("Ipperwash 8 Years Later," *New Socialist*, November-December 2003). Instructive, indeed. As political strategies, grassroots protest/"direct action" and lobbying parliament are complementary. Both explicitly limit themselves to pressuring the powers-that-be. And neither does a damn thing toward ending Native oppression.

Spartacist Canada

Aboriginal people lead 2002 Vancouver labor demonstration against austerity attacks by Liberal government in British Columbia. Labor must defend Native rights!

Canada: Apartheid for Native Peoples

Some 30 percent of aboriginal Canadians still live in Native reserve hellholes—a system once studied as a model by the South African apartheid state. Take the condition of the Ojibway community in Pikangikum, Ontario. Most of the homes have no sewers and the suicide rate is 36 times the national average. The only buildings with indoor toilets belong to government agencies, while the third party "Indian agent" imposed by the state to control the tribe's finances makes over $10,000 a month. "This was deliberately done by the Department of Indian Affairs," according to Stan Beardy, Grand Chief of the Nishnawbe Aski Nation. "They are starving them from their claim to natural resources" (*Sunday Sun*, 11 April 2004).

While half of the country's 1.3 million Natives now reside in cities, their living conditions are generally little better. An incredible 42 percent of urban Natives live below Statistics Canada's poverty line (as compared to 17 percent of all urban residents). Huge numbers are in prison, homeless, or ghettoized in poverty-stricken neighbourhoods like Vancouver's notorious Downtown Eastside, which has the highest per capita rate of HIV infection in North America. A recent investigation into the Saskatchewan police just scratched the surface of the sadistic torture of Natives by cops: an elderly woman dragged from bed, jailed, and forced to walk home in her nightgown; cops breaking a ten-year-old girl's arm because "she got in the way"; the infamous "starlight tours," where police drop off Native men on the outskirts of towns in the deadly cold of winter.

Defend Native Rights! We Need a Revolutionary Workers Party!

In our 1995 article "Ipperwash, Gustafsen Lake: Murderous State Terror Targets Native Peoples," we wrote:

> "Most of the Native protests this year have been in rural areas, isolated from the working class and far removed from the integrated urban centers. Yet the cops who are reliving the 'Indian' wars are the same cops who bust up picket lines and wage unremitting racist war on black people in Montreal and Toronto, and Asians and others in Vancouver....
>
> "Under capitalism, Native people face the 'choice' of poverty and isolation in the cities or squalor and deprivation on the reserves. The way forward lies through building a racially integrated revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all of the oppressed."
>
> —*SC* No. 106, November/December 1995

The central obstacle to this perspective is the social-democratic NDP. In 1995, the B.C. [British Columbia] NDP government led the largest RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] operation in history against the Native protesters at Gustafsen Lake. More recently, the NDP and the reformist left backed Larry Campbell for mayor of Vancouver: on his election, Campbell immediately ramped up police terror against Natives and immigrants on the Downtown Eastside. A revolutionary workers party will be built in sharp political struggle against the NDP "labour lieutenants of capital" and their supporters in the trade-union bureaucracy.

In this country, Native oppression provides a litmus test for the leadership of the working class. A party that does not inscribe the defense of the most downtrodden high on its banner will never succeed in leading the proletariat against its class enemy. We seek to build a revolutionary party that would fight for measures like aggressive recruitment and training programs, run by the trade unions, as a first step toward breaking the cycle of unemployment and social marginalization for Native people in urban areas. It would defend whatever autonomy Natives with a land base are able to wrest from the racist ruling class. It would mobilize the fighting power of labour, with its key immigrant component, against acts of racist state terror to make it clear that Native people do not stand alone in their struggles. It would fight to win workers to the understanding that every act of police terror strengthens the hand of their capitalist class enemy, and that every form of racism and chauvinism serves to divide the fighting unity of all of the oppressed. We say: ***There is no justice from the capitalist state! Stop racist state terror—Defend Native rights!*** ■

Black History and the Class Struggle

Black Freedom...

(continued from page 12)

of Black Liberation," written by Fraser in 1963 when he was still in the SWP, and "Revolutionary Integration: Yesterday and Today," written by Tom Boot and adopted by the FSP's 1982 national conference.

While the FSP claims to be in Fraser's tradition, Boot's views are fundamentally contrary not only to the Spartacist League's understanding of revolutionary integrationism but also to the main ideas of Fraser himself, who was cut off from the FSP by a split in 1967. The FSP saps the strong points of Fraser's revolutionary integrationist perspective, exacerbates the weak points and, finally, distorts the entirety with the FSP's own brand of eclectic reformism. It is necessary to examine and explain what revolutionary integrationism is and what it is not. In particular, we want to emphasize the strategic centrality of this concept in building a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the multiracial U.S. working class to power.

Marxism and the Fight for Black Freedom

The October 1917 workers revolution in Russia, led by the Bolshevik party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, was a declaration of war upon the world capitalist system and a clarion call for all the exploited and oppressed to prepare for battle. This call was heard in all corners of the globe—Europe, Asia, Africa, South America and North America. In the U.S. it found a sympathetic response among workers and black people.

Within the early American socialist movement, the aim of black equality was treated with, at best, benign indifference, typified by Eugene V. Debs' statement that socialism had "nothing special to offer the Negro," ranging to outright hostility on the part of racists like Victor Berger. In *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962), James P. Cannon—a veteran of the revolutionary-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World, a leader of the early Communist Party (CP) in the U.S. and later the founding leader of American Trotskyism—described the crucial intervention of Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International in driving home the centrality of the fight for black freedom to proletarian revolution in the U.S. Cannon emphasized that Lenin and the Russian Revolution "contributed *more than any other influence from any source* to the recognition, and more or less general acceptance, of the Negro question as a *special* problem of American society—a problem which cannot simply be subsumed under the general heading of the conflict between capital and labor" (emphasis in original).

The Trotskyist movement debated the black question beginning with the founding conference of the Communist League of America (CLA), formed by supporters of Trotsky expelled from the Stalinized Communist Party by 1928. Leading CLA member Arne Swabeck also discussed the black question when he visited Trotsky in exile in Turkey in 1933. Swabeck argued against the CP's demand for "self-determination for the Black Belt" (a swath of majority-black counties across the Deep South), asserting that the race question was integral to the class question in the U.S. and that the main demand should be for full "social, political and economic equality" for black people.

Trotsky was inclined to support the self-determination slogan based on his experience with the national question in Europe. He admitted, however, that he had not studied the question and suggested, for instance, that Southern blacks might have their own suppressed "Negro language" (see "In Defense of Revolutionary Integrationism," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 49-50, Winter 1993-94). Trotsky was primarily concerned that the American Trotskyists have a serious orientation to the black question lest they capitulate to the backward consciousness of the working class. He returned to this question in 1939 discussions with American Trotskyist leaders, underscoring that without such an orientation, it would not be possible to make a revolution in the U.S.

Most of the CLA leadership adopted an integrationist, anti-nationalist position, which was the line of a lengthy 1933 document by Max Shachtman titled "Communism and the Negro" (recently reprinted in *Race and Revolution*, Verso [2003]). However, the CLA's inchoate position was not theoretically grounded and developed. Unfortunately, Shachtman's document was not widely distributed or discussed outside the leadership in the CLA. A 1939 convention of the SWP, which had been founded the year before, adopted two resolutions on the black question. While both were written by the West Indian intellectual C.L.R. James, they were contradictory in their basic thrust. The first, "The SWP and Negro Work," stated that black people "are designated by their whole historical past to be, under adequate leadership, the very vanguard of the proletarian revolution." The second resolution, "The Right of Self-Determination and the Negro in the United States and North America," argued the theoretical possibility of the awakening of a national consciousness and mass demands for a "Negro state."

In practice, the SWP was guided by an integrationist, class-struggle perspective. The party was able to recruit several hundred black workers during World War II by acting as the most militant fighters against racist oppression in the factories, armed forces and American society at large. The SWP's courageous work, carried out in the face of government repression, was in the starkest contrast to the Communist Party, which, in line with its support to the Allied imperialist "democracies," explicitly opposed struggles for black equality during the war.

Dick Fraser joined the Trotskyist movement in 1934. He was a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party, serving on its National Committee from 1940 to 1966. He began a study of the black question in the late 1940s in response to the loss of hundreds of black worker recruits with the onset of the Cold War against the Soviet Union. He concluded that the problem was not with the SWP's practical, day-to-day work fighting discrimination and victimization of blacks but with the party's inadequate theoretical understanding. Vital to the development and consolidation of a black Trotskyist cadre is a scientific (materialist) understanding of black oppression and a program corresponding to the actual living struggle for integration and equality.

Fraser began from the premise that black people, whom he described as "the most completely 'Americanized' section of the population," were *not* an oppressed nation or nationality in any sense. Crucially, black people lacked any material basis for a separate political economy. Whereas the oppressed nations and nationalities of Europe (e.g., in the pre-1917 Russian tsarist empire) were subjected to forced assimilation, American blacks faced the opposite: forcible segregation. Hence, in the struggle against black oppression, the democratic demand for self-determination—separation into an independent nation-state—does *not apply*. As Fraser wrote in "Dialecties of Black Liberation":

> "The Black Question is a unique racial, not national, question, embodied in a movement marked by integration, not self-determination, as its logical and historical motive force and goal. The demand for integration produces a struggle that is necessarily transitional to socialism and creates a revolutionary Black vanguard for the entire working class."

He had earlier noted in "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question":

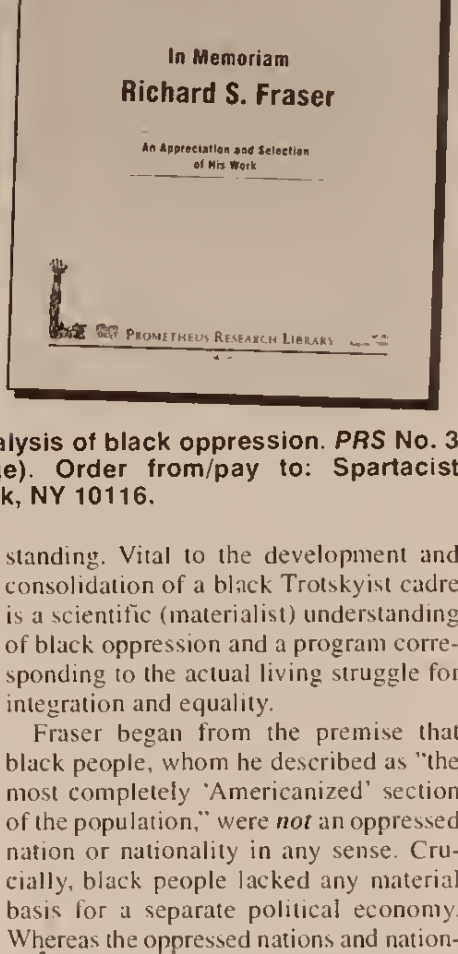
> "The goals which history has dictated to [black people] are to achieve complete equality through the elimination of racial segregation, discrimination, and prejudice. That is, the overthrow of the race system. It is from these historically conditioned conclusions that the Negro struggle, whatever its forms, has taken the path for direct assimilation. All that we can add to this is that these goals cannot be accomplished except through the socialist revolution."

Separatism or Social Equality?

Fraser emphasized that the entire history of mass black struggle—from the abolitionists through the Civil War and Radical Reconstruction to the civil rights movement—was in the direction of integration, not separatism. Radical Reconstruction in the South following the Civil War was a period of racial equality and black political empowerment unique in American history. In the 1930s, black workers participated in and often played leading roles in the great labor battles that created powerful, racially integrated industrial unions. The civil rights movement was directed against legalized segregation in the South and de facto segregation in housing and education, along with job discrimination, in the North.

Significant political expressions of black separatism have come in the aftermath of defeats and consequent demoralization in the face of a seemingly intractable racist capitalist order. Marcus Garvey's ephemeral "Back to Africa" movement, which peaked in the early 1920s, was conditioned by the violent anti-black reaction at that time. Many black workers who had gained employment during the industrial

Fraser Family



Richard S. Fraser developed Marxist analysis of black oppression. *PRS* No. 3 is available for $7 (includes postage). Order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Ebony

Civil rights protests of 1950s and '60s helped shatter Jim Crow segregation but could not attack roots of racial oppression in capitalist system.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
tllt@look.ca

boom of the First World War lost their jobs, the victims of racist discrimination and harder economic times. This period saw the revival of the Ku Klux Klan, and in a number of cities, white racist mobs attacked and terrorized black communities.

The upsurge of "revolutionary" black nationalism in the late 1960s, best represented by the Black Panther Party, was a response to the frustrated expectations of the Northern civil rights struggles. Those struggles promised much but left unchanged the hellish conditions of life in the inner-city ghettos that are rooted in the capitalist profit system. As an expression of despair, black nationalism, or separatism, would deny blacks their birthright: *the wealth and culture their labor has played a decisive role in creating.*

Fraser pointed out that the whole notion of "race" has been proven to be scientifically absurd. There is only one "race," the human race. But he also noted that any black person in the U.S. would laugh if you said that race does not exist, and he would be right. Race is a scientific absurdity but a social fact.

The color bar is the American social measuring stick ranging from blacks on the bottom to whites on the top. The social standing and prospects of all "people of color" are largely determined by this measuring stick, with dark-skinned people tending toward the black end and lighter-skinned toward the white end. This is clearly indicated by the extent of intermarriage (the basic mechanism of social integration) across racial and ethnic lines. The level of intermarriage between whites and Latinos or Asian Americans is far higher than that between whites and blacks. The U.S.-born daughter of a Chinese immigrant family is far more likely to have a white husband than is a young black woman whose ancestors were brought to this country in chains three centuries ago.

The racial division of black and white is the fundamental fact that defines American culture and shapes political discourse, even though black people constitute a relatively small minority of the population (roughly 12 percent). Of course, the fundamental economic relationships operating in the U.S. are the same as in all other capitalist class societies: the basis of oppression, including racial oppression, is the exploitation of labor by capital. Anti-black racism is the *greatest obstacle* to working-class unity in the U.S., providing an illusion of common interests between white workers and their class enemy, the white capitalist exploiters.

Until the substantial entry of blacks into industry in World War I, anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic bigotry was the capitalists' chief weapon in dividing and holding back the working class and impeding the development of a strong, politically conscious workers movement. Since that time, anti-black racism has been the most prominent factor in the lack of even a reformist mass political party of the working class organized separately from the capitalist parties, such as exists in all other advanced capitalist countries (and many not-so-advanced countries with a substantial working class). In the U.S., workers remain chained to the "liberal" capitalist Democratic Party. Anti-black racism is at the root of the backwardness of the working class and, in general, of the reactionary features of U.S. society. It is on this basis that the centrality of the black question to the American workers revolution must be understood.

The Legacy of Slavery

The racial divide between black and white is the legacy of slavery and the defeat of Radical Reconstruction. Fraser held that blacks on the slave plantations of the Old South had developed a democratic and egalitarian subculture that enabled them to play a key role in the second American bourgeois-democratic revolution: the Civil War that smashed the system of chattel slavery and the period of Radical Reconstruction following the war. Fraser wrote in "Dialectics of Black Liberation" that the cultural attitudes of the black slaves

> "inundated the transplanted Anglo-Saxon culture of the slave owners. In the rest of the country a cultural vacuum prevailed, born of the melting pot, of class fluidity, of constant migration and immigration. The vacuum acted like a sponge in absorbing Black folk culture. It was readily apparent that the chief barriers between Black and white were sociopolitical, not cultural, and that whites basically needed and responded to the Black culture."

The War of Independence—this country's first bourgeois-democratic revolution—freed the American colonial mercantile capitalists and farmers from subordination to the British ruling class in the late 18th century. The Civil War was a social revolution that freed an oppressed, exploited class—the black slaves—and destroyed the South's basic ruling-class institution, the slave plantation. The ensuing period of Radical Reconstruction brought such gains as political enfranchisement and public education for black freedmen and poor whites alike. This period also saw an enormous expansion of democratic rights for immigrant and native-born white workers in the North as well. For example, the extension of citizenship rights to all those born in this country, codified in the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and now challenged by anti-immigrant bigots, was a direct result of the revolutionary destruction of the Southern slavocracy.

Spearheaded by the Ku Klux Klan, the white propertied classes of the South waged a war of terror against the Reconstruction governments and the black communities that were their core base of support. The fate of the post-Civil War South was determined by the now-dominant Northern capitalist class, whose members shared no fundamental interest with the black freedmen and poor whites of the region. Quite the contrary, Black labor was vital to the Southern agricultural economy that was, in turn, vital to the national capitalist economy. A renewed alliance of the propertied classes in the North and South was built on the broken back of black labor.

SWP press and pamphlets during World War II. Trotskyists courageously fought against racist oppression in factories, military and society at large during the war.

The former black chattel in his freedom was reduced to peonage. As slaves, blacks owned nothing, not even their own bodies, and worked collectively on large plantations. Black sharecroppers owned their bodies and a share of the crop, but not the land they worked individually on divided lots of the former plantations. Whereas the slave was held as property to the plantation owners, the sharecropper was held in debt to the white landlords and financiers, many of them members of the former slavocracy. In *New Data on the Laws Governing the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture* (1915), Lenin polemicized against the notion that the U.S., which had never known feudalism, was free from its economic survivals, noting: "The economic survivals of *slavery* are not in any way distinguishable from those of feudalism, and in the former slave-owning South of the U.S.A. these survivals *are still very powerful*" (emphasis in original).

As Fraser explained in "Dialectics of Black Liberation":

> "After the Civil War and Reconstruction destroyed the old slave-owning class, northern capital, from economic and political motives, betrayed its promises and created a revised, capitalist form of race relations based upon many of the traditions and social relations of slavery. *Segregation* took the place of the chattel slave as the main prop of the new racist order." [emphasis in original]

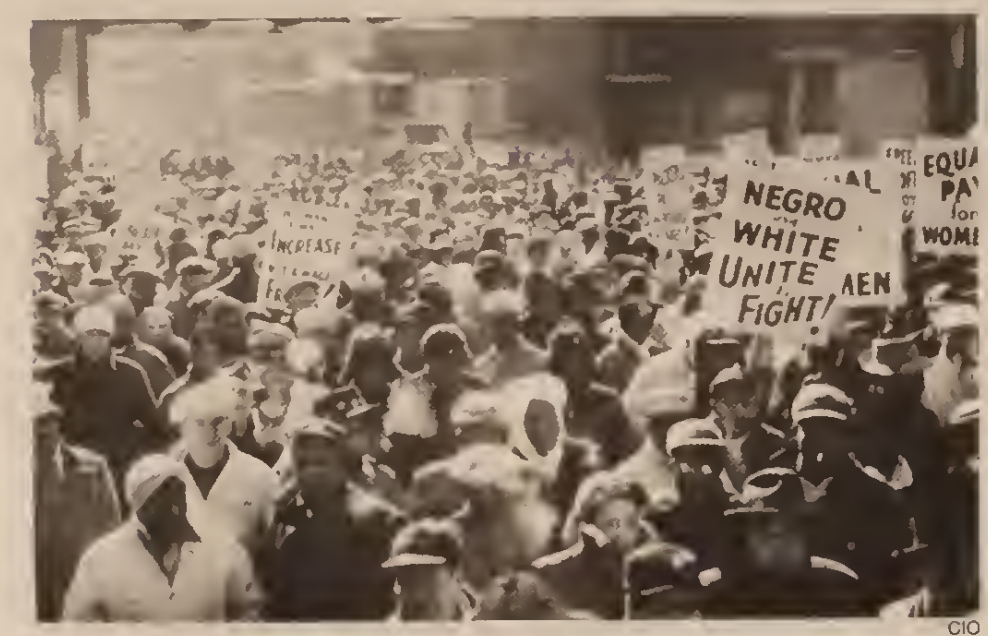
Fraser also pointed out in the same piece that the re-establishment of white-supremacist rule in the South, supplemented by the extralegal violence of the KKK, and the violent and complete suppression of black democratic rights had a profoundly reactionary effect on American political culture as a whole:

> "What was original to U.S. culture were certain progressive institutions—the plebeian folk-hero, democratic and informal manners, the relatively advanced position of women, unionism, the public school, individualism and free speech, and many more.... But these were all corrupted by the victory of Jim Crow and segregation following Reconstruction.
>
> "Denied the opportunity to further absorb Black creativity, white American culture was left in a feeble state. The mores and habits of the imperialist 'robber barons' took over. This new capitalist class, produced by the Civil War, stamped its ruthless, vulgar and Philistine image on American thought. A new house of culture was built upon White Supremacy and American Superiority."

The End of Legalized Segregation in the South

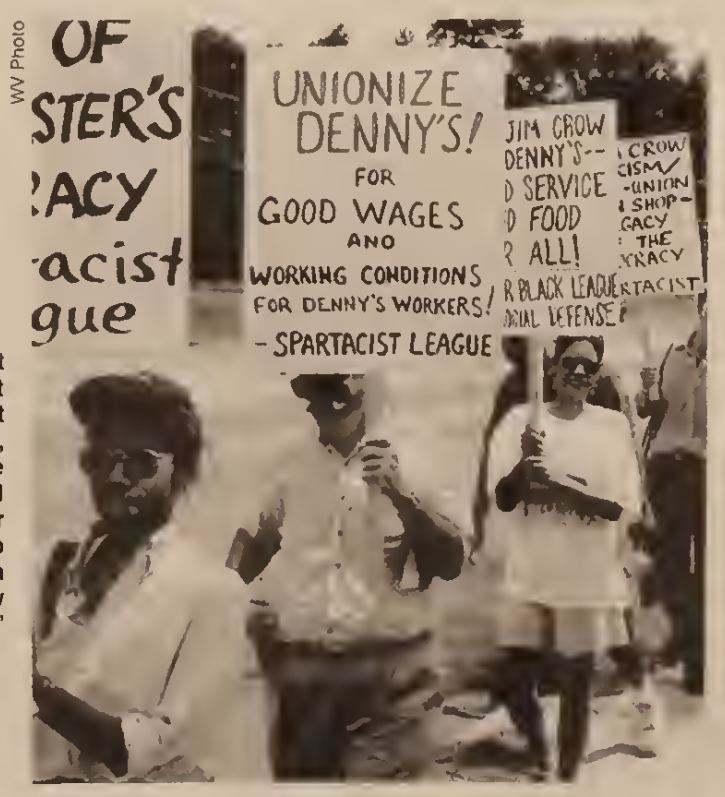
With the benefit of hindsight, a serious analytical error on Fraser's part—exploited and vulgarized by the latter-day Freedom Socialist Party—was his belief that Trotsky's concept of permanent revolution was applicable to the American South. Briefly stated, this concept is that in backward capitalist countries the historic tasks of the bourgeois revolution—i.e., removing the obstacles to socio-economic modernization, centrally imperialist domination and feudal-derived survivals in economic relations and political structure—could be achieved only through a proletarian revolution. Such a revolution would replace

continued on page 8



CIO

Packinghouse workers strike in Chicago in late 1930s. CIO organizing drive built mass industrial unions by uniting black and white workers.



WV Photo

July 1993 protest in Atlanta against racist abuse at Denny's restaurant, part of nationwide campaign organized by SL and Labor Black Leagues to demand, "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's!"

Black Freedom...

(continued from page 7)

the capitalist system of production by a planned, collectivized economy, leading, through the international extension of proletarian revolution, to a socialist order.

In Fraser's view, the struggle against the white-supremacist regimes in the South, which he described as "fascist-like," was an uncompleted task of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the U.S.—an advanced capitalist society despite the backward conditions reigning in the South:

> "The permanent revolution in America reveals itself in the following manner: the Southern system represents massive survivals of chattel slavery. These survivals take the form of great social problems unsolved by the Civil War and Reconstruction; an antiquated system of land tenure, the absence of democratic rights, segregation and racial discrimination....
>
> "This circumstance leads to the inescapable conclusion that although the tasks of the liberation of the South are of an elementary democratic nature, they have no solution within the framework of American capitalism: they become part of the socialist struggle of the proletariat to overthrow the capitalist system of production."
>
> —"Resolution on the Negro Question" (1957), reprinted in "In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser: An Appreciation and Selection of His Work," *Prometheus Research Series* No. 3, August 1990

Additionally, Fraser argued that the black middle class had a direct material interest in the preservation of segregation. Hence the black working class would be propelled into the leadership of the struggle for democratic rights. To be sure, black businessmen, such as the owners of local department stores and funeral parlors, wanted to retain a monopoly of commercial trade in the segregated black communities South and North. However, by the late 1950s, the social character of the black petty bourgeoisie was undergoing a significant change. A college-educated managerial/professional stratum wanted access to government, corporate and educational bureaucracies on the same footing as their white counterparts. And it was this stratum, which used to be called "the talented tenth," that was the *main beneficiary* of the civil rights movement. The sons and daughters of black businessmen typically became government functionaries and middle-level corporate managers.

Library of Congress

Harper's Weekly

Left: Black troops in Union Army helped turn tide in Civil War to defeat Southern slavocracy. Right: Graphic depicts black people voting in the South in 1867 after Union victory.

In general, Fraser did not fully recognize the substantial changes in the socio-economic structure of the South at the onset of the civil rights movement. The white-supremacist regimes had as their basic purpose the suppression of the mass of black rural toilers, typically sharecroppers. The increasing urbanization of the South and the modernization of its agriculture in the 1940s and '50s eroded the social and economic basis of the Jim Crow system. These were the fundamental developments that gave rise to the civil rights movement: the mobilization of the black populace in the struggle for basic democratic rights. Additionally, legally enforced white supremacy in the South had become an embarrassment for the U.S. imperialist rulers in their global Cold War against the Soviet Union, especially among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

UPI

Evicted sharecroppers, 1939.

Between the 1960s and the late 1970s, the legal-political structure of the South was brought into alignment with the bourgeois-democratic norms in the rest of the country. This development underscores the fact that the root cause of black oppression lies in the workings of the U.S. capitalist economy, not the legal sanctions of the bourgeois state. Today, blacks possess at least formal equality under the law, although this is pervasively violated in practice. The past two or three decades have seen *increased* segregation, particularly in Northern urban areas, along with higher black unemployment and homelessness, a racist purge in higher education, the scourge of AIDS and the massive imprisonment of young black men carried out in the name of "the war on drugs." Black pockets of the rural South are still marked by deep poverty and vicious repression, to say nothing of the plight of black New Orleans. These conditions cannot be eradicated by a new civil rights movement and a new Civil Rights Act but only by the overthrow of the capitalist system through proletarian socialist revolution.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

New Orleans...

(continued from page 12)

hearings may well be the bourgeoisie's attempt to do some "damage control"—after all, the whole world watched on TV as the Gulf Coast was devastated and the people of New Orleans left to die.

But every new revelation should underline to working people one inescapable conclusion: The real truth about New Orleans is that it was not just incompetence, not just mistakes, not just bureaucratic inertia that condemned thousands to death and misery. It was the brutal workings of the racist U.S. capitalist system.

Testifying before the Senate "Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs" committee on February 10, former FEMA head and administration fall guy Michael Brown denounced as "baloney" White House and Homeland Security claims that they thought New Orleans had "dodged the bullet" and that they only heard of levee breaks on Tuesday, August 30, some 24 hours after they had occurred. The Senate hearing revealed that reports of a levee breach were available to the government as early as Monday morning. These even included a "White House Homeland Security Council" report at 11:13 a.m. that stated that "a levee in New Orleans has reportedly been breached, sending six to eight feet of water throughout the Ninth Ward area of the city."

Brown said he spoke directly to White House aides who were with Bush on vacation about the situation on Monday, the day the storm hit land. He said he didn't bother to call his boss Michael Chertoff, head of Homeland Security, because "it would have wasted my time." Brown said that if the government had "confirmed that a terrorist has blown up the 17th Street Canal Levee, then everybody would have jumped all over that." He commented that handling "a natural disaster" had "become the stepchild within the Department of Homeland Security." The fact that FEMA has been absorbed by Homeland Security only underscores its decades-long role as an agency of state repression (see "New Orleans: Racist Atrocity," *WV* No. 854, 16 September 2005).

The Bush White House has been stonewalling for weeks, blocking investigations into its role in Katrina, and no wonder: They lied about what they knew and when they knew it. While George Bush and Vice President Richard Cheney and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice were off playing—ranching in Texas, fly-fishing in Wyoming, shopping for shoes in Manhattan—helpless wheelchair-bound patients were drowning behind nursing home doors, entire black neighborhoods were swept away, families were gasping their last as the waters trapped them up under their attic roofs, old people were dying of exposure and lack of medicine. As we wrote in a September 4 statement issued by the Spartacist League (reprinted in *WV* No. 854):

> "The unspeakable, smirking George W. Bush trimmed his month-long vacation by a couple of days to survey the disaster zone from his presidential jet and asked inanely: Who knew the levees would break? Answer: Everyone. For years, scientists and Army Corps of Engineers warned that the levees were sinking and incapable of withstanding a powerful hurricane."

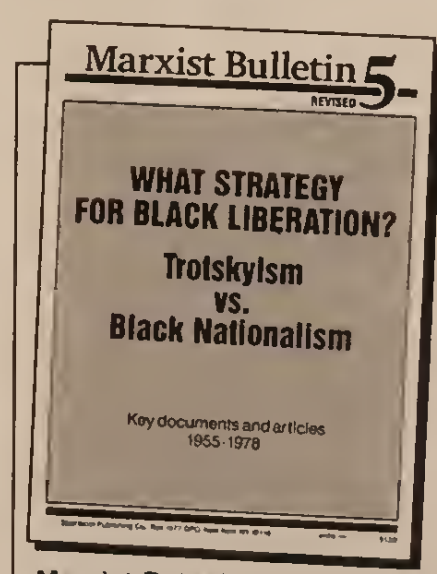
The Katrina disaster laid bare the class and race divisions in America, underlining that the oppression of black people is rooted in the very bedrock of American capitalism. The capitalist rulers have their priorities, and taking care of working people is not one of them. The devastation of New Orleans was prepared by decades of bipartisan neglect by a ruling class that, driven by lust for immediate gain, doesn't want to pay for repairing its deteriorating infrastructure.

When any child with the ability to manipulate a TV remote control could see New Orleans drowning, could see thousands starving, desperate for drinkable water at the convention center, what kind of monster would not just get help down there? The answer is: the kind of monster that never had any intention of helping, the United States government. This government exists not to help the people but to serve the capitalist rulers. Democrats and Republicans alike, at all levels of government, from New Orleans mayor Nagin to Louisiana governor Blanco on up to the White House: Their loyalty is to the capitalist profit system.

The crimes continue. FEMA announced an early Valentine's Day present: cutting funding as of February 13 for 12,000 Katrina evacuee families scattered in motels around the country, who now face immediate eviction. Last week, occupants of some 4,500 rooms already had their funding cut. Where will they go? Not to FEMA trailers. Of some 135,000 requests for trailers, FEMA has only filled about half, while in Orleans Parish, only 3,000 out of 21,000 requests have been filled. Insurance rates are going sky high, while FEMA claimed last year to have run out of money to pay existing flood insurance claims.

Behind the Mardi Gras glitter and tourist-fueled Bourbon Street jazz, New Orleans has a port vital to the U.S. economy (the port *will* be reconstructed). It is also one of America's poorest, blackest cities. And now, a Brown University study has confirmed what many had already feared: "New Orleans could lose as much as 80 percent of its black population if its most damaged neighborhoods are not rebuilt and if there is not significant government assistance" (*New York Times*, 27 January). As for the likelihood of "government assistance"—well, one float in the first Krewe du Vieux Mardi Gras parade on February 11 had a display asking France to buy Louisiana back, as the state's people might then get better treatment.

As we wrote in our September 4 statement: "The situation cries out for workers revolution in the U.S. to do away with the capitalist system and establish a society with a planned, collectivized economy.... As New Orleans shows, the choice is clear: socialism or barbarism."■



Marxist Bulletin No. 5 Revised
Key Documents and Articles 1955-1978

$1.50 (72 pages)
Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

Cartoons...

(continued from page 1)

and organized by Islamic fundamentalist reactionaries. These coincided with an effective boycott of Danish goods.

Since the outbreak of protests, the editor of *Jyllands-Posten* (now "on leave" supposedly because of excessive stress) has postured as a champion of free speech. Lionized throughout Europe for his supposedly brave stand in defense of freedom of the press, he was soon joined in his "struggle" when other papers in Europe (e.g., France and Italy) published the cartoons. But his record is anything but heroic and certainly not anti-clerical. In 2003, he rejected a cartoon series on Jesus because of concerns that it would provoke an outcry.

One does not have to be a Marxist to view with contempt and revulsion the hundreds of millions of lives forfeited in the names of the various prophets and their fictional deities—whether they be of the Christian, Jewish, Muslim or any other faith—in wars and communal bloodbaths. Those who pursue religious violence are often driven by the hope for such ecstasies in the afterlife as are typically promised to "holy" warriors, martyrs and saints. Nor does one need to be a Marxist to appreciate the miserable existence, the forfeiture of human potential of the many, particularly women, bound by religious superstitious constraints. Satire is more than challenged by the depravity of these continuing atrocities. However, one does have to be a revolutionary Marxist to realize that religious superstition and belief will only fade away as human want is conquered through socialist revolution and the creation of a communist society worldwide.

The international proletariat must fight against all anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim chauvinism and provocations. It must demand an end to the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan and defend those who resist the American military juggernaut while calling for full citizenship rights for immigrants throughout

Jacob Holdt

Danish neo-Nazi demonstration, 2002. Anti-immigrant frenzy propels growth of fascists in Europe.

Europe and the U.S. A February 7 letter by Hans Jensen, the President of the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, to the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions rightly condemns "any statement or illustration, which serves to demonise individuals or groups because of their religion or ethnicity," while calling for an end to the boycott of Danish goods.

However, throughout Europe, including in Denmark, the tops of the social democracies and the trade unions—advocates of capitalist reform and opponents of socialist revolution—have more than curtsied to anti-immigrant sentiment, supposedly in the defense of "their" workers against foreign workers. In reality, this acquiescence to bourgeois reaction vitiates the working class' ability to struggle against its capitalist rulers—by dividing the proletariat into its native and immigrant components—while calling into question the historic mission of the working class as the liberator of all humanity.

By contributing to the ghetto-like segregation and isolation of immigrants in European societies, the reformists reinforce the sway of the reactionary Muslim clerics who now lead the protests sweeping Europe and the Near East under banners that proclaim, "Kill Those Who Insult Islam," "Behead Those Who Insult Islam," and "Europe You Will Pay, Your 9/11 Is On Its Way!" But for all these bloodcurdling cries, it is the imperialists who dominate militarily and who are daily shooting down the protesters in Afghanistan.

Buoyed by the victory of Hamas in the Palestinian elections, by the strong showing of the Muslim Brotherhood in recent Egyptian elections, and by the just resistance of the clerical Iranian regime to imperialist efforts to deprive it of the capacity for nuclear weapons, the fundamentalists seek to extend their political power. Notwithstanding the anti-Semitic cartoons that are a regular feature in many Arab newspapers and the campaign by the press in Iran to elicit Holocaust cartoons, it is the Israeli semi-theocratic state that daily *murders* Palestinians and the imperialists who threaten and are able to starve the Palestinians unless Hamas accepts Israel's terms.

At bottom, for all their rhetoric, the fundamentalists direct their demands to the greater and lesser "Satans." In the communiqué issued by the December meeting of 57 Muslim nations in Mecca that launched the current wave of protests, the imperialists are beseeched to cease "using the freedom of expression as a pretext to defame religions" (*New York Times*, 9 February).

This not very veiled call for anti-blasphemy constraints must be opposed by the international proletariat. Religious "impieties" should be of no concern to the working class. In Britain, existing anti-blasphemy laws apply only to the Christian faith. Now pending is a bill with some popular support, particularly among Muslims in Britain, to outlaw expressions of religious hatred. Such laws are a danger, and would be used by the state primarily to indict and suppress the opponents of religious reaction.

The "politically correct" logic that gives support to anti-blasphemy laws was articulated by those liberals who apologized for the 2004 murder of right-wing Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh by a Muslim fanatic because he made a film on the wretched condition of women in Islamic countries. The film was made in collaboration with Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a Somali refugee trying to free herself from the constraints of Islamic fundamentalism, who has received numerous death threats. The flip side has been that immigrant leftists and women appalled by the rise of Islamic reaction, and seeing no alternative perspective, have turned more and more to the "democratic" imperialists and their states for answers—a case in point being Ayaan Hirsi Ali herself, a Dutch parliamentarian who favors Western intervention against Islamic reaction.

Hypocrisy is never too far behind the West's claims to "democracy" and "civilization." When Martin Scorcese's *Last Temptation of Christ* was released in 1988, it was met by howls from the Christian right, and Blockbuster Video refused to circulate the film. When the film came to France, religious fanatics went on a rampage, firebombing one theater where it was showing. And when the Brooklyn Museum of Art in 1999 showed an exhibit by black artist Chris Ofili, a Catholic of Nigerian background, that included a collage titled "The Holy Virgin Mary" incorporating the use of dry elephant dung (as employed in some

AP

February 5: Muslim protesters set fire to building housing Danish embassy in Lebanon.

kinds of traditional African art), then-NYC-mayor Rudolph Giuliani threatened to cut millions of dollars in funding and evict the museum.

More recently, the born-again George W. Bush had no qualms about closing down Islamic charities in the U.S. with the impeccably racist and imperialist logic that those victimized in Iraq and Palestine were opponents of America "the holy." Nor did he have any qualms about authorizing such indignities and tortures as were (and doubtless still are) perpetrated at Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo (where U.S. guards urinated on the Koran). The right-wing American political forces that have been howling about "freedom of the press" over the cartoon row are the very same forces that want to curtail civil liberties in the U.S. in pursuit of the "war on terror" and promote the teaching of the religious notion of "intelligent design" over evolution in public schools.

Though lacking in the same kind of military, political and economic might as the imperialists, the Islamic fundamentalists are no less disposed to bigotry and violence. One can look at the case of Salman Rushdie who was targeted for assassination by a *fatwa* backed by the Iranian clericalist regime for writing the mildly impious, and quite funny, *The Satanic Verses* in 1988. The current reactionary mobilizations in the Near East have frequently targeted local Christian populations and places of worship. And in Iraq it is communal violence, primarily between Sunni and Shi'ite Muslim forces—not the illusory democracy enforced by the imperialist occupation—that will determine which sect will rule. In Algeria, Iran, Jordan and Yemen, several editors and journalists defied the status quo and printed the cartoons, a "crime" for which they now face prosecution for "defaming" Islam. An independent political stand by the Near Eastern proletariat would be to demand their immediate freedom.

As Marxists, we are militant atheists. At the same time, we defend the right of all to worship as they please. But we do not defend such practices that enjoin the lives, safety and freedoms that should be accessible to all. We champion the complete separation of church and state.

Although Islamic fundamentalism is achieving ascendance throughout the Muslim world, these are diverse, class-divided and heterogeneous societies where the just reaction to imperialist domination is not always subsumed to religious reaction. In a recent article in the Egyptian *Al-Ahram Weekly* (2 February) Ramzy Baroud, a Palestinian American journalist, poignantly describes the dilemma of those not totally enamored of the current demonstrations. "If Arabs can be so efficient in organising such popular (and effective) campaigns that utilise economic, political and diplomatic leverage to extract concessions, then why the utter failure to carry out such campaigns protesting against the US war on Iraq, its unconditional support of Israel and its condescending foreign policy and grand democracy charades it wishes to impose on everyone?"

Fair question. The fundamentalist mobilizations over the cartoons doubtless articulate pent-up anger at the U.S. occupation of Iraq, the pounding of the Palestinians, the imperialists' unholy crusade against Muslims expressed through the "war on terror." At the same time, these mobilizations, based on religious fanaticism, are a deflection from what is necessary to fight these very real atrocities.

What about the meaningful problems, magnified tenfold by imperialist subjugation, that face the numerous peoples and societies that constitute the Muslim world? The proximal answer is that the 1991-92 overturn of the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state removed the sole support for a more independent bourgeois-nationalist stance in the Near East. Today, those who rule the regimes of the region are in servile relationship to the imperialist powers, a factor that further fuels reactionary Islamic fundamentalism.

As is pointed out in Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, the ties that bind the national bourgeoisies in the backward countries to the imperialist order are a thousand times stronger than those that tie them to the cause of national liberation. The Stalinized Communist parties of the Near East betrayed their mass base among workers, women and minorities and made a mockery of the struggle for socialist revolution by tailing after the "progressive" nationalists of the region, such as during the 1958 Iraqi Revolution. For this, they share responsibility for the growth of Islamic fundamentalism.

It is to be remembered that when the heads of the primarily Germanic tribes that overturned the decaying Roman Empire in the fifth century were in the process of acquiring skills in literacy, if not in hygiene, the early dynamic mercantilism of the Muslim empires, which began their rise in the late seventh century, was the transmission belt for culture and knowledge in the region. In many parts of their empires, most notably Andalusian Spain, the Muslims were known for a certain tolerance for other religions hardly found in barbaric Europe. But it was primarily Europe that spawned the forces that led to the formation of the class basis of modern society, the various nationally based bourgeoisies and the international proletariat.

The early liberating promises of the European bourgeois-democratic revolutions were soon subsumed to the drive for world dominance in pursuit of profits by those nations where capitalism dominated. The imperialist rulers of today do not represent the Enlightenment, rationalism or secularism. To cement their domination, the imperialists have historically backed the forces of religious fundamentalism against "godless" communism and, at times, even secular nationalism. Beginning in the late 1970s, U.S. imperialism armed and financed Islamic fundamentalist cutthroats fighting against the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan, an intervention that opened the possibility of extending the gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples. Soviet leader Gorbachev's criminal withdrawal of troops in 1989 opened the door to the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR itself, while greatly contributing to the growth of Islamic reaction.

Proletarian power remains the only way forward in the Near East. It is necessary to forge Marxist workers parties in the region to mobilize the working class in struggle to overturn the rule of the imperialists and their lackeys and to begin the liberation of that area from imperialist rule and fundamentalist reaction, a liberation that will be completed only by the world socialist revolution. ■

Palestinians...

(continued from page 1)

subsistence agriculture and water. Curfews, blockades and military checkpoints impede movement to jobs, hospitals, schools and crucial social services. A year ago, U.N. secretary general Kofi Annan observed that "Palestinian women are suffering massively from malnutrition." Nearly 70 percent of pregnant women and nursing mothers are anemic.

It is under these conditions that Hamas, which has hitherto rejected "peace" talks with Israel, emerged as the only perceived alternative to the nationalist Fatah movement. A 30 January posting on *Al Jazeera*'s Web site noted: "While Hamas's international reputation is based on its campaign of attacks against Israel, its popularity in the West Bank and Gaza stems in part from its providing a safety net for some of the poorest Palestinians." Isolated and under international pressure, Palestinians seek first of all simple relief from Zionist terror.

The imperialists' hostility to Hamas has little to do with opposition to "terror"—U.S. imperialism is the biggest terrorist on the planet, and the Israeli state was founded on terror and "ethnic cleansing" against Palestinians. U.S. threats against the Palestinians must be put in the broader context of imperialist machinations in the region. As it maintains its bloody occupation of Iraq, the U.S. threatens Iran with sanctions and military attack if it proceeds with its nuclear program, while it annually gives Israel, armed with over 200 nuclear weapons, billions in armaments and other financial assistance. ***Down with U.S. aid to Israel! Defend the Palestinians! Israeli troops, settlers out of all the Occupied Territories! U.S. out of Iraq!***

Jean Mohr

Getty

Rise of Islamic fundamentalism threatens Palestinian women. Left: Students at West Bank Bir Zeit University, 1984, where many women rejected wearing Islamic headscarf and veil. Above: Women line up to vote in Gaza City during recent Palestinian elections.

The Bankruptcy of PLO Nationalism

Hamas' electoral victory was a major political defeat for the PLO, though Fatah at this point retains its control of the PA security forces. Founded in 1964 in the era of "Arab Revolution," the PLO looked first to the Arab bourgeoisies in the region as its allies against Israel. By the early 1990s, reliance on the Arab regimes was supplanted by direct appeals to the imperialists, particularly the United States. After capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, removing the main military and political counterweight to U.S. imperialism, the PLO was deprived of crucial diplomatic and financial support. In 1993, the PLO signed the Oslo Accords with Israel.

Brokered by Washington, the Oslo Accords established Palestinian-controlled ghettos in Gaza and the West Bank. As noted by Columbia University professor Joseph Massad (*Al-Ahram Weekly*, 11 February), the U.S./Israeli terms of the agreement "did not only include the Oslo capitulation but also that the newly created and Fatah-controlled Palestinian Authority be indeed armed and that its weapons should have a new target: the Palestinian people themselves." We warned at the time of the accords:

> "Whatever happens, this grotesque bargain over the subjugated Palestinian people marks a watershed in the Near East. By its act, the PLO has invited fundamentalist reactionaries like Hamas to pose as the only fighters against the Zionist occupation. Petty-bourgeois Arab nationalism has been shown to be the bankrupt and impotent dead end that it always was."
>
> —"Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto," *WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993

Since the Oslo Accords, Israel has created 102 new settlements and doubled the population in existing settlements. There are now some 450,000 Jewish settlers in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. Over 700 military checkpoints were built to control the movement of Palestinians from town to town and in and out of Jerusalem and Gaza. In 1994, an electric fence was built around the Gaza ghetto. Some 34 percent of the budget of the Palestinian Authority is spent on policing, compared to 8 percent on health and 2 percent on agriculture. In 2001, the government of Ariel Sharon effectively tore up Oslo, launching a series of attacks on the Occupied Territories that devastated the Palestinian Authority infrastructure, and imprisoned Yassir Arafat in his shelled-out compound in Ramallah until he died.

AFP

Israeli occupation troops carry out house-to-house raid near Jenin in West Bank, December 14.

Desperate to hold on to their jobs as overseers in the Occupied Territories, PA cops, hired by Fatah, rioted against Hamas' recent victory. In turn, Hamas has backed off earlier threats to reorganize the security forces and pledged to support the PA cops. Policing the Palestinians in "autonomous" shreds of territory is the "right" the PLO wrested from Israel. As Israeli journalist Amira Hass noted, Arafat "measured the 'accomplishment' by the number of Palestinians he controlled and were subject to his security branches, rather than by the extent of their freedom—for there is no freedom in enclaves surrounded by an occupying army" (*CounterPunch*, 2 February).

Zionist Rulers Supported Hamas

In 1974, the Arab League declared the PLO to be the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." Four years later, Menachem Begin's right-wing government approved an application from Sheik Ahmed Yassin to license the Islamic Association, a front group of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and the predecessor of Hamas. As an official charity organization, Yassin's group received funding from Israel. In 1986, the former military governor of Gaza, Yitzhak Segev, said: "We extend some financial aid to Islamic groups via mosques and religious schools, in order to help create a force that would stand against the leftist forces which support the PLO." Carrying out attacks on secularists and Communists, the Islamists engaged in neither political nor military struggle against Israel.

In the 1980s the Shamir government set up conservative, tribal-based "Village Leagues" in the Occupied Territories. The Islamists became a force in these organs of collaboration. Israel's rulers helped the Islamic Association gain control of the Islamic University of Gaza and a base among the intelligentsia, while funding welfare programs to help the fundamentalists win a base among the poor.

With the beginning of the first *Intifada* in 1987, the Islamists feared that if they stood aside they would lose their following. Hamas was founded in the spring of 1988 as an Islamist political movement with an armed wing. Hamas sought to fuse the national struggle, previously a secular movement containing a leftist component, with reactionary Islamic fundamentalism. Notwithstanding Hamas' rabidly anti-Semitic charter, Israel's rulers promoted Hamas as a counterweight to the PLO and broke relations only in the fall of 1989 after discovering that Hamas had killed two Israeli soldiers.

The Zionists have used the rise of Hamas and rival fundamentalist Islamic Jihad—both of which increasingly responded to Israel state terror by carrying out criminal suicide bombings against Israeli civilians—to justify scuttling "peace" talks and intensifying the oppression of the Palestinian people. Israel's intensification of bloody repression and terror has included "targeted assassinations" of Palestinian leaders, such as that of Sheik Yassin in 2004.

Anti-Palestinian repression is not just the policy of hard-line right-wing Zionism. The Kadima party was founded by now comatose ex-prime minister Sharon—the man responsible for the slaughter of some 2,000 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in 1982—working in collaboration with Zionist "dove" Shimon Peres. Kadima has adopted the liberal Zionist, and racist, line that the central reason for withdrawing from some lands in the West Bank is to preserve a Jewish majority in Israel. This is echoed by Amir Peretz, current leader of the thoroughly bourgeois Labor Party, who states that if he wins the upcoming Israeli elections, "Any concession I make—any agreement I reach—is based on retaining a Jewish state..., So the [Palestinian] right of return is not even a question for the negotiating table."

Palestinian Women Under the Gun

A 3 February *New York Times* article, "Women, Secret Hamas Strength, Win Votes at Polls and New Role," points to the growth of support for Hamas among Palestinian women. While promoting the segregation of women, Hamas has been able to gain a base among them by instituting needed social services and giving women a more prominent role in its activities. This itself is a damning indictment of the political bankruptcy of the Palestinian nationalists. As a young woman in Fatah put it, "Fatah took women for granted, and this is one reason it lost."

Hamas is descended from the clerical-fascistic Muslim Brotherhood, which became particularly prominent in Egypt in the late 1940s. Under the slogan "com-

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
international rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail

❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

❑ I would like to contribute $_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

864

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Heyman...

(continued from page 3)

Heyman is a hypocrite who postures as a labor "militant" while working at every critical juncture to *undermine* class-struggle politics. Take, for example, the 2004 Washington, D.C. Million Worker March (MWM). ILWU Local 10 was one of the main endorsers and Heyman heavily built the march as "an independent mobilization of the workers." In *Socialist Viewpoint* (July-August 2005), Heyman criticized a number of top labor bureaucrats who "all agreed to prevent an independent workers demonstration before the presidential election lest it jeopardize the electoral chances of pro-war, pro-Taft Hartley Kerry." The MWM was "independent" of what? Its "Mission Statement" deliberately avoided renouncing support for the Democrats at a time when the labor bureaucrats, including the ILWU International, were pouring money into Democrat Kerry's coffers. A letter posted on the official MWM Web site from one of its main backers, Chris Silvera of Teamsters Local 808 in New York City, openly declared: "The Million Worker March is a crucial vehicle for voter mobilization." And he wasn't talking about getting out the vote for Bush.

As we argued in "Million Worker March: Tail of Lesser Evilism" (*WV* No. 831, 3 September 2004): "Workers who want a genuinely independent workers party must raise their own class banners at the MWM in Octoher." The Spartacist League literature table at the march featured the banner: "Break with the Democrats! No Vote to Nader! For a Workers Party that Fights for Socialist Revolution!" Did Heyman raise any such banner? He had one made calling to "Break with the Democrats, Build a Workers Party!" But on site, this banner never saw the light of day. While doing his job of unfurling the ILWU and official MWM banners at the march, ***Heyman left the "workers party" banner in the bag it had come in!***

Heyman gallivants around the world perpetrating similar frauds. At a rally for "international workers solidarity" in Tokyo in November, he excoriated the AFL-CIO bureaucracy for supporting "the monopoly of political power in the two parties of the capitalist class—the Republicans and the Democrats—not an independent labor party or workers party that has been raised by the ILWU." Who was to know that back home the ILWU was continuing to back the Democrats? Heyman, for one: In his *Socialist Viewpoint* article, Heyman had complained of the fact that "our officers continue to uncritically support the Democratic Party." And this is the cynical faker who denounces us for "hypocrisy and hollow exhortations"!

One would think from reading Heyman's letter that we are also guilty of having censored his criticisms of our organization in his remarks at the October Berkeley rally. On the contrary. Our article on the event reported that "Jack Heyman criticized the SL and the PDC for not fielding contingents at the 24 April 1999 'Millions for Mumia' demonstrations and for not commending the union's West Coast stop-work meeting on behalf of Mumia the same day." We referred our readers to the article "A Hard Look at Recent Party Work and Current Tasks" (*WV* No. 841, 4 February 2005), which Heyman cynically commended at the October rally for doing an "excellent job of admitting the mistakes around Mumia's defense." We acknowledged that we made a mistake in not fielding "Free Mumia" contingents in the 1999 protests, which would have provided an organized pole to combat the deadly illusions in the capitalist state sown hy the reformists and labor fakers and to fight for a class-struggle perspective.

But we certainly did not abstain from the protests. In S.F., for example, we had a full mobilization of our members and supporters to get out our propaganda calling to mobilize the social power of our class in defense of Jamal as opposed to reliance on the courts of the class enemy. Our literature table prominently featured the PDC banner reading: "There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Our intervention was hardly an empty gesture, as Heyman implies. A number of the longshoremen who shut down the ports that day had first heard of Jamal's case through PDC literature and articles in *Workers Vanguard*. Nonetheless, not having contingents was a tactical error, and a costly one. At a critical point in the fight for Mumia's freedom, it undercut our effectiveness in fighting against the liberals, reformists and labor fakers like Heyman whose policies demobilized support for Mumia's cause.

V.I. Lenin, whose Bolshevik Party led the only successful workers revolution in history—the 1917 October Revolution—wrote: "A political party's attitude toward its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it fulfills *in practice* its obligations towards its *class* and the *working people*." Heyman's response to being held accountable for the swindle of covering the politics of class collaboration with the veneer of class-struggle rhetoric should serve as a similar, if contrary, measure of his purpose. This "militant," who keeps his politics in the bag when it matters, reveals himself as nothing more tban a component of the labor bureaucracy whose support to the capitalist profit system has sapped the workers' fighting spirit in the face of the bosses' one-sided class war over the past several decades.■

---

munism = atheism = liberation of women," the Muslim Brotherhood mobilized a terror campaign against Communists and other secular forces. Hamas preaches the social segregation of women, the wearing of the *hijab* (Islamic headscarf), and anti-woman *sharia* law. With the growth of Hamas especially in Gaza, there has been a rise in "honor killings" of women who "shame" their families by having sex outside marriage, defying arranged marriages, donning Western "jezebel" dress or other transgressions of Islamic law.

When women stepped forward to play a leading and courageous role in the resistance against Israeli occupation forces during the first *Intifada*, Hamas stepped up its activity against "un-Islamic behavior." During the first year of the *Intifada*, what distinguished Hamas was its attacks on unveiled women. In May 1988, religious youths broke into classrooms demanding that schoolgirls wear the *hijab*. In summer 1989, unveiled women were stoned in Gaza. The campaign to force women back into the veil was acquiesced to by the PLO's Fatah and the leftists who tail the PLO. A symbol of women's segregation from society, these stifling yards of black cloth, meant to symbolize female "modesty" and subservience, were promoted as a symbol of national resistance.

The PLO was not merely trying to bolster its waning support by tailing the Islamic fundamentalists. As petty-bourgeois nationalists, the PLO is incapable of fighting for women's emancipation. As we wrote in "Palestinian Women and the *Intifada*":

> "The PLO aims to create its own bourgeois regime which would be in the image of the neighboring states. At bottom, these bourgeois nationalists are hostile to women's emancipation because it can only be achieved through a thoroughgoing working-class revolution, shattering bourgeois property relations and all associated social institutions. The victory of the proletariat fighting for its own *class* interests will break the old bonds of oppression and lay the basis to revolutionize daily life. This is flatly counterposed to the program of 'national unity'."
>
> —*Women and Revolution* No. 39 (Summer 1991)

For Arab-Hebrew Workers Revolution!

The Israeli/Palestinian conflict is one of interpenetrated peoples: two peoples fighting for control of the same piece of land. With some 50 percent of the Palestinian population living outside the Occupied Territories—in Jordan, Lebanon, Israel—the national liberation of the Palestinians demands a perspective of socialist revolution throughout the Near East, including within Israel, the most powerful and economically advanced country in the region. This means recognizing the right of the Hebrew-speaking people to national self-determination. In turn, breaking the Hebrew proletariat from their Zionist rulers requires that they champion the national rights of the Palestinians. We have no illusions that winning the Hebrew proletariat to this perspective will be an easy task. Indeed, it will likely require the victory of socialist revolution in one of the other Near Eastern states to break the Hebrew proletariat from Zionist chauvinism.

The Zionist state is not only a catastrophe for Palestinians—***it is also a death-trap for Jews***. As long as Zionist oppression of Palestinians continues, Israeli Jews will continue to be a target of hatred and outrage by the more than 100 million Arabs who surround them. In Israel, 25 percent of citizens live in poverty and income disparities are higher than in Egypt and Jordan. The false consciousness of religion and nationalism—in the face of pervasive anti-Semitism—is the glue holding this multiply fissured society together.

The Arab working masses must be broken from fundamentalism and Arab nationalism and won to a perspective of proletarian revolution. This requires the forging of revolutionary Marxist parties throughout the Near East to unite the proletariat—Arab, Persian, Kurdish and Hebrew, Sunni and Shi'ite, Muslim and Christian—in struggle against imperialism and against the Zionists, mullahs, colonels, sheiks and all the other capitalist rulers. There is no other way.■

Spartacist Black History Month Speaking Tour

Race, Class and Socialist Revolution: Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

Don Alexander, SL Central Committee (Chicago)
Don Cane, SL Central Committee (Oakland)

Mumia Is an Innocent Man!
The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee, former counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal

OAKLAND
Sunday, Feb. 19, 12 & 3 p.m.
YWCA Tea Room
1515 Webster Street
(near 12th & 19th BART stations in downtown Oakland)
For more information: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO
Saturday, Feb. 25, 1 & 4 p.m.
University of Chicago
Reynolds Club
South Lounge (2nd floor)
5706 South University Ave.
For more information: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

BOSTON
Saturday, February 25, 4 p.m.
The Russian Revolution Betrayed
Boston University
George Sherman Union, Room 310-11
775 Commonwealth Ave.
(BU Central stop on Green Line B)
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

CHICAGO
Tuesday, February 28, 7 p.m.
For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
University of Chicago, Cobb Hall
5811 S. Ellis Avenue, Room 104
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, March 4, 2 p.m.
After the Revolution: Economic Planning and the Communist Social Vision
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Near Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

NEW YORK
Wednesday, February 22, 7:30 p.m.
The Russian Revolution— How the Working Class Took Power
Columbia University, 703 Hamilton Hall
116th Street and Broadway
(take 1 train to 116th St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

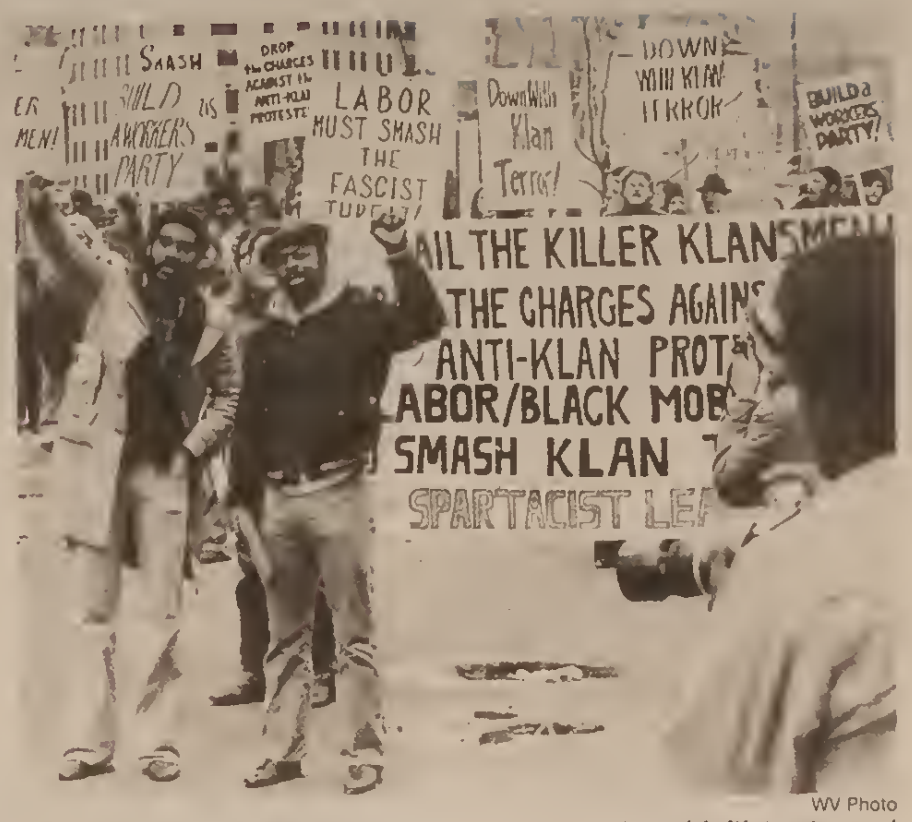
TORONTO
Wednesday, March 1, 6:30 p.m.
For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! Free Abortion on Demand!
University of Toronto
Sidney Smith Building, Room 2112
100 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER
Wednesday, February 22, 5 p.m.
From Berlin to Moscow—The ICL's Fight Against Capitalist Counterrevolution— For New October Revolutions!
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 224
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: tllt@look.ca

WORKERS VANGUARD

The Legacy of Richard S. Fraser

Revolutionary Integrationism: The Road to Black Freedom



WV Photo

Detroit, November 1979: 500 auto workers, youth and leftists stopped the Klan in labor/black mobilization heavily built by Spartacist League.

PART ONE

When Hurricane Katrina left untold thousands of poor, overwhelmingly black people either dead or homeless, the reality of black oppression in the U.S. was laid bare. Half a century after the outbreak of the mass struggles for black civil rights, official Jim Crow segregation in the South is long gone. But the conditions of black life in this country—North and South—have worsened, from jobs and wages to housing and education, while cop terror runs rampant in the ghettos and masses of young black men have been relegated to years in prison. The situation cries out for massive class and social struggle against the racist U.S. capitalist rulers, based on a firm understanding of the roots of black oppression and the lessons of past struggles for social equality.

From the formation of the Spartacist tendency in the early 1960s, we have stood for the perspective and program of revolutionary integrationism. This position is counterposed to both the liberal reformist response to black oppression and to all political expressions of black separatism. The liberation of black people from conditions of racial oppression and impoverishment—conditions inherent to the U.S. capitalist system—can be achieved only in an egalitarian socialist society. And such a society can be achieved only through the overthrow of the capitalist system by the working class and its allies. As we wrote in "Black and Red—Class-Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," a document adopted at the founding conference of the Spartacist League in September 1966 and subsequently printed in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, "Basic Documents of the Spartacist League": "Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution."

We have described the black population in the U.S. as an oppressed race-color caste. We noted in "Black and Red" that "From their arrival in this country, the Negro people have been *an integral part* of American class society while at the same time *forcibly segregated* at the bottom of this society." Thus blacks face discrimination, in different degrees, regardless of social status, wealth or class position. Despite the increasing destruction of industrial jobs and erosion of union strength in recent decades, black workers, whose rate of union membership is a third higher than that of white workers, continue to be integrated into strategic sectors of the industrial proletariat, such as urban transit, longshore, auto and steel. Blacks also make up a large percentage of unionized government and public workers. Won to a revolutionary program, black workers will be the living link fusing the anger of the dispossessed ghetto masses with the social power of the multiracial proletariat under the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party. Labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League and its fraternal organizations, which defeated fascist Klan and Nazi provocations in a number of major cities over the past quarter-century, were concrete demonstrations of the fight for revolutionary integrationism.

The current expression of the concept of revolutionary integrationism derives from the ideas of Richard S. Fraser, a veteran Trotskyist who made a unique Marxist contribution to the understanding of American black oppression and struggle, particularly through his lectures and written documents in the 1950s. James Robertson, a founding leader of the Spartacist tendency, was won to Fraser's views on the black question when both were members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the historic party of American Trotskyism which, however, underwent a process of rightward degeneration beginning in the late 1950s. Comrade Robertson later recounted that when he stayed a few days at Fraser's home in Seattle, the latter pounded him incessantly with his views on the black question.

In 1963, the SWP leadership expelled the Revolutionary Tendency, a left opposition that was the forerunner of the Spartacist League. In 1964, within the first months of our existence as an organizationally independent tendency, we published Fraser's "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question" (reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [revised], "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism"). This document provided our members and supporters with the historical depth and Marxist understanding to combat the resurgence of black nationalism and its ersatz, bourgeois-sponsored offshoots like "community control," which was adopted wholesale by most of the left.

Fraser accepted our invitation to be a co-reporter on the black question at our founding conference. While Fraser rejected our use of the term "caste" as applied to the American black population, he agreed in substance with the description of black oppression captured in this term. By the time of our conference, Fraser and his co-thinkers had left the SWP and formed their own organization, the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP). In 2004, the FSP published a book titled *Revolutionary Integration: A Marxist Analysis of African American Liberation*. It consists of two documents: "Dialectics

continued on page 6

"Brownie" Spills Some Beans

New Orleans Racist Atrocity: Crime and Cover-Up

Untold numbers are dead and tens of thousands dispersed, their homes rotting shells, the land they lived on eyed by greedy speculators. Even as human remains still lie unidentified and unclaimed in the Gulf Coast region, thousands upon thousands of the living are being pushed relentlessly into homeless, jobless, rootless misery. The lethal incompetence and racist contempt displayed by all levels of government for the fate of New Orleans' black and poor population before, during and after Hurricane Katrina spelled a crime of enormous magnitude. And the crime continues, blossoming into fuller malignity, as the capitalist vultures and their cronies in Washington, D.C. pick over this vast tragedy to maximize their profit opportunities.

The *Washington Post* (12 February) writes that now—nearly six months after the disaster—an all-Republican House of Representatives committee is about to issue a 600-page report on Katrina. A draft of the report includes "90 findings of failures at all levels of government." Between House and Senate investigations, over 800,000 pages of documents have been produced based on testimony and evidence from more than 250 witnesses. These

continued on page 8

Ainsworth/Dallas Morning News

Capitalist rulers left New Orleans blacks, poor to die.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 865 | GCU C-701 | 3 March 2006

Imperialist Occupation Fuels Communal Slaughter

U.S. Out of Iraq Now!

FEBRUARY 28—The daily slaughter that has come to define life under the blood-drenched U.S. occupation of Iraq is now threatening to spiral into an all-sided bloodbath. On February 22, the Al-Askariya Mosque in Samarra, which houses a thousand-year-old mausoleum for one of Shi'ite Islam's most revered imams, was bombed, obliterating its beautiful golden dome and triggering a wave of attacks between Shi'ite and Sunni Muslims that have thus far claimed nearly 400 lives. In a particularly heinous attack, 47 factory workers in the outskirts of Baghdad were dragged from buses taking them home and executed. In another attack, Atwar Bahjat, a female journalist for the Dubai-based Al Arabiya news channel, was killed along with two of her colleagues.

A three-day curfew imposed on Baghdad and surrounding provinces was punctuated by sporadic gun battles and mortar attacks. After the "coalition" puppet government the U.S. is seeking to forge in Iraq threatened to fall apart, the major Sunni party has said it will resume talks to patch up the government. Iraqi officials and clerics outside the government have been putting on a show of unity to prevent an outbreak of civil war, with the defense minister warning that "if there is a civil war in this country it will never end."

A *New York Times* (26 February) article warned "that an unrestrained civil war...would not only give birth to warring Sunni, Shiite and Kurdish enclaves inside Iraq, but that the violence could also spread unpredictably through the region." The article continued, "Iran would side with the Shiites.... And Sunni countries like Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Kuwait would feel a need to defend Sunnis or perhaps to create buffer states for themselves along Iraq's borders. Turkey might also feel compelled to move in, to protect Iraq's Turkoman minority against a Kurdish state in the north."

AP photos

Destruction of the Shi'ite Golden Mosque in Samarra (left) on February 22 touched off explosions of fury in Sadr City, Baghdad (right), and elsewhere.

U.S. and Iraqi officials blamed the bombing of the Al-Askariya Mosque on Al Qaeda, while Sunni leaders have blamed reprisals against random Sunnis on the militias of Shi'ite cleric Moqtada Al-Sadr, who denies the claim and is reportedly calling for unity. Whoever is responsible for such attacks, the situation has a logic of its own, dictated by the particular history of Iraq and the vicious U.S. occupation, under which some 100,000 Iraqis have died.

Shortly after U.S. troops took Baghdad, we warned in *WV* No. 802, (25 April 2003): "The imperialist occupation has encouraged reactionary forces to emerge, from fundamentalists demanding an Islamic republic to monarchists to 'democrats' on the CIA payroll. Ethnic and religious antagonisms, stoked by the British imperialist conquest at the end of World War I and fueled by decades of bourgeois-nationalist rule, now threaten to erupt in an orgy of bloodletting." The government Washington created is dominated by Shi'ite and Kurdish parties at the expense of the minority Sunni Arabs, who enjoyed a relatively privileged existence under the regime of Saddam Hussein.

The growing threats of civil war underline that in a fundamental sense, there is no "Iraq." The country was carved out of the collapsing Turkish Ottoman Empire following the First World War by the British imperialists, who forced together historically hostile populations—Kurds, Sunni Arabs and Shi'ite Arabs—that are themselves further riven by clan and tribal rivalries. In such a society, there is certainly no basis for stable bourgeois-democratic rule.

The recent wave of attacks and counter-attacks marks an escalation of what Iraq's masses have been suffering through since the U.S. invasion: whole towns laid waste, entire families annihilated, imprisonment and torture at the hands of the American imperialist occupiers; death-squad Iraqi military forces that have been targeting the minority Sunni population; sectarian bombings and attacks that purposely hit civilians, overwhelmingly Shi'ites, as they try to go about their daily lives. Such are the bitter fruits of U.S. imperialism's "Operation Iraqi Freedom."

In the lead-up to and during the 2003 invasion, the Spartacist League called for the military defense of Iraq against imperialist attack, without giving the brutal capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein—once an ally of U.S. imperialism—an iota of political support. At protests in the U.S. against the war, we called to "Fight U.S. imperialism through class struggle at home!" Today we demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops and their allies from Iraq, Afghanistan and the Near East.

In contrast, the various antiwar coalitions set up or supported by the reformist left refused to call for the defense of Iraq during the war while pleading with the

continued on page 11

Spanner/Polaris

Iraqis being loaded into helicopters en route to detention/torture centers run by U.S. occupiers and their puppets.

Black History and the Class Struggle

Revolutionary Integrationism: The Road to Black Freedom...4

Keeping Black People from Coming Back

New Orleans Update

13 February 2006

To the Editor.

Thanks for printing my letter from New Orleans in November [*WV* No. 858, 11 November 2005]. Here's an update: incredibly, not much has changed.

Fully 5 months post-Katrina, three-quarters of the city is still without power, phones and mail. While some businesses and streetlights are restored to power, the residences are not, and remain mostly unpopulated. The populated part is still the "Sliver by the River" from the Uptown colleges and St. Charles Avenue mansions to the CBD [Central Business District], French Quarter and precious little beyond.

Many people were stunned when Bush Junior visited the (wealthy, unflooded) Garden District in January and declared New Orleans to be "a heck of a place to bring the family"...but they missed the rest of the comment. He went on to say that it was a good thing "the infrastructure was back on its feet." Bubble Boy beyond belief!

If the infrastructure is back, that would be news to the hundreds of thousands of residents living in exile, unable to return for lack of housing, public utilities, schools and jobs.

The loss of housing stock is key. A trickle of FEMA trailers has finally begun to arrive here (like the blue tarp roof program, trailers were distributed to the less flooded areas like the white-flight Jefferson Parish first). There were 1,700 trailers by last count in N.O., versus 32,000 in Mississippi where far fewer residences were lost.

However most of the New Orleans trailers sit empty for lack of electricity, water and sewage hook-ups. 900 more trailers were delivered to the University of New Orleans in time for classes beginning last week...only no power is expected to be supplied for another month, leaving UNO to scramble for housing and make a public appeal for space for faculty, staff and students in private homes.

But the private homes are already packed with friends, relatives and coworkers who were flooded out. Air mattresses on floors are as ubiquitous as blue tarps on roofs. Traffic and population are incredibly dense in those areas with electricity.

Reuters

Damaged building and debris on St. Bernard Avenue, January 25. Six months after Hurricane Katrina, black neighborhoods in New Orleans remain devastated.

Some visiting Congressmen recently expressed surprise when they toured the miles of devastation. They wanted to know where was the money that they allocated for New Orleans. Local hospital officials testifying at a sub-committee meeting asked where was the $400 million in emergency aid allocated to the hospitals. Seems the feds gave it to FEMA to distribute. Oh.

But there is more afoot than the staggering incompetence of FEMA and the feds. There is a deliberate plan at all levels, city, state and federal, to seize the opportunity of an evacuated city, to keep the black and poor people from coming back. The current euphemism is to "shrink" the city to a "smaller footprint."

While black Democratic Mayor Ray Nagin got national publicity and is still the butt of jokes for speaking of a "Chocolate City" at an MLK Day event, the fact is Nagin and all the other politicians seek a Vanilla City: a smaller, whiter, wealthier New Orleans.

One Brown University study has estimated that 50% of the white population has not returned while 80% of the black population has not returned. Capitalist politicians are doing the math. Eight white politicians have jumped into the fray for the Mayor's race in the April city elections, including the head zookeeper, considered a serious contender.

The elections had to be postponed from November when there were no polling machines or polling places to be had. But officials poured on the steam to have elections re-scheduled ASAP...quick, before the black people return! Incredibly, the bourgeois press spoke openly of this rationale.

The powers-that-be are pretty sure the black absentee ballot will not be a problem because it is a 4 step process that will never happen. The dispersed voters must first RECEIVE a "request for absentee ballot" by mail, then mail it in, then receive the actual ballot in the mail, then send that in by mail. This from a city where you cannot receive BILLS in time to pay them IN TOWN. Half a million changes of address were filed with the Post Office since the storm, and mail is generally not being forwarded in town or out of town, or not reliably. This is more effective in disenfranchising blacks than the old poll taxes, grandfather clauses, and literacy tests put together.

Nagin's "Rebuild New Orleans Committee" and the Governor's "Louisiana Recovery Authority" both back a Moratorium on residential rebuilding for the next 4 months while they decide which areas they will "allow" to be repopulated. If that is a Moratorium, what have the last 5 months been?

At this point residents, disproportionately black residents are being kept away by economic means. The only people who can afford to come back must have all of the following: an unflooded home or be able to buy one, a high-paying job, ability to send their kids to private schools or create a charter school, have an emergency reserve fund, and navigate a difficult world post-Katrina by paying extra for everything.

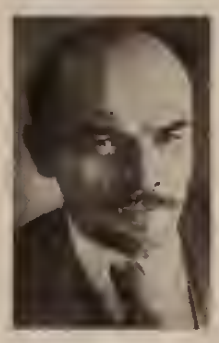
All the significant material resources like home insurance claim payouts, flood insurance money and FEMA trailers go to homeowners. Renters got a few months rent money in exile, that's it. Rents have doubled here. Businesses can't hire staff or extend their hours due to difficulty hiring staff. Burger King offers $2,000 sign-on bonuses. Hotels have doubled the extremely low pay to maids and clerks and doormen, still not enough to pay the rent. Hibernia Bank just moved 350 loan processor jobs to Dallas citing difficulty of their (low-paid) employees finding housing.

Hospital beds are down 58% in New Orleans and the surrounding parishes. Emergency Rooms are bursting at the seams. Since the closing of Charity Hospital, the nearest Level One Trauma Center is 8 hours away in Shreveport. There used to he 4,486 doctors in the 3 parishes;

continued on page 11

World War II and Trotskyist Defense of the Soviet Union

TROTSKY



LENIN

Writing one month after the June 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler's Germany, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) published o program of demands to reinforce the defense of the Saviet workers state, which hod undergone degeneration under the Stalinist bureaucracy. That declaration, from which the following is excerpted, was published in the same issue of the Militant *that announced the U.S. government's indictment of 29 SWP and trade-union leoders—18 of whom were jailed—for their revolutionary proletarian opposition to American imperialism as it prepared to enter World War II.*

We stand for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, as everyone knows who is acquainted with our party's position.

The Stalinist leaders are desperately trying to fool their rank and file into believing that the Trotskyists do not defend the Soviet Union.

The word "unconditionol" is ploin enough. It meons thot we set no conditions whatsoever before we defend the Soviet Union. We do not demond thot Stolin moke ony concessions to us before we defend the Soviet Union.

We defend the Soviet Union becouse the foundation of sociolism estoblished by the October revolution of 1917, the nationolized property, still remoins ond this foundotion it is necessory to defend ot oll costs.

The Trotskyists in this country, in the Soviet Union and everywhere in the world say to the Soviet government: Place us in the most dangerous posts, we are ready and shall unhesitatingly accept....

In this situotion the Soviet Union, olone of the existing states, can undermine Hitler by pledging to the German workers that the defeot of Hitler will not mean o second and worse Versailles but will begin the creation of the Sociolist United States of Europe. The imperialist states cannot possibly moke this pledge to the German workers. Only the Soviet Union, the Workers' Stote, can thus cement revolutionary unity with the German proletoriot.

—"For Unconditional Defense of the Soviet Union: A Program of Victory for the Soviet Union," *Militant* (19 July 1941)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Canlor, Paul Cone, George Foster, Waller Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

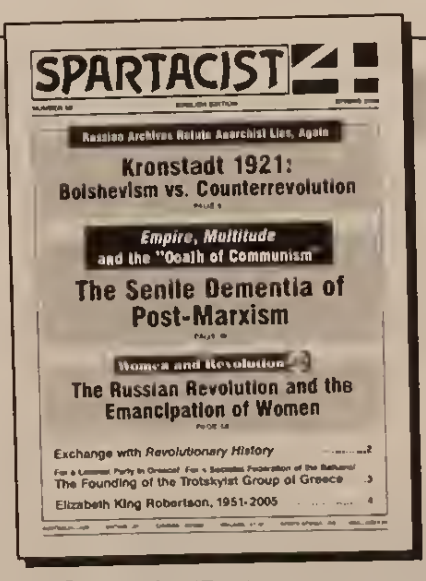
The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co , 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7882 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is 28 February.

No. 865 **3 March 2006**



JUST OUT!

Spartacist (English edition) **No. 59, Spring 2006, $1.50** (56 pages)
Spartacist is sent to all *WV* subscribers.
Order from: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

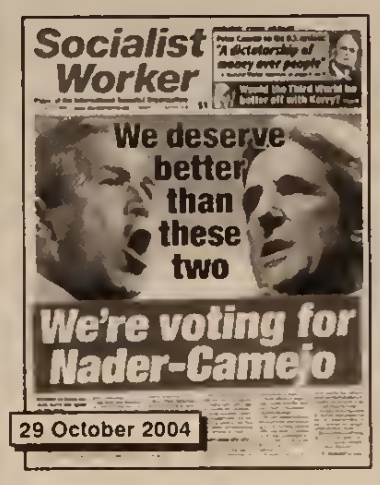
ISO: It's So Easy Being Green

"Socialist" Chretien's Capitalist "Peace" Campaign

We print below an edited February 18 leaflet distributed by comrades of the Los Angeles Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club at an "Elections 2006" event at Bethel AME Church on that day. This public event wos held mainly to promote Green Party condidates in California, including members of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) who are scandalously running in the June primary election for the capitalist Green Party nomination. Well-known ISO supporters, who did not publicly identify themselves as such, ran the meeting and orchestrated the "security." During the discussion, a Spartacus Youth Club member was granted the microphone and attempted to speak from the floor to denounce the ISO's latest betrayal of class principle. He intended to present our position against all capitalist parties and for a workers party that fights for socialist revolution. Our attempt to counterpose revolutionary Marxism was suppressed. "Security" for the event grabbed the microphone and pushed our comrade and another SYCer out of the room.

International Socialist Organization (ISO) leader Todd Chretien is running on a bourgeois liberal platform seeking the capitalist Green Party's nomination for Senate in California. This is the logical extension of the ISO's political support to the Green Party, beginning with presidential candidate Ralph Nader in 2000. The Green Party is a small-time capitalist party with a thoroughly bourgeois program extolling the virtues of local business enterprises. As revolutionary socialists, we oppose political support to any capitalist party or candidate on principle and stand for the complete and unconditional independence of the working class from all parties and agencies of the capitalist class enemy.

Josh On



Consummating ISO's support to bourgeois Greens in last two presidential elections, Todd Chretien (above left) vies for nomination as Green for U.S. Senate.

The main focus of Chretien's Green campaign is an attempt to channel anti-war sentiment into a "Million Votes for Peace." However many (or few) votes Chretien gets, pushing bourgeois pacifist illusions in the possibility of peaceful capitalism is perpetrating a fraud. Unlike the ISO and Greens, we Marxists in the Spartacist League tell the truth: the only way to end this system of imperialist war and colonial occupations, like in Iraq, is through socialist revolution to do away with capitalism that generates racism and war. The ISO's strategy of pressure politics and class collaboration, whether in the streets or at the ballot box, is an *obstacle* to fighting for the necessary mobilization of *independent working-class struggle* against imperialist war and the capitalist rulers.

When the U.S. invaded Iraq in 2003, the ISO simply called to "stop the war" and refused to take a side in defense of Iraq. As revolutionary internationalists, the Spartacist League called for the military defense of Iraq against the U.S. invasion and for class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers. With the continuing imperialist occupation, Chretien's yellow-ribbon appeal to bring "our troops" home is aimed at "peace is patriotic" liberals, including sections of the bourgeois establishment who are worried about how to get out of the Iraq quagmire. For its part, the Green Party's call for United Nations "peacekeepers" to replace U.S. troops in Iraq is an attempt to give a "humanitarian" facade to what would be an equally imperialist occupation. The ISO claims to oppose U.N. intervention, but in seeking the Green Party nomination, Chretien proves just the opposite. The Spartacist League says: All imperialist troops out of Iraq now! Every blow inflicted against the U.S. occupiers in Iraq is in the direct interest of workers and the oppressed.

The ISO's pursuit of the Green Party nomination stands in blatant contradiction to its paper position of opposing capitalist parties. To maintain this fiction, the ISO must deny that the Green Party is indeed a capitalist party. But, in the real world, the Greens serve as a liberal pressure group on the Democratic Party. Chretien himself makes this clear when he explains that the purpose of his campaign is to "demonstrate to [Democratic] Sen. Feinstein and the world that we, the California anti-war movement, mean business." Indeed, the historic role of capitalist "third party" movements in the U.S. is to divert anger among the masses away from social protest and back into bourgeois electoral politics. It speaks volumes that the Greens' leading candidate in California is ex-socialist Peter Camejo, now a "progressive investment banker," who is also Chretien's main endorser. The Greens' "anti-corporate" posture is nothing more than the desire to *tinker* with capitalism in the name of small business. To see what the Greens would do in power, one need only look at the Green Party in Germany when it controlled the foreign ministry and ordered German imperialist troops into the Balkans for the first time since WWII during the U.S./NATO bombing and invasion of Serbia in 1999.

Joining the camp of the capitalist class enemy is nothing new for the ISO, an organization that has been the "socialist" handmaiden of liberal anti-communism for decades. Its political forebears were renegades from Marxism who refused to defend the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states during the Korean War. These days the ISO builds class-collaborationist "peace" coalitions, joining with "antiwar" liberal Democrats who criticize the Bush administration for wasting time in Iraq instead of going after the "real threat" of nuclear-armed North Korea. When it comes to fighting communism, the ISO has no "antiwar" pretensions. They did their utmost to assist the U.S. imperialists in their drive against the Soviet Union during the Cold War and cheered the destruction of the Soviet workers state in 1991-1992. In the 1980s, the virulently anti-Soviet ISO sided with the CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* against the Red Army in Afghanistan. In contrast, we hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan, which was fighting on the side of social progress, and

continued on page 11

Mobilize for March 10 Sentencing Hearing!

Defend Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar!

NEW YORK CITY—It is urgent that fighters for civil liberties and black and labor rights rally to the defense of leftist attorney Lynne Stewart, translator Mohamed Yousry and paralegal Ahmed Abdel Sattar. The three are scheduled for sentencing on March 10, having been convicted on frame-up charges of conspiracy to provide material support to terrorism and to defraud the U.S. government. The 65-year-old Stewart, who has been diagnosed with cancer, faces more than 20 years in prison—an effective life sentence. Her "crime" was her vigorous legal defense of Islamic fundamentalist cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, who is serving a life sentence for conspiracy to blow up NYC-area landmarks. Yousry also faces more than 20 years, while Abdel Sattar may get a life sentence. These convictions are outrageous attacks on the Sixth Amendment right to an attorney as well as everybody's free speech rights. Protest outside the courthouse at Thomas Paine Park, Centre and Worth Streets in lower Manhattan, 9:00 a.m.! Pack the courtroom!

WV Photo

Lisa Quiñones

AhmedAbdelSattar.org

From left: Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar.

Stewart's alleged crime consists of making the views of her imprisoned client known to a Reuters journalist, in violation of unprecedented and patently unconstitutional Special Administrative Measures (SAMs) devised by the Clinton government. The government's case was based on hundreds of hours of videotaped and recorded discussions between the sheik and his attorney that are supposed to be free from government snoops. The prosecution was allowed to play inflammatory and irrelevant videotapes of Osama bin Laden during the anniversary week of the September 11 attacks—in a courtroom located within walking distance of the World Trade Center! Following the trial, one juror wrote to the judge that she had been pressured by the witchhunt atmosphere of the deliberations into voting for conviction, against her better judgment. She had been told by another juror that if she didn't vote to convict, it would be her fault if anyone died in a terrorist attack.

In an October ruling rejecting defense motions to overturn the verdicts, U.S. District Judge John Koeltl cited a previous court ruling that "speech is not protected by the First Amendment when it is the very vehicle of the crime itself." But even

continued on page 10

Black History and the Class Struggle

New York Times

Spartacist

Left: Spartacist-initiated Harlem Solidarity Committee rally in NYC garment district, July 1964, called in defense of ghetto masses during cop riot. Right: Mid-1960s civil rights demonstration in Central Park.

The Legacy of Richard S. Fraser

Revolutionary Integrationism: The Road to Black Freedom

Part One of this article, which we conclude below, appeared in WV *No. 864 (17 February).*

PART TWO

It is profoundly wrong to assume that what actually happened in the course of history had to happen, that no other divergent paths, including radically divergent paths, were possible. The Southern civil rights movement in the early-mid 1960s offered a rare and fleeting opportunity for even a relatively small revolutionary organization to win to its program and ranks the best of a generation of young black (and white) radicals experienced in mass, militant struggle against what was then called the "white power structure." Had such a development taken place, the subsequent course of U.S. and therefore world history would have been radically different. It was not beyond the range of historical possibility that today we would be living in a socialist world.

In the U.S. at the time, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was the only organization with a credible revolutionary past and traditions and with, at least formally, an authentically revolutionary program based on Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. However, by the early 1960s, ground down by the isolation and McCarthyite witchhunting of the 1950s, the SWP had lost its revolutionary bearings. The party's qualitative departure from its erstwhile revolutionary working-class politics began around 1960, when it slid into the role of uncritical cheerleaders for the petty-bourgeois radical-nationalist leadership of the Cuban Revolution. The SWP thus abandoned the centrality of the working class and the necessity of building Trotskyist parties in every country.

The abandonment of the struggle for Marxist leadership of the black struggle in the U.S. was the domestic reflection of the SWP's denial of the centrality of the proletariat in the destruction of capitalism. The "Freedom Now" resolution adopted at the SWP's 1963 Convention codified a wholesale embrace of black nationalism and was accompanied by a policy of ***abstention from the Southern civil rights struggle***. In the name of black "self-determination," the SWP's *Militant* became an unpaid public relations organ for all manner of black "leaders," from the pacifistic liberal Martin Luther King to the reactionary nationalist Elijah Muhammad, head of the Nation of Islam.

The Spartacist tendency originated in the early 1960s as a left opposition, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), in the SWP. A central axis of our political fight was for an active intervention into the Southern civil rights movement based on the perspective of revolutionary integrationism, i.e., linking the struggle for black democratic rights to working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation. At the 1963 SWP Convention, the RT presented a one-page amendment to the perspectives document arguing that the party should "expend significant material resources in overcoming our isolation from Southern struggles. In helping to build a revolutionary movement in the South, our forces should work directly with and through the developing left-wing formations in the movement there. A successful outcome to our action would lead to an historic breakthrough for the Trotskyist movement."

After the leaders and many members of the RT were expelled in late 1963-early 1964, we sought, despite our small forces, to make the civil rights struggles, North as well as South, a main focus of our intervention into society. We raised the transitional demand for a Freedom Labor Party as a means of breaking young black militants from the capitalist Democratic Party in the direction of working-class politics. As we wrote in 1967:

> "Only by the development of a working-class program and by explicitly opening the door to support by white workers can real political independence be maintained, real gains won and the basis laid for eventual working-class political unity. This unity will come about when the exploited section of the white South is driven into opposition and is compelled to forego color prejudice in order to struggle along class lines against its real enemies—the owners of land and industry.
>
> "The creation of a South-wide Freedom Labor Party would serve as a tremendous impetus for similar action by Northern workers. The struggle for such a party would necessitate a rank-and-file revolt within the organized labor movement to overthrow the present labor bureaucracy."
>
> —"Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist* Special Supplement, May-June 1967; reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, "Basic Documents of the Spartacist League"

We combined the call for a Freedom Labor Party with agitation for a labor-based campaign to unionize the "open shop" South.

Fraser on the Civil Rights Movement

As the SWP began to move rightward in the mid-late 1950s, Richard Fraser often opposed the policies of the party leadership from the left, especially on the black question. Thus he strongly opposed the SWP's periodic demand for the federal government to send troops to the South in order to defend black rights against state and local white-supremacist regimes and Klan terrorists. Fraser wrote in 1956 in "Contribution to the Discussion of the Slogan 'Send Federal Troops to Mississippi'" (reprinted in *Prometheus Research Series* No. 3, "In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser"):

> "Under either Eisenhower or [Democratic presidential candidate] Stevenson, the most probable condition under which the Federal Government will send troops to the South will be that the Negroes hold the initiative in the struggle. As long as the white supremacists have the initiative and the lid of repression is clamped on tightly, the social equilibrium is not upset by a lynching or other terrorist actions. When the Negroes take the initiative it is a 'race riot' and the public security is threatened and an excellent reason is given for the government to intervene.
>
> "When the Negroes hold the initiative it will be the function of the Federal army to restore law and order on the basis of the existing social system, and will involve severe repressions against the Negroes."

A 1963 document by Fraser titled "Dialectics of Black Liberation" has recently been republished by the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) in the 2004 book *Revolutionary Integration: A Marxist Analysis of African American Liberation*, which also includes a 1982 document by the FSP's Tom Boot, "Revolutionary Integration: Yesterday and Today." Fraser's document is scathing in its denunciation of the SWP leadership's kowtowing before the black misleaders of the day: "The concept of 'self-determination,' a revolutionary demand when used by the Bolsheviks, is denuded of all meaning and becomes a rationale for the SWP position that anyone who is leading at the moment is a good leader and a destined leader, regardless of program." He aptly described the SWP leadership as having "raised tailendism to a political principle."

However, as the mass Southern civil rights movement acquired an increasingly militant character in the early 1960s, certain weaknesses in Fraser's analysis came to the fore. Because he believed that a bourgeois-democratic reform of the Southern legal-political structure was not possible within the framework of American capitalism, he ascribed to the civil rights movement an intrinsically revolutionary dynamic. Thus his 1963 document begins with the statement: "The Black revolt in the southern U.S.A. stands objectively on the threshold of a new stage in its development: a stage of political organization for revolution, involving a showdown struggle *against* the southern police state and *for* a new democratic political system" (emphasis in original). Here a revolution in the South is given an

essentially democratic content. The struggle of labor against capitalist exploitation receded into the background.

Along similar lines, Fraser no longer emphasized the necessary struggle for *black leadership* in the *racially integruted* organizations of the U.S. working class: the Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party at the most advanced political level, the trade unions at the mass level. He now advocated, or at least endorsed, the idea of a separate "black vanguard party" as a transitional step in breaking hlack radicals from the Democratic Party:

> "A Black vanguard party would furnish (a) a principled program, a rostrum, and an apparatus for independent Black candidates; (b) a graduate school for militants, specializing in political theory, the strategy of the struggle, and electioneering; and (c) an object lesson for the labor, peace and 'progressive' movements."

Yet at the very same time, Fraser also advocated a Southern labor party, *substantially the same programmatic demand thut we expressed in our call for a Freedom Labor Party*. He wrote in this regard: "A southern labor party is the only kind of organism which embodies the needs of class unity this side of socialism. Whatever it may be named, the construction of a political party serving the interests of Blacks and white workers is the next stage of development of the southern struggle."

Eve Arnold

American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell (center) at 1960 Black Muslim meeting in Washington, D.C. Fascists supported policy of racial separatism put forward by Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam.

The FSP: Liberals with Attitude

The contradictions evident in Fraser's 1963 document were carried into the formation of the Freedom Socialist Party. (As we noted in Part One, Fraser, who helped found the FSP in 1966, was cut off from the organization by a split the following year.) Under the leadership of the late Clara Fraser, these contradictions were resolved by openly repudiating the centrality of the struggle of labor against capital and embracing and glorifying various currents of petty-bourgeois radicalism—"people of color" ethnic politics, gay liberation lifestyle politics, and, above all, feminism.

As we have emphasized, a key aspect of revolutionary integrationism is that black workers, with their generally higher level of political consciousness, can and must lead the mass of white workers, mainly through the organizations of the labor movement. But Clara Fraser and her followers contemptuously wrote off white male workers as incorrigibly reactionary bigots. She declaimed in *Freedom Socialist* (December 1980): "Given the class-collaboration politics of the U.S. worker, the culture of bigotry and misogyny lock the privileged white males into a prison of conservative or slow reformism *that has no exit*" (emphasis added). She then went on that these "lackeys of the bosses" are "being swiftly replaced and ignored by the army of new worker militants from the ranks of women, youth, minorities and lesbian/gays." Underlying this hostile contempt toward white male workers, which is shared by black nationalists (who extend their hostility to white women workers as well), is profound despair toward the prospects for a socialist revolution in the United States.

The FSP's despairing attitude toward proletarian struggle and revolution is often masked by a fatuous triumphalism with regard to struggle by other oppressed social groups. In "Revolutionary Integration: Yesterday and Today," written in the early years of Reagan reaction, the FSP's Tom Boot exults: "And hearken to the dialectics of the sexual revolution: the vitality of the Black leshian/gay sector is the catalyst for restoring the entire Black movement to the revolutionary path!" Such bombast might pass as bad vaudeville were it not pronounced just as the AIDS epidemic was ravaging the gay population, puncturing the last balloon of lifestyle radicalism.

The FSP ahandoned and repudiated Richard Fraser's understanding of the central importance of hlack oppression in maintaining the bourgeois order in the U.S. Thus Boot's document denounced the Spartacist League for "an overemphasis and unbalanced view of the importance of the Black worker. This simplistic approach to the race question in the U.S. writes off the revolutionary potential of the masses of non-white workers who are not Black." In opposition to the FSP, we have always affirmed the revolutionary potential of *nll racial and ethnic components* of the U.S. working class, including its white majority, while stressing the *central* importance of the struggle against black oppression in the fight for the American socialist revolution.

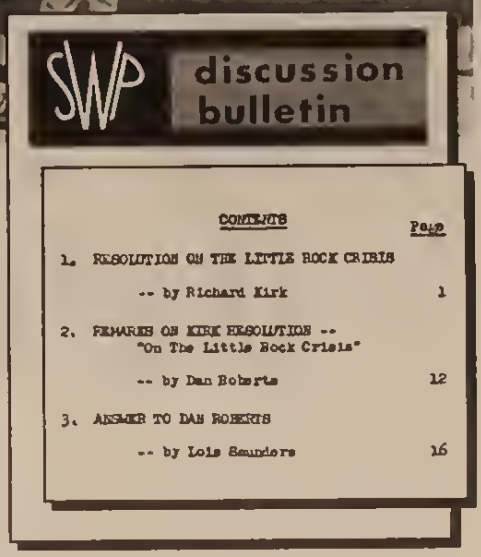
The FSP dissolves the black question into the fashionable notion of "people of color." This notion obscures the ability of Latinos, especially lighter-skinned Latinos, and Asian Americans to move up toward the white end of the American racial-social spectrum through intermarriage and other mechanisms of social advancement. It also obscures the very significant class as well as racial and ethnic divisions among the various "peoples of color." What does a third-generation Japanese American doctor really have in common with an undocumented Mexican immigrant farm worker? What does an Indian immigrant computer technician have in common with a black janitor who cleans the office building where the former is employed?

Just as the FSP abuses Richard Fraser's concept of revolutionary integrationism, so it abuses Leon Trotsky's concept of permanent revolution. Trotsky's understanding was that in countries of belated capitalist development, the tasks historically associated with earlier bourgeois-democratic revolutions can only be achieved through proletarian seizure of power, which must be extended internationally, principally to the advanced capitalist countries. Boot's document begins by pontificating that revolutionary integration "represents a continuous contemporary thread in the ideological fabric of international Permanent Revolution, the uninterruptible march of all the world's oppressed, led by the working class, toward social, political and economic equality." Permanent revolution is here presented as an all-powerful, transcendent (one might almost say God-like) force that will eventually bring about the triumph of all good things—democratic rights and freedoms, the eradication of all forms of social oppression, economic equality—the world over.

What Fraser said in 1963 of the SWP's misuse of "self-determination" can be said of the FSP's misuse of permanent revolution. It is denuded of all meaning and serves as a rationale for liberal reformist politics and fatuous enthusing over various petty-bourgeois radical currents. According to Boot, "The theory of Permanent Revolution, first formulated hy Marx and later extended and enriched by Lenin and Trotsky, states in essence that *the unfinished tasks of bourgeois democracy can only be completed by proletarian socialist revolution*" (emphasis in original). In other words, the goal of proletarian revolution is to realize the principles of bourgeois democracy, which presumably reprcsent the highest, most noble-minded aspirations of humanity.

Wide World

Little Rock, 1957: Federal troops dispatched by President Eisenhower to suppress black defense efforts during school integration battle. Fraser (Richard Kirk) opposed SWP's call for federal troops.



SWP discussion bulletin

CONTENTS Page

1. RESOLUTION ON THE LITTLE ROCK CRISIS
-- by Richard Kirk 1

2. REMARKS ON KIRK RESOLUTION -- "On The Little Rock Crisis"
-- by Dan Roberts 12

3. ANSWER TO DAN ROBERTS
-- by Lois Saunders 16

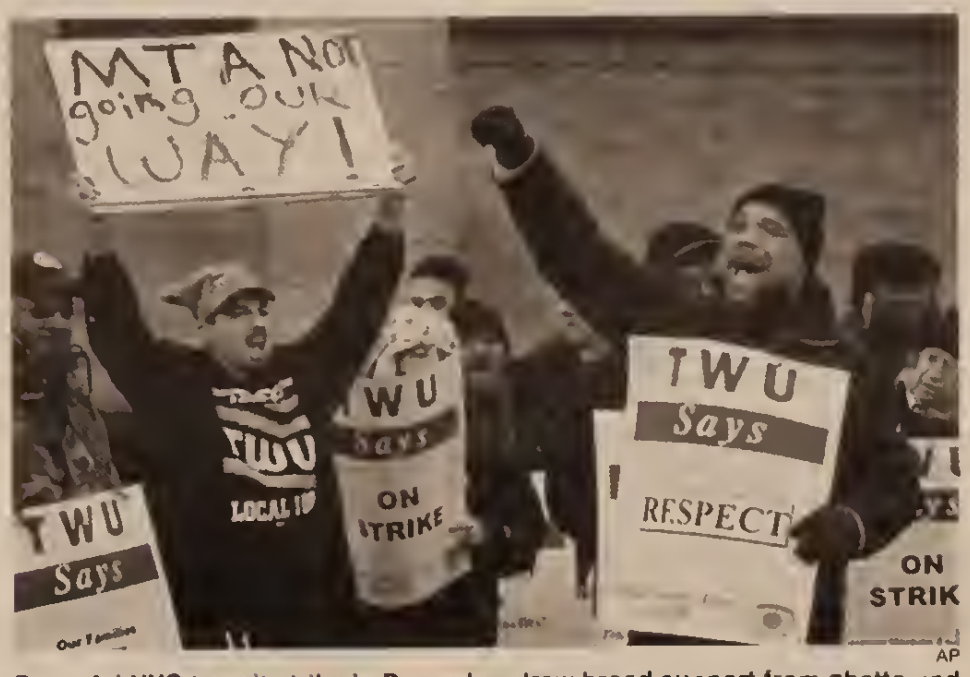
Like most groups in the U.S. that call themselves socialist, the FSP appeals mainly to young liberal idealists. Socialism is thus presented not in terms of progressive working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation but rather as the expansion and consistent application of democratic principles. Abusing and trivializing the theory of permanent revolution, the FSP invests any and every liberal reform or demand—defense of legalized abortion, the legalization of same-sex marriage, amnesty for undocumented immigrants—with an anti-capitalist revolutionary content, dynamic or dialectic.

There's nothing very new about this. In *The State and Revolution* (1917), Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin explained how social democrats like Karl Kautsky distorted and vulgarized the ideas and doctrines of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in order to make them palatable to bourgeois liberals and petty-bourgeois democrats. The reformist left obscures the Marxist understanding of bourgeois "democracy" as simply a facade that covers the reality of the capitalist state as an instrument of organized force and violence—consisting at its core of the police, army, courts and prisons—for maintaining capitalist property and profits. It is the task of proletarian revolution to smash the bourgeois state and establish a workers state, laying the basis for the abolition of classes in an international communist world.

The Politics of Petty-Bourgeois Sectoralism

We describe the politics of the FSP as sectoralist. What does that mean? They begin from the premise that the basic actors on the U.S. left are separate movements of different oppressed social groups, based on gender (feminism), sexual orientation (gay liberation) or race and ethnicity ("people of color"). The FSP views itself as representing these diverse sectors, integrating and balancing their particular interests and demands. On a minute scale, the FSP offers a leftist version of traditional Democratic Party constituency politics.

The FSP's sectoralism is clearly indicated by its fervent championing of affirmative action and "community control," two programs promoted by the liberal wing of the U.S. bourgeoisie to divert and undermine unified working-class struggle against the capitalist class as a whole. In a section of his document attacking the Spartacist League, Boot contends that "the SL's through-the-looking-glass approach to affirmative action condemns women and people of color to no improvement in their status until *after* the revolution" (emphasis in original).



AP

Powerful NYC transit strike In December drew broad support from ghetto ind barrio masses.

Boot falsifies our position while underscoring the liberal reformist confines of the FSP's own outlook and practice. FSP members know full well, as do all regular readers of *Workers Vanguard*, that we have actively and consistently defended affirmative action programs in higher education against the right-wing campaign (now largely successful) to dismantle them. In an advanced capitalist country like the U.S., access to higher education should be feasible for everyone who wants it. We call for nationalizing the private universities and for open admissions and free tuition with a state-paid living stipend for students. Such a

continued on page 10

Young Spartacus

Military Recruiters Off Campus!

Drop Charges Against U of C Protesters!

We repriut below a statement issued by the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club on February 27.

On February 21 four activists protesting against military recruiters were arrested at the University of Chicago (U of C). Spartacus Youth Cluh supporters joined several other students protesting Marine recruiters at the Reynolds Club. When two protesters, Jeremy Cohan and Ben Fink, refused to end their protest, the campus cops arrested them. As the SYC led chants of "Administration hands off!" and "Recruiters off campus!" the cops dragged out Tom Discepola and Brian Stapleton who are supporters of the SYC. In trying to justify these outrageous arrests, director of the Office of the Reynolds Cluh and Student Activities (ORCSA) Sharlene Holly slanders the SYC. According to the *Chicago Maroon* (24 February), "Holly said they [supporters of the SYC] escalated the protest and created a dangerous environment."

This is an outright lie. The four protesters were arrested on bogus charges of disorderly conduct for exercising their right to free speech. This is an attempt by the U of C administration, backed up by the Chicago cops, to suppress and intimidate anyone who opposes military recruitment and the occupation of Iraq. Students should demand: Drop all the charges against the anti-military recruitment protesters now! No retaliations! No disciplinary actions! Administration hands off the protesters!

Jarrett C. Belle-Isle

U of C cop grabs student Jeremy Cohan, one of four arrested for protesting Marine recruiters on February 21.

U of C: Complicit in U.S. Imperialist Crimes

All of U of C's pretensions to being about the "life of the mind," where students are free to think and express their opinions, are nothing but a bunch of lies. This was made clear when the administration called their cops to arrest student protesters in order to protect the military recruiters. U of C is a pillar of bourgeois society and plays a role in the maintenance of the bourgeois order. A main function of U of C is to train the next generation of ideologues, technocrats, capitalist politicians, corporate lawyers and spies needed by the bourgeoisie to perpetuate its rule.

U of C has a history of aiding U.S. imperialism; the Economics Department of Milton Friedman helped braintrust Pinochet's bloody junta which came to power in Chile in 1973 and murdered, tortured and starved to death tens of thousands of workers and leftists. In fact, there is a bigger case for "weapons of mass destruction" at U of C than there ever was in Iraq. This is exemplified by U of C's involvement in the Manhattan Project, which developed the nuclear weapons technology that enahled U.S. imperialism to obliterate and kill hundreds of thousands in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is no surprise that the killer spies of the CIA seek recruits for their bloody terror at U of C. Only five days before the protest against the Marine recruiters, the SYC initiated a protest on campus against CIA recruiters, chanting slogans such as "the biggest terrorist in the world today is U.S. imperialism and the CIA!"

U of C is also a leading landlord in Chicago's largely hlack South Side, whose private army of campus cops terrorizes the black residents of the surrounding neighborhood. It was at this campus in 2004 that black student Clemmie Carthens was beaten hy campus cops when they saw him hugging a white woman. It is no wonder then that it was at U of C earlier this year that white students at May House held a racist "Ghetto" party and thought they could get away with it. We call for the opening of U of C to the surrounding black neighborhood as part of our fight for free, quality education for all. Nationalize the university! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all students!

Not One Person, Not One Penny for U.S. Imperialist Army!

The SYC is opposed to military recruiters on campus. At campuses like U of C they seek to recruit the next generation of the elite officer corps whose joh is to oversee U.S. imperialist slaughter and occupation. Meanwhile, in high schools and on more plehcian college campuses, military recruiters use promised tuition assistance and job opportunities to lure working-class youth, including a disproportionate number of black and minority youth, into signing up to be the cannon fodder for U.S. imperialism. We say: not one person, not one penny for the imperialist military!

The imperialist military cannot be reformed to become a force for good in the world. The SYC opposes any extension of the U.S. imperialist military onto college campuses and high schools. We urge students to protest military recruiters as part of the struggle against the brutal occupation of Iraq and the entire imperialist system. Military recruiters off campus now! End militarism and war once and for all through worldwide socialist revolution!

The SYC is opposed to the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan by the U.S. imperialists. The U.S. crusade against Iraq, carried out under the administrations of Bush Sr. and Democrat Clinton as well as George W. Bush, has killed over 1.5 million Iraqis as the result of UN sanctions alone and hundreds of thousands more during both wars and the current occupation. We took a side in defense of Iraq in the lead-up to and during the war, standing for the defeat of our "own" bourgeoisie. We called for class struggle at home against the U.S. capitalist rulers. As Marxists we understand that imperialism is not a had "policy" that the capitalist rulers can choose to carry out or not depending on the "conscience" or the will of the populace; it is a system based on cutthroat economic competition between imperialist nation-states over markets and spheres of influence. This will always be the case as long as the capitalists are in power.

This is why we fight to win students to the side of the working class, the only force in society with the power and objective interest to smash capitalism. The working class is the source of all the profits that the capitalist class usurps for themselves. By withholding their labor power, the working class has the power to shut down production and stop the flow of profits. It is this social power that has to be mobilized in the fight for socialist revolution to establish an egalitarian society based on human need rather than profit. Down with the colonial occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan! All U.S. troops out now! U.S. hands off Iran! Down with imperialist nuclear blackmail!

Much has been made of a banner held by some of those protesting the Marine recruiters that read "Don't join the Marines, join the American Nazi Youth Corps." As an example, in the February 24 *Maroon* article ORCSA head Holly says: "Many members of the University of Chicago community were hurt, outraged, and offended by the swastikas, Nazi references, and shouts inviting people to join them to kill Muslims and other minorities." What's outrageous is these Marines recruiting students to carry out racist imperialist slaughter! What really outrages this administrator is that these youth exposed this fact.

It is obvious that the banner was intended to compare the U.S. war machine to Nazism. Though the Bush regime is made up of a bunch of Christian fundamentalist warmongers, this is not fascism. War, repression: this is what bourgeois democracy looks like. From the Philippines to WWI, WWII and Vietnam, millions have heen slaughtered in the name of "democracy."

Those students opposed to war often look to the Democratic Party as the "lesser of two evils." The Democrats just like the Republicans are committed to the maintenance of the capitalist order. The Spartacus Youth Club fights to win youth to the perspective of building a Leninist vanguard party that will lead the working class in socialist revolution, laying the hasis for a world free of capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter. Join us!■

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

BAY AREA

Thursday, March 9, 5 p.m.

Imperialism and War

SF State University, Rosa Parks F, Cesar Chavez Student Center

Information and readings: (510) 839-0851 or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, March 4, 2 p.m.

After the Revolution: Economic Planning and the Communist Social Vision

3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

(Near Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239 or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

Wednesday, March 22, 7:30 p.m.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Columbia University, 703 Hamilton Hall

116th Street and Broadway

(take 1 train to 116th St.)

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025 or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

TORONTO

Wednesday, March 15, 6:30 p.m.

From Berlin to Moscow— The ICL's Fight Against Capitalist Counterrevolution— For New October Revolutions!

University of Toronto

Sidney Smith Building

Room 2112

100 St. George Street

Information and readings: (416) 593-4138 or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, March 8, 5 p.m.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! Free Abortion on Demand!

University of British Columbia

Student Union Building

Room 224

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353 or e-mail: tjlt@look.ca

Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

Defend UCLA Professors Against Right-Wing Thought Police!

We reprint below a statement issued on January 31 by the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club in response to a McCarthyite witchhunt against leftist and liberal professors at UCLA launched by a former protégé of David Horowitz. Alarmingly, some of the victimized professors have stated that this attack should not be taken too seriously. The SYC intervened with our communist program from the floor during a teach-in held by targeted teachers titled, "Defending Academic Freedom" on January 31. At the teach-in, professor Sondra Hale actively *discouraged* the widespread campus protests that are needed, telling a student who asked what students could do that "we're not in danger," because the professors have tenure.

It is not surprising then that only about 30 people turned out at a rally to "Defend Academic Freedom" on Bruin Walk on February 7, at which the SYC spoke. The dangerous illusion that the campus administration can be relied on to protect the victimized professors flies in the face of the reality of the investigations, harassment, firings and even death threats faced by professors around the country, such as Joseph Massad at Columbia University. Importantly, the University Council of the American Federation of Teachers, Locals 1990 and 2226 and the California Federation of Teachers have condemned the UCLA witchhunt. No reliance on the campus administration! Students, teachers, campus workers and others must actively mobilize to defend these professors!

* * *

Andrew Jones, former chair of the Bruin Republicans, wants to purge his UCLA alma mater of liberal and leftist professors, initially offering $100 bounty money to wannabe informants in the classroom. In response, the editors of the *Daily Bruin* quickly leapt to the defense of their former columnist's "free speech" rights (as if *Jones* were the victim!), advised students to ignore the controversy, and warned professors that "...Jones will only infringe on their academic freedom if they let him." The *Daily Bruin* absurdly denies any witchhunting campaign at UCLA, claiming that Jones, unlike Joseph McCarthy, has no "Senate hearings" or "government agents backing him up." But campus reactionaries of Jones' ilk are spawned by far more powerful political forces. Jones' mentor was right-wing ideologue David Horowitz, who is intimately connected with the Republican neocon cabal running the White House. Horowitz now tries to distance himself from Jones' ham-handed efforts because the prospect of a right-wing big brother network running amok on campuses exposes the purpose of Horowitz's own efforts, in particular his grossly misnamed "Academic Bill of Rights."

The point of legislation modeled on Horowitz's "bill" is to enable the government, if university administrations are insufficiently zealous, to victimize professors accused by right-wing students of "abuse" in the classroom and, in Horowitz's words, "step in and see that this situation is remedied" (frontpagemag.com, 29 April 2005). The Georgia state senate has passed the measure, and it is up for consideration in several other states. In California, this measure failed in a legislative committee last year but is up for reconsideration.

Harassing, intimidating and silencing professors who dissent is part of a broader right-wing campaign to stifle *all* opposition to the American ruling class agenda. Jones brags that he sponsored the foray of David Horowitz and Dinesh D'Souza onto UCLA in January 2002 to whip up support for the "war on terror." Horowitz labeled opposition to America's imperialist wars as "treason," which is nothing but a thinly veiled justification for government repression. At the time, these notorious apologists for black chattel slavery and racist reaction were met by a sizable contingent of black and minority students organized by the African Student Union, as well as a demonstration we Marxists in the Spartacus Youth Club called to "Protest David Horowitz and Dinesh D'Souza, Racist Ideologues of U.S. Imperialism!" These ideological hatchet men for racist American imperialism should be met with protest whenever they step on campus! Andrew Jones' boast that he organized the first anti-affirmative action "bake sale" in the country at UCLA shows that these right-wing forces also aim to drive black and minority students off campus.

Young Spartacus

SYC speaker addresses February 7 UCLA rally to "Defend Academic Freedom."

Of a piece with the current witchhunt was the Bruin Republicans' truly grotesque campaign against MEChA in 2004, which compared this minority student group to the Nazis and labeled them "student-funded" racism. In October, Bruin Republican David Lazar proclaimed that the César E. Chávez Center and the Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies must "either regain a sense of legitimacy, or risk being replaced" after they deigned to sponsor a campus talk by Raymond Lotta of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The rabid proponents of U.S. imperialism take particular aim at critics of American and Israeli foreign policy in the Near East, especially those who oppose the bloody occupation of Iraq and voice outrage at the genocidal "collective punishment" of the Palestinian people by Israel's Zionist rulers. Middle East studies departments with professors who defend the Palestinian people are among the prime targets of these campus witchhunts. Students must defend these professors against the right-wing thought police! More broadly, we Marxists defend the Palestinian people against Zionist aggression and demand: All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories! Defend the peoples of Iraq against U.S. imperialist occupiers! U.S. out of Iraq now!

These campus witchhunts are not limited to loss of job or tenure. Last July, Muslim scholar Ali al-Timimi, a U.S.-born American citizen, was sentenced to life in prison for exercising his right to free speech in September 2001, against the then-impending invasion of Afghanistan. Ali al-Timimi did not carry out any terrorist acts, nor plan any, nor did he provide support or financially assist in any terrorist plots. In a 2 May 2005 piece on Horowitz's FrontPage Magazine Web site, fellow neocon Daniel Pipes hailed al-Timimi's conviction as "momentous" because "the U.S. government has put away a terrorist not for his deeds, such as raising money or blowing something up, but for his words." We say: Free Ali al-Timimi!

Snooping, harassment, frame-ups, imprisonment, torture, executions: these attacks have intensified with the U.S. capitalists' bipartisan "war on terror." It is waged with the support of the Democratic Party, the other party of racist U.S. imperialism. From their near-unanimous September 2001 support for the military authorization to pursue the "war on terror" to their substantial support for the draconian USA Patriot Act and their vote in support of the Iraq war, the Democrats gave Bush a blank check to unleash U.S. imperialism's killers.

The American ruling class seeks a docile, regimented society, all the better to send the sons and daughters of working people and minorities to serve as cannon fodder in U.S. imperialism's wars abroad while ripping up even the most minimal gains of previous class and social struggles at home. The same forces that would like to see the campuses inhabited solely by white frat boys also want to see a union-free workforce that they can more brutally exploit. The organized working class not only has an interest in opposing this reactionary campaign, but also the social power to do so. We warn against any reliance on the supposed "neutrality" of the campus administration. We oppose calls on the administration to regulate political speech on campus because, contrary to the right wing's howls of "rampaging radicalism," this is invariably used against the left-wing voices of dissent. Leftist students and defenders of democratic rights must ally with unions on campus and workers more widely in opposing the right-wing assault!

This struggle must be linked to broader struggles against capitalist state repression, including the fight against the racist death penalty, a legacy of chattel slavery. The life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, America's foremost political prisoner, a former Black Panther and courageous fighter for black freedom, hangs in the balance. In 1981, Mumia, a journalist, was known as the "Voice of the Voiceless" because he exposed racist police repression in Philadelphia. To silence him, the state framed him for the murder of a police officer. In a 1982 trial that made a mockery of due process, the state got its false conviction and then used Mumia's political advocacy of black freedom to obtain the death penalty. Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man! Free him now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

Domestic reaction in America did not just begin with George W. Bush or September 11. The destruction of the USSR, the first workers state in history, ushered in a global offensive against the working class and an ideological climate dominated by widespread belief in the "death of communism"—the lie that the collapse of Stalinism represented the failure of Marxism and the struggle for socialist revolution. Horowitz and his ilk are particularly rabid purveyors of this bourgeois ideological onslaught. Much of Horowitz's fire is directed at liberals who, however critical of the Bush administration, likewise partake in the "death of communism." We defend them against right-wing witchhunters, but we do not share their political views. As Marxist-Trotskyists, we have never flinched in defending the workers states, those countries that have gotten rid of capitalism. We fought to the end for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. Today we apply the same program toward the remaining bureaucratically deformed workers states—For unconditional military defense of China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam! At the same time, we fight for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies who undermine the very gains resulting from the overturn of capitalism.

It is only the revolutionary transformation of society that will put an end to the American rulers' racist, witchhunting, warmongering offensives for good. The replacement of this decaying capitalist system through working-class socialist revolution is the necessary goal of those aspiring for the genuine liberation of society. ■

Spartacist/SYC Forum

Mumia Is an Innocent Man!

The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Speaker: Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee, former counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal

Thursday, March 23, 7 p.m.
First Parish Church
3 Church St., Harvard Sq., Cambridge
(This forum is not sponsored by the First Parish Church.)

For more information: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

BOSTON

Revolutionaries and World War II

We reprint below the first part of an edited version of the presentation given by Comrade Olly Laing at a Spartacus Youth Group forum in London on October 22, which appeared in the Young Spartacus *pages of* Workers Hammer *No. 193 (Winter 2005-2006), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.*

PART ONE

This year marked the sixtieth anniversary of the end of the second world war. I'm sure anyone here who observed George Bush and [British prime minister] Tony Blair's platitudes about the fight for freedom and democracy around the VE day commemorations was sickened by the hypocrisy of these imperialist butchers of Iraq. The notion that World War II was, for the British and American imperialists, a crusade of democracy against fascism is still used by them today to portray their imperialist wars abroad and war on civil liberties at home as progressive struggles against tyranny.

After the 7 July London bombings, "the spirit of the Blitz" was invoked by politicians and the bourgeois media to declare the unity of all Londoners against "terrorism"—supposedly today's tyrannical threat to democracy. The purpose was to rally the population around the flag of national unity, so that they would accept the racist and ever-increasing draconian "anti-terror" legislation. But national unity is a lie. Capitalist society is based on the exploitation of the working class by the bourgeois ruling class, which fosters the poison of racism and other bigotry to divide the working class in order to maintain capitalist rule. Pushed by all manner of liberal and reformist ideologues, the idea that the second world war was a "people's war" on the part of the "democratic" capitalist powers, with all classes standing together against fascism, is also a grotesque lie.

Yevgeni Khaldei

Red Army soldiers trample Nazi flag in Austria, 1945. Soviet Red Army defeated Nazi war machine.

The Nazi regime was unparalleled in its barbarity. It systematically exterminated six million Jews, millions of Slavs and other peoples and strangled all working-class organisations, turning Europe into a living hell. But this did not make the Allied imperialist "democracies" anti-fascist fighters for freedom. To understand World War II, or the history of the twentieth century for that matter, it is essential to understand the significance of the Russian Revolution. In the period following the first world war, the political consciousness of all classes in Europe was dominated by the victory of the world's first workers revolution in Russia in 1917. For those who gained any material advantage from the status quo, those with any ideological or religious connection to the bourgeois order, fear of communism dictated pro-fascist sympathies. In this period of economic and social crisis in Europe, where the facade of parliamentary democracy could no longer deceive and contain the militant organised working class, the bourgeoisie looked desperately to fascist reaction to smash the workers organisations and the threat of socialist revolutions. That imperialist pig [former British prime minister] Winston Churchill, today still celebrated as an "anti-fascist," enthused over Mussolini's fascists in 1927 with the declaration: "Hereafter no great nation will be unprovided with an ultimate means of protection against the cancerous growth of Bolshevism" (quoted in Robert Black, *Stalinism in Britain* [1970]).

The *Militant*, 19 July 1941: newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party. American Trotskyists stood for defeat of all imperialist powers in WWII and for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union.

***Arbeiter und Soldat* (Worker and Soldier), June 1944: distributed by heroic Trotskyists in Brest, France, who built cell in German army, seeking to polarize Hitler's army along class lines.**

It was in Germany that the Nazis placed themselves at the head of European reaction. The Russian Revolution had failed to spread to the rest of Europe and humanity was made to pay for this with Nazi terror and the Holocaust. The German proletariat had suffered the defeat of a series of insurrectionary and semi-insurrectionary movements in the period 1919-23 due to the immaturity of the Communist leadership there. The German bourgeoisie resolved to crush the organised working class once and for all. To do this it turned to the Nazi party which, in its crusade against communism, also fed off the traditional anti-Semitism of the German ruling class and targeted the whole Jewish people as racially decadent "Jew-Bolsheviks."

It was only when German imperialism, militarised under Hitler, re-emerged as an imperialist competitor to be reckoned with that the "democracies" began to be hostile to the Nazis. For all the capitalist countries involved, the second world war was no different in character from the first world war. It was an interimperialist struggle for redividing the booty of capitalist profits. The imperialist states of both the Nazi-allied Axis powers and the Allied "democracies" all fought to defend their "right" to oppress and exploit the masses of the world. As Leon Trotsky pointed out, the "imperialist democracies are in reality the greatest aristocracies in history. England, France, Holland, Belgium rest on the enslavement of colonial peoples" ("Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War," May 1940).

For Britain, as the oldest imperialist power, the second world war was all about defending an empire whose dominance had already been encroached upon and eroded by other imperialist powers. The bloody British Empire's prize possession was its severely oppressed Indian colony. As Trotsky remarked upon the hypocritical pretensions of the British ruling class about defending democracy:

> "If the British government were really concerned about the flowering of democracy then a very simple opportunity to demonstrate this exists. Let the government give complete freedom to India. The right of national independence is one of the elementary democratic rights. But actually, the London government is ready to hand over all the democracies in the world in return for one tenth of its colonies."
>
> —"India Faced with Imperialist War," 25 July 1939

As for the United States, the society was founded on black chattel slavery whose racist legacy of black oppression was, and still is, an essential feature of American capitalism. Its interests in the war had nothing to do with the defence of "democracy" but everything to do with the defence and advancement of its imperialist sphere of influence in the world, particularly in the Pacific. From the Allied firebombings aimed specifically at the civilian populations of Dresden and Tokyo and the atomic mass murder in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 to British imperialism's deliberate starvation policies in its colonial domains like Bengal, the Anglo-American war was an imperialist crime against humanity.

For Defeat of Imperialism and Defense of the USSR

Trotskyists upheld the Leninist programme of revolutionary defeatism for all the capitalist states involved in the second interimperialist world war. Revolutionary defeatism is the position taken by Leninists in a war between rival imperialist blocs, where the working class has no side. It means hostility to all sides in a military conflict, with communists working for a revolutionary uprising of the proletariat on all sides. In a war between a colonial or semi-colonial country and an imperialist power, revolutionaries do have a side. This policy is known as revolutionary defensism, the position we of the International Communist League took in the 2003 war on semi-colonial Iraq, without giving any political support to Saddam Hussein. There was a just side to take, in defence of Iraq against U.S. and British imperialist attack. We fought for class struggle in the belly of the imperialist beasts, and for the blacking [workers refusing to handle goods] of military shipments in order to defend Iraq against the imperialist slaughter.

In an interimperialist war the defeat of an imperialist power—with the ruling class weakened, demoralised and totally discredited—opens up revolutionary possibilities. It is this situation that the programme of revolutionary defeatism strives to achieve. Revolutionary defeatism is best encapsulated by a slogan of the German revolutionary Marxist, Karl Liebknecht in World War I: "The main enemy is at home!" The aim being for the workers to focus their opposition against their "own" capitalist ruling class in order to turn the imperialist war between nations into a civil war for socialist revolution. The position was developed by Lenin in the first world war against the treachery of the reformist leadership of the so-called "socialist" parties of the Second International, who supported their "own" national bourgeoisies in the conflict. These agents of the capitalist class in the workers movement led the workers into the interimperialist slaughter, against their own class brothers, for the profits of their exploiters. The term Leninists use to describe the support of members of the workers movement for their own imperialist ruling class is "social-chauvinism." As Lenin wrote in the midst of the first world war: "A revolutionary class cannot but wish for the defeat of its government in a reactionary war" (*Socialism and War*, 1915).

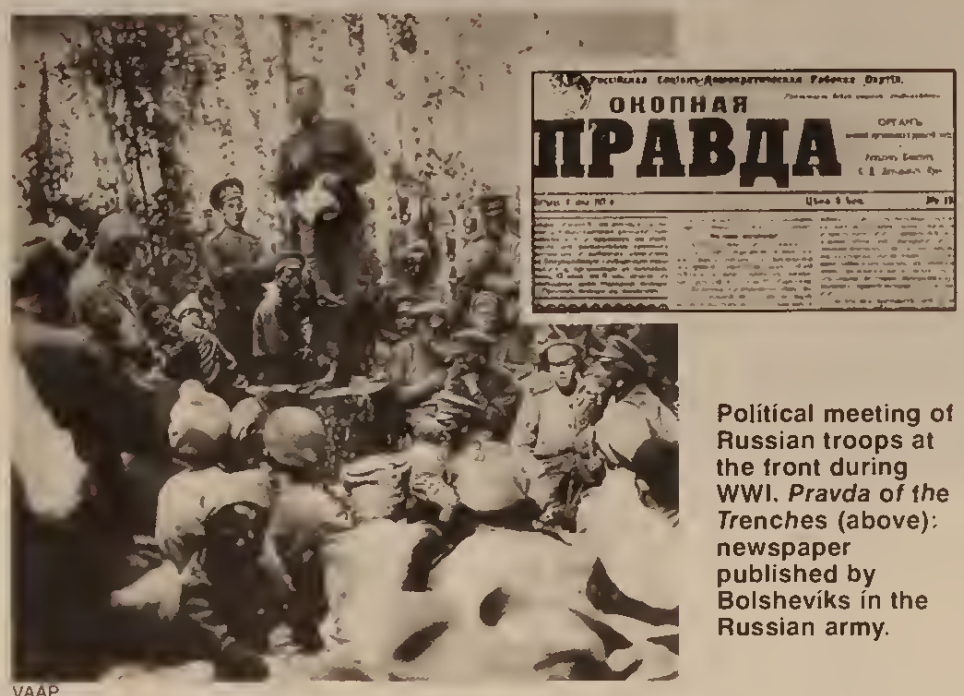
It was the betrayal of fundamental socialist principles by the social-chauvinist reformist

Imperialism and the Myth of the "Democratic" War Against Fascism

leaders which necessitated the crucial split in the workers movement between the reformists, who had proven their loyalty to their national bourgeoisie, and the revolutionary internationalists who still represented the interests of the working class, socialism and therefore humanity. Lenin's Bolsheviks broke with the Second International on the basis of the programme of revolutionary defeatism towards all the warring capitalist powers. It was this split that enabled the Bolshevik Party to uniquely lead the working class, supported by the peasantry, in a socialist revolution in 1917 against the Russian aristocracy, landlords and capitalists. The revolution pulled Russia out of the interimperialist conflict.

It was the existence and participation of the state that resulted from this revolution—the Soviet Union—that made one important difference in the strategy of revolutionaries in World War II. While being for the defeat of all capitalist states, Marxists were for the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union. This was because the USSR was a workers state that had overthrown capitalist and landlord exploitation, as well as tsarist tyranny. It was based on a collectivised, planned economy where production was not determined by the capitalist profit motive. The revolutionary economic and social gains that produced full employment, free universal healthcare, education and affordable housing remained despite Stalinist degeneration. The revolutionary leadership under Lenin and Trotsky fought for world socialist revolution, but the conservative bureaucracy led by Stalin abandoned this programme when it usurped political power from the working class in 1924.

The rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy came about in the context of the abortion of the German revolution in 1923, which produced a wave of disillusionment amongst the people of the Soviet Union and a conservative cynicism about the prospects for the international extension of the revolution. The majority of the revolutionary Bolshevik workers who had led the Russian Revolution had either been killed in the civil war or co-opted into the bureaucracy. Lenin had been incapacitated by a stroke during Stalin's rise to power, and died in January 1924. Motivated by maintaining their privileged position against the working people, the Stalinist bureaucracy had given up on world revolution in favour of peaceful coexistence with world imperialism under the utopian-reactionary dogma of "socialism in one country." To consolidate this political counterrevolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy exiled, executed or imprisoned the best remaining proletarian revolutionary elements led by Leon Trotsky's Left Opposition.



VAAP

Political meeting of Russian troops at the front during WWI. *Pravda of the Trenches* (above): newspaper published by Bolsheviks in the Russian army.

USSR Liberated Europe from Nazism Despite Stalin

The Stalinist misleadership seriously endangered the Soviet Union during World War II. Soviet Russia was Hitler's main target and the Nazis almost succeeded in destroying it due to the sabotage of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Stalin's regime had been consolidated by bloody purges in the 1930s in which many of the Red Army's best officers were murdered, including Marshal Tukhachevsky, one of the most brilliant generals in the civil war of 1918-21. Stalin trusted the paper promises of his 1939 pact with Hitler. He ignored all warnings from Soviet spies of the coming Nazi invasion and even when it was clearly imminent he ordered the Soviet armed forces not to actively prepare for defence. But it was the Soviet Union, *despite* Stalin, that took on the vast majority of the Nazi war machine, smashed it and liberated Europe from fascist enslavement.

Up until the last year of the war in Europe, nearly 95 per cent of all German troops were engaged against the Soviet forces. By the time the Allied imperialists launched D-Day, the guts of the German army had already been destroyed, especially in the decisive battles of Stalingrad and Kursk in 1943. A truly remarkable example of the Soviet peoples' endurance and heroism was the 900-day siege of Leningrad, where the city's population was mobilised in a fight to the death to defend the city from the Nazis. Over 800,000 citizens died. For example, when a giant armaments factory was attacked by German artillery, the workers formed a battalion and went to the front.

In fact the D-Day "second front" was not motivated by finishing Hitler off, but by saving European capitalism from the Soviet Union. The policy of the imperialist "democracies" was to let the USSR, the real arch-enemy of the imperialists, go it alone against German imperialism so they would destroy each other. Only when it was clear that the Soviets were going to win the war did the Western Allies launch D-Day in fear of Europe succumbing to Soviet dominance. Around 28 million Soviet citizens sacrificed their lives in defending the world's first workers state and liberating Europe from Nazism. It was testimony to the superiority of a collectivised, planned economy and the fact that the Soviet working peoples saw they had revolutionary gains to defend that the USSR had the resources and the will to defeat the powerful and barbaric Nazi war machine.

Deutsche Fotothek Dresden

Firebombing of Dresden, February 1945. U.S. and British imperialists deliberately targeted civilians, slaughtering over 100,000.

The Trotskyists of the Fourth International were the only force in World War II who had the revolutionary Leninist perspective of defeat for all of the imperialist powers and defence of the Soviet workers state. The policy of the Stalinised Communist parties internationally was determined by Stalin's diplomatic manoeuvres with the imperialist powers, burying the interests of the international working class. For the first couple of months of war, when Stalin was in a pact with Hitler, the Stalinist parties declared it an interimperialist war. But even then their strategy was not Leninist revolutionary defeatism. Instead of fighting for civil war against the bourgeoisie, the Stalinists called for imperialist peace. In fact its "neutral" stance tilted towards Nazi Germany, with the Communist parties giving backhanded support to Hitler's "peace initiatives."

But after the USSR was invaded by the Nazis, the Stalinists transformed the nature of the imperialist "democracies" from being exploiters and oppressors of the world to lovers of "freedom" and "democracy." The Stalinists were now for the defence of the British and American imperialist fatherlands and supported the war effort. Siding with their "own" ruling class in the war meant class-collaboration for the Communist parties of the Allied countries. The American Communist Party supported the racist internment of American citizens of Japanese origin and expelled those from its own ranks. The British Communist Party opposed independence for India for the duration of the war.

The size of the Trotskyist forces was small but their intervention was significant and heroic. British and American Trotskyists were persecuted and jailed for their anti-imperialist propaganda and support for working-class struggles during wartime. In Britain greedy bosses used the war as an excuse to drive down wages, particularly in the coal mines. The miners reacted with strikes which the British Trotskyists threw their forces behind, calling for the organisation of strike committees and all-out support for the miners, demanding nationalisation of the mines without compensation to the coalowners and under workers control. This was in stark contrast to the British Stalinists, who acted as strikebreakers. They insisted that the miners should go back to work as they were criminally damaging the British war effort and joined the capitalist government's witch hunt against the Trotskyists, becoming the most enthusiastic in slandering the Trotskyists as Nazi agents.

While fighting for class struggle against the imperialist war, British and American Trotskyists were actively fighting for the defence of the Soviet Union. Members of the American then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—which is in no way a relation of the British Socialist Workers Party—volunteered as merchant seamen for the deadly Murmansk supply run to Russia, risking their lives in U-boat-infested waters doing their internationalist proletarian duty to aid the USSR. On these supply runs Trotskyists also carried revolutionary internationalist propaganda to inspire the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy that was undermining the defence of the Soviet workers state. As for the hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries in Stalin's prison camps—among whom numbered many individual Trotskyists who survived the executions of 1937-38—they requested to be sent to the front to fight to the death against fascism. When Stalin refused to allow them to do so, they did what they could for the Soviet war effort by agreeing to the extension of the working day to twelve hours. In 1941 Stalin ordered a further wave of executions of political prisoners. Among 157 murdered on 11 September were Olga Kameneva, Trotsky's sister, and Christian Rakovsky, formerly a leading member of Trotsky's Left Opposition.

Fraternisation with the soldiers of the occupying armies is an essential wartime activity for revolutionaries in order to undercut national chauvinism. In Nazi-occupied Europe, French Trotskyists fraternised with working-class conscripts of the German army in a bid to get them to turn their guns the other way against the Nazi rulers. Courageously, they distributed an underground revolutionary newspaper in German, *Arbeiter und Soldat* (Worker and Soldier) and built a cell within the German armed forces at Brest. For example, 65 heroic French and German Trotskyists were shot by the Nazis in 1943 when they were discovered. Rather than trying to evade forced labour in Germany, some French and Dutch Trotskyists went to work there in order to aid the hoped-for German workers revolution against the Third Reich. Such proletarian internationalist mobilisation of the German workers—in or out of uniform—against the Nazis was anathema to the Stalinist-led resistance in Europe. In alliance with the much smaller nationalist bourgeois resistance, they carried out the chauvinist and anti-working-class policy that the "only good German is a dead German."

Dietz Verlag Berlin

Karl Liebknecht in soldier's uniform during WWI. German bourgeoisie drafted and then jailed Liebknecht in attempt to silence his revolutionary anti-militarist agitation.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

WV Photo

Philadelphia, 5 November 1988: PDC-initiated mobilization drew over 1,000 trade unionists, black activists, students, leftists to make sure Klan didn't ride in Philly.

Black Freedom...

(continued from page 5)

program can be achieved only through massive and sustained struggle by a greatly strengthened labor movement in this country.

However, in opposition to the FSP, we do *not* identify affirmative action as the only or even main way to improve the conditions of blacks and other ethnic minorities and women short of a socialist revolution. Affirmative action is at best a limited gain enacted in response to the civil rights struggles of the 1960s. Its basic premise is that there is a fixed number of jobs or college placements and that these should be redivided in favor of different oppressed groups. Thus, particularly in the workplace, affirmative action has tended to pit black and other ethnic minorities and women against one another and against white males, fighting for a bigger slice of a shrinking pie instead of fighting together against the capitalist class for a bigger pie.

Our answer to mass unemployment in the black ghettos and Latino barrios, especially among youth, is a labor-based struggle for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to increase the number of jobs available. We have also called for unions to direct special recruitment efforts toward black, Latino and women workers.

But the FSP, in the name of affirmative action, *supports* the efforts of the U.S. ruling class to further *weaken* the labor movement. Boot writes that the SL "tells anyone within earshot that affirmative action is a ruling-class plot, devised by the bosses as a union-busting tactic." It is an incontestable fact that the capitalist government has used affirmative action when directed at unionized work forces in precisely that way. Most of the significant early affirmative action court suits and programs were set up under the Nixon administration in the late 1960s and early '70s. A case in point was the Philadelphia Plan, an attempt to break the union hiring hall in the construction trades through setting quotas for jobs for minority workers. Such plans were especially effective in turning middle-class blacks and white liberals (and many radical leftists) against organized labor in the name of securing "racial justice."

Two basic features of trade unions in the U.S. are the closed shop (all workers being required to join the union) and the seniority list (layoffs determined by date of hire). These two features are the first line of defense against arbitrary management decisions and the victimization of individual workers. Seniority agreements are often to the disadvantage of blacks and women, who are typically the last hired. In this sense, they are imperfect but they are, along with the closed shop, essential to defense of the union. When the government rips up seniority lists in the name of affirmative action, this is union-busting. The result is no union or a terribly weakened union, to the detriment of *all* workers.

Another aspect of the FSP's reformist politics is its championing of "community control." This slogan was originally popularized by 1960s radical black nationalists, notably the Black Panther Party. Soon, other more moderate forces embraced the slogan en route to Democratic Party machine politics to which the Panthers, too, soon found their way. In the aftermath of the ghetto rebellions of the 1960s, management of the inner-city black enclaves became a profitable career for ambitious black activists. The ghetto is treated as a permanently depressed fiefdom overseen by black operatives in the government bureaucracy.

In particular, the FSP raises the slogan of "community control" of the police in response to the murderous cop rampages in the ghettos and barrios. In "Escalating Police Violence Renews Demand for Elected Civilian Review Boards" (*Freedom Socialist*, October-December 2000), the FSP calls for civilian review boards "*elected* from the community, not 'yes men' or women appointed by city officials" (emphasis in original). Such boards should have "full authority to investigate police misconduct, subpoena witnesses, and order training, discipline, and firings." While conceding that these agencies would not "*eliminate* cop depredations," the FSP assures us that they "could certainly *reduce* police rampages" (emphasis in original). The FSP writes that "honest cops should welcome an independent review mechanism, because it's the medicine necessary to start getting rid of the racist, sexist, and macho viruses that infect the force" ("Curb Police Brutality with Civilian Review Boards," *Freedom Socialist*, July-September 1999). Thus the FSP informs us that "community"-based review boards would effect a benevolent moral transformation among the cops themselves—i.e., the very hired thugs of the capitalists whose job is to brutally repress labor and terrorize minorities—resulting in a kinder, gentler police force sensitive to the needs and interests of the oppressed.

Reading this nonsense one is reminded of the New Testament account of the conversion of St. Paul. Formerly a vicious and violent persecutor of Christians, one day on the road to Damascus he saw the light and was redeemed. Alas, the redemption of the members and cadre of the FSP for the cause of proletarian revolution will not be so easy.

Richard Fraser: In Memoriam

The distance separating ourselves from the FSP of Clara Fraser and her followers has long been unbridgeable. In contrast, in the last five or six years before his death in 1988, Dick Fraser moved ever closer to the Spartacist League. We still had differences and disagreements, which were honestly acknowledged and seriously discussed. But we were always happy to bend the stick in favor of the areas of profound political agreement between us.

During this period, Fraser provided invaluable advice, informed by decades of practical experience as well as Marxist understanding, concerning the organization and work of the Labor/Black Leagues, transitional organizations of the Spartacist League involved in day-to-day struggles against racial oppression and capitalist exploitation. Addressing the SL/U.S. Seventh National Conference in 1983 on the question of organizing the Labor/Black Leagues, he spoke movingly:

> "I've had some discussions with many comrades, which have been very gratifying, and I am humbled by the knowledge that the things I wrote 30 years ago, which were so scorned by the old party, have had some important impact, finally."

In particular, Fraser greatly appreciated our policy of initiating labor/black mobilizations to smash the Klan and Nazis whenever these fascist scum raised their heads in public, especially in cities with a large working-class and black population. Richard Fraser's last political act before his death was his endorsement of the 5 November 1988 mobilization that stopped a Klan/Nazi provocation in Philadelphia.■

Stewart...

(continued from page 3)

the U.S. attorneys who prosecuted the case admitted that no crime occurred, that no terrorist attack resulted from this fabricated "conspiracy." As we stressed in "Lynne Stewart Denied New Trial" (*WV* No. 860, 9 December 2005), the government's aim "is not only to scare away any lawyer from defending a client with unpopular views but to criminalize dissent."

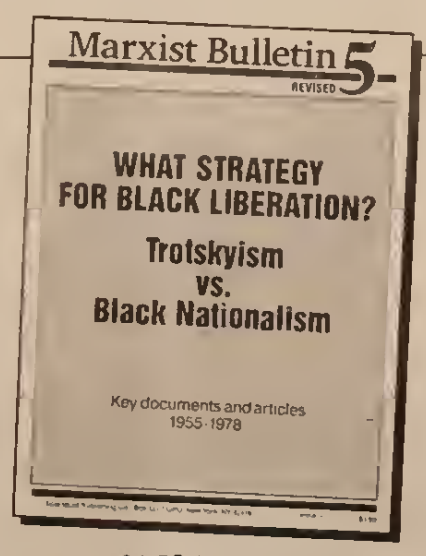
Stewart's translator, Mohamed Yousry, is a graduate student who had been carrying out research for his doctorate on Abdel Rahman on the recommendation of his New York University department chairman, Zachary Lockman. In a *Los Angeles Times* (6 February) opinion piece, Lockman wrote that if this conviction is allowed to stand, "We may well see other translators prosecuted for doing their jobs, and other scholars facing jail terms for conducting research on controversial issues." But the Bush administration has not always been getting its way in its attempt to silence critics of government policy. In December, the six-month trial of Palestinian rights activist Sami Al-Arian, former University of South Florida professor, and three co-defendants, who faced 51 charges related to "supporting terrorism," ended in acquittal or a hung jury on all counts. Al-Arian still faces retrial and possible deportation. *Government hands off Sami Al-Arian!*

Since her conviction, Lynne Stewart has continued speaking out against government repression, including at a Partisan Defense Committee rally in NYC in support of her struggle and in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal and Assata Shakur (see "Lynne Stewart Speaks at NYC Rally," *WV* No. 855, 30 September 2005). Stewart was targeted particularly for her lifetime of legal practice in defense of victims of repression and racist injustice. What next? Will publishing a column by Mumia, who was framed up in effect as a "terrorist" for his political views, be considered "material support to terrorism"?

This "war on terror" prosecution threatens the rights of all who would fight against anti-immigrant bigotry, racial oppression and attacks on labor. Just as the prosecution of Stewart, Yousry and Abdel Sattar has ominous implications, so too does powerful protest in their defense have broader portent. The capitalist courts have made clear their intention to seal their fate behind bars. The labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights have every interest in fighting against this frame-up.

Those interested in joining the protest should confirm the date of the hearing by checking www.lynnestewart.org. To contribute to Stewart's defense, send donations to: Lynne Stewart Defense Committee, 350 Broadway, Suite 700, New York, NY 10013.■

Winter 1993-94, $1.50 (56 pages)



$1.50 (72 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
international rates: $25/21 issues Airmail $10/21 issues Seamail
❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English language *Spartacist*)
❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)
❑ I would like to contribute $_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____
Address _____
_____ Apt. # _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone (_____) _____ E-mail _____

865

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

U.S. Out Now!...

(continued from page 1)

imperialist rulers for money for education and jobs, "not for war." Once the occupation was on, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Workers World Party (WWP) turned to painting the insurgencies in Iraq as a "national liberation movement." Behind this seemingly leftist posture stands the same old Democratic Party lesser-evilism, as Bush's difficulties in Iraq play to the Democrats' advantage. This is particularly true now as an increasing number of Democratic politicians are calling for an "exit strategy," fearing that the occupation is becoming increasingly harmful to U.S. imperialism's interests.

As the recent events in Iraq underscore, there is no unitary "resistance." Rather, there are disparate groupings organizing attacks on U.S. forces—and more often against random civilians from the various religious and ethnic populations. When the insurgents strike against the U.S. occupiers, they are striking against the greatest enemy of the world's proletariat and the oppressed. Such acts coincide with the class interests of the working class internationally. However, resistance forces led by religious clerics are by definition sectarian. As we warned in "The Left and the 'Iraqi Resistance'" (*WV* No. 830, 6 August 2004):

> "We do not imbue the forces presently organizing guerrilla attacks on U.S. forces with 'anti-imperialist' credentials and warn that in the absence of working-class struggle in Iraq and internationally against the occupation, the victory of one or another of the reactionary clerical forces is more likely to come about through an alliance with U.S. imperialism. We are intransigent opponents of the murderous communal violence against other ethnic, religious and national populations oftentimes carried out by the very same forces fighting the occupation armies."

We stand for an independent proletarian strategy, one based on the understanding that liberation from the imperialist yoke and equitable resolution of the democratic rights of all the peoples of Iraq and the region more broadly can be achieved only through the overthrow of capitalist rule in the region and the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East. Should the Iraqi proletariat raise its head, it would face not only the savagery of the imperialist occupiers but also the brutality of the reactionary Muslim fundamentalists and bourgeois nationalists who dominate the "resistance" hailed by the ISO and WWP reformists.

The situation in Iraq requires the forging of a Marxist workers party that will fight against both imperialist subjugation and all manner of nationalism and religious reaction, as part of a struggle for proletarian revolution. Weak and decimated today, the Iraqi proletariat nonetheless has a vivid history of struggle rich in lessons for the future. In 1958, as the British-backed monarchy was collapsing, the working class, led by the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP), was in a position to take power. But the Stalinist leadership of the ICP subordinated the proletariat to the bourgeois-nationalist Qassim regime. On orders from the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy under Khrushchev, which was pursuing the pipedream of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, the ICP moved to rein in its proletarian base. This paved the way for the Ba'ath party's rise to power in 1963 and its subsequent murderous repression of Communists and trade unionists, carried out in collaboration with the CIA.

From the Iranian oil fields to the ports of Egypt, there is a powerful working class in the Near East that must be mobilized under the banner of proletarian political independence. Marxist parties must be forged to unite the Near Eastern proletariat—Arab, Persian, Kurdish and Hebrew, Sunni and Shi'ite, Muslim and Christian—against imperialism and all the capitalist rulers of the region. Essential to this perspective is the understanding of the necessity of socialist revolution in the centers of imperialism—the U.S., West Europe and Japan. Otherwise, as Marx noted, "all the old crap" will return.

In the U.S., we fight to build a workers party—section of a reforged Fourth International—to lead the multiracial proletariat in socialist revolution. Such a party can only be built through political struggle against the misleaders of trade-union officialdom, who chain the proletariat to its capitalist class enemy, not least through supporting U.S. "national interests." Victorious workers revolution, extended internationally, will end imperialist slaughter and ethnic bloodletting and open the road to eliminating material scarcity and building an egalitarian socialist society.■

Ports ...

(continued from page 12)

the "war on terror" and war on the unions are one and the same. Nevertheless, the ILWU tops signed on to the "war on terror," offering that its own members would help police the docks.

Both the ILWU and ILA supported the 2002 Maritime Transportation Security Act (MSA). If fully enforced, the MSA would bar access to port terminals by workers convicted of a felony in the previous seven years. This is a particular threat to the hard-won union jobs of blacks and Latinos, who have been on the receiving end of the racist "war on drugs." Yet a February 23 ILWU press release complains that the union "has repeatedly appealed to federal authorities to enforce port security regulations—but to no avail" and demands the strict enforcement of several MSA regulations. Moves to jack up policing of the docks also threaten the largely immigrant and non-union port truckers, a number of whom are Arab. But the ILWU press release demands that the government "thoroughly screen all vehicle drivers" at terminal gates, undermining any efforts to organize the port truckers and setting them up for further police scrutiny.

At the February 24 Oakland protest, which drew about 100 people, former ILWU Local 10 executive board member Clarence Thomas warned against xenophobia and racial profiling and declared that the issue was "about capital" and "privatization" of the docks. So what was he doing addressing a rally whose sole purpose was to whip up xenophobia and anti-Arab racism...and chanting "Goodbye Dubai" with the rest of the labor fakers? The ILWU Local 10 tops are masters at providing a "progressive" veneer for the chauvinism and class collaborationism of the U.S. labor bureaucracy. For his part, Democratic Oakland mayor Jerry Brown called for "an active political movement to take back the United States." The last time we know of that Jerry Brown made his presence felt on the docks was when his cops fired wooden bullets, pellet-filled "sting bags" and concussion grenades on antiwar protesters and ILWU longshoremen in April 2003 (see "Shipping Bosses, Police Collude in Cop Rampage," *WV* No. 802, 25 April 2003).

Fighting against poisonous "war on terror" chauvinism, on 9 February 2002 some 300 unionists, immigrants, blacks and youth rallied in Oakland around the demands: "No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act! Down with the anti-immigrant witchhunt!" Initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, this rally—with black longshoremen at its core—was the first time that organized labor mobilized in defense of its immigrant brothers and sisters targeted under the "war on terror." ILWU Local 10 officials were among the endorsers of the united-front rally, which was addressed by Clarence Thomas. The Spartacist League speaker at the rally, Brian Manning, stated:

> "The workers and the capitalists have irreconcilable interests: the capitalists want to extract as much profit as possible, drive down wages, etc. The capitalists have a state to help them do this—the cops, the courts, the prisons—and then they try to scam you and say this is democracy.... A class-struggle leadership in the trade unions must be forged, a leadership that knows who our friends are and who our enemies are. We need a workers party to fight for a workers government."
>
> —"'Black Rights, Immigrant Rights Go Forward Hand in Hand'," *WV* No. 775, 22 February 2002■

New Orleans...

(continued from page 2)

now there are 1,200. 18 of 117 Orleans Parish public schools are open. Parents are having to hire lawyers and file suit in court to try to force the opening of public schools.

Speaking of the courts: 3,500 prisoners in the Orleans Parish Jail have fallen into a worse hellhole of oblivion than ever before. These include people who were arrested but not charged, or charged but not convicted, for anything from peeing on the sidewalk or soliciting to prostitution or anything at all back in August. They are now simply lost to the so-called Justice system. The local courthouse and jail were flooded, some prisoners drowned in their cells, the rest were evacuated and dispersed to jails all over the state and outside the state. Nobody knows where they are. All computerized records of criminal court cases were lost, and the entire Evidence Room was flooded. The Innocence Project found this a bitter end to some cases where prisoners were in line to be freed on saved DNA evidence.

Here is a quote from open court from the *Times Picayune* 1/21/06. "Kevin Crawford is in jail," a deputy announced, naming a 21-year-old charged in July with being a felon with a firearm. "Where he is, I have no idea." (Judge) Hunter set a new court date for late March and moved on. "OK, Kevin Crawford is somewhere out there in limbo-land," Hunter said for the record, "the Twilight Zone." In the case of a man charged with soliciting crime against nature... (the deputy said) "He might have drowned, Judge, in the chaos." A federal judge has just pronounced the city's indigent defense program to be non-existent. The local *City Business* newspaper, of all sources, has run a two-part exposé on this travesty.

New Orleans cannot pull itself up by its bootstraps from this man-made disaster. Massive outside aid is needed, but the White House is...disinclined. Local columnists have cited the Marshall Plan and the level of aid supplied to New York after 9/11 as the scale of help that is needed. Liberal commentators cite money that is being spent on the Iraq war as a rightful source of aid for New Orleans. During the hurricane, many countries from Cuba to Sweden offered medical and other aid which Bush ignored, not by accident. It's not that Bush hasn't thought of where the money could come from: he represents a ruling class with other priorities, namely maintaining the rule of the propertied class. It will take a socialist revolution to sweep him and his class out of power.

Ruth
New Orleans

ISO...

(continued from page 3)

called to extend the gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples. We fought to mobilize Soviet workers to defeat the Yeltsin-Bush counterrevolution. Today we call for the unconditional military defense of those states resulting from the overthrow of capitalism in China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. Our fight for workers political revolutions is premised on our defense of the social gains of those revolutions and our fight for international socialist revolution.

The working class and the oppressed cannot take a single step toward liberation if locked in an embrace with the political parties of the class enemy—whether Democrat, Republican or Green. What's needed is to build a revolutionary workers party, based on the political independence of the working class, which would have as a crucial task the fight for all of the oppressed, not least the liberation of black people. Workers have the social power to overthrow capitalism and establish a collectivized, planned economy as the basis for socialism. But they must first be won in the course of hard class struggle to a Marxist understanding of their historic task. A key part of that fight is combating illusions in the reformability of capitalism fostered by today's misleaders of the working class. The Bolshevik-led workers revolution in Russia in 1917 opened up the perspective of international socialist revolution to put an end to imperialist war for good. In opposition to Chretien and the ISO who, at bottom, defend capitalist rule, we fight for the program of new workers revolutions across the globe. No vote to the Green Party! No vote to Chretien! Break with the Democratic Party of racism and war! Join us in the struggle for socialist revolution!■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
tllt@look.ca

WORKERS VANGUARD

Victory to the Sikorsky Strike!

FEBRUARY 25—Some 3,590 members of Teamsters Local 1150 went on strike on February 20 against Sikorsky Aircraft, and picket lines have been up around the clock in Stratford, Bridgeport, Shelton and West Haven, Connecticut, as well as in West Palm Beach, Florida. The walkout at Sikorsky comes on the heels of a three-month strike by 1,500 members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers in California, Alabama and Florida, who make and launch Boeing's Delta rockets. These strikes are particularly significant as they hit two of the U.S. military's most important suppliers in the midst of the imperialist rulers' bloody occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq.

The core issue in the Sikorsky strike is the company's demand to nearly *triple* the workers' health care payments over the three-year life of the contract—from $25 to $72 per week—in addition to increases in prescription costs and doctor visit copayments. With an average age of 48 years and job seniority of 24 years, workers suffer widespread injuries and chronic medical conditions from labor on the assembly lines. Hourly wages for this highly skilled workforce range from only $18.59 to $32.50. After workers rejected the company's takeback "offer" by an overwhelming vote of 2,145 to 1,052, a 100-member strike committee began organizing picketing and financial assistance for strikers. As Everald Davis, a 28-year Sikorksy veteran, put it, "Sometimes you have to fight for what you want. You just can't let people push you around."

Attacks on union health benefits, which were won through labor struggle, have been a key issue in virtually every recent strike in the U.S. The massive United Technologies conglomerate that includes Sikorsky, along with Pratt & Whitney Aircraft, Otis Elevator and other subsidiaries, wants to increase workers' medical payments at all of its operations. Throwing out the sucker bait of a $2,000 contract signing bonus, Sikorsky is trying to gouge its workers' health benefits even after raking in $250 million in profits last year (up 25 percent from 2004), not to speak of a backlog in government contracts.

Bob MacDonnell/Hartford Courant

February 20: Striking Teamsters outside Sikorsky Aircraft plant in Stratford, Connecticut.

Sikorsky's main products are helicopters for civilian and military use. The company supplies all five branches of the U.S. armed forces, most notably Army Black Hawks and Navy Seahawks, and boasts that it has built nearly half of all helicopters serving military forces throughout the world. Picketers in Stratford told *Workers Vanguard* that the union warned them that Sikorsky would wave the flag and that the strikers would be called "terrorist." The *Connecticut Post* (21 February) began the drumbeat at the very beginning of the strike: "The nation is at war in Afghanistan and Iraq, and workers said they have heard charges the strike might delay some vital parts needed for military orders." But the strikers, many of whom are military veterans, are undaunted. One picketer remarked to *WV* that there is a distinction between having pride in the workers' skills and the product they make and the way their product is used.

The theme of "national unity" that the government has hammered on since the September 11 attacks is intended to obliterate the *class line* between the workers and their U.S. capitalist exploiters, aiming to block the working class from fighting in its own interests. The top Teamsters leadership plays right along, for example, by staging chauvinist, flag-waving rallies with various capitalist politicians across the country on February 24 to protest the projected takeover of port facilities by an Arab-owned company (see accompanying article). The Sikorsky strike is objectively a strike against the lie of "national unity" patriotism.

Strikers should beware of those Democrats, and also some Republicans, who have proclaimed their "sympathy." The Democrats are taking the opportunity to swipe at the Bush administration over the state of health care in this country. But their agenda is to get the workers back on the job, to keep profits flowing and the imperialist war machine running. Workers need their own party, to lead all the exploited and oppressed in the struggle for a workers government.

Spirits are high on the picket lines in Connecticut, where the white, black and immigrant strikers have been supported by many people dropping by with coffee and donuts, and where passing cars, trucks and fire engines honk their horns in support. At the same time, thousands of engineers and other salaried employees have been driving right past the picket lines through plant gates, and the company says that it's continuing to build some helicopters. Whatever the truth of this claim, the way to win this strike, and win it fast, is with mass picket lines, drawing on other area unions, to *stop all scabbing* and *shut Sikorsky down*. It is particularly important to mobilize workers from other United Technologies companies who are also facing attacks on union benefits. *Victory to the Sikorsky strike!* ■

Globalized, Except...

Anti-Arab Hysteria Over "Port Security"

WV Photo

ILWU's Clarence Thomas on platform of jingoist "Goodbye Dubai" rally, Oakland, February 24.

FEBRUARY 27—Adding to the racist frenzy over the proposed takeover of some terminal operations at six U.S. ports by Arab-owned Dubai Ports World, the Teamsters union staged demonstrations across the country on February 24 around the slogan, "Goodbye Dubai, Secure America's Ports!" The Port of Oakland protest was joined by the ILWU longshore union. The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) held its own rally today in Port Newark, New Jersey. These rallies are part of a drive, led by Democrats, against the Bush administration's approval of the takeover, which they denounce as a blow against the "war on terror."

In the "liberal" advance guard of this jingoist campaign, Maureen Dowd ranted in her *New York Times* (22 February) column, "Just because the wealthy foreigners who own our debt can blackmail us with their economic leverage, does that mean we should expose our security assets to them as well?" Fearing that Democrats are finally succeeding in their attempt to supplant the Republicans as the party of "national security," Republican leaders on Capitol Hill have joined in the chorus against the administration. With Bush hoist on his own petard, the Dubai company is postponing taking over port operations, providing time for a face-saving "investigation." In an earlier chauvinist outburst over the workings of the "globalized economy," last year a Congressional anti-Communist furor forced the Chinese deformed workers state to withdraw a bid by its state-owned CNOOC company to buy out oil giant Unocal.

The port deal is simply business as usual: The British-owned P&O company, including its U.S. terminal operations, has been bought out by an outfit owned by the emirate of Dubai, which happens to provide the U.S. Navy with a crucial deep-water seaport in the Persian Gulf as well as an American air base. In fact, some 80 percent of shipping terminals in the U.S. today are managed by foreign-owned companies. To be sure, Dubai's royal family is a bunch of slave drivers. An Australian port workers union statement points out that in Dubai, "foreign workers predominate and trade unions are outlawed. Deportation awaits those who dare to organize."

Reporting on discussions with Newark longshoremen, the *Washington Post* (25 February) cogently noted that many workers "took the age-old view that a boss is a boss and a contract is greased." But the labor bureaucracy has undermined the unions' ability to fight against the port bosses by buying into the government's "war on terror," which is nothing but a pretext for the rulers' imperialist depredations from Afghanistan to Iraq and for ripping up the rights of immigrants, black people and labor at home. During the ILWU's 2002 contract battle, Thomas Ridge, then Bush's Homeland Security chief, warned the union president that a strike would "threaten national security"—a concrete demonstration that

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 866 | C-701 | 17 March 2006

Abortion Outlawed in South Dakota

For Free Abortion on Demand!

Women's fundamental right to abortion is under renewed assault. It's been relentlessly eroded for over 30 years, ever since the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court *Roe v. Wade* decision, which overturned state anti-abortion laws. In South Dakota on March 6, Republican governor Michael Rounds signed the most sweeping anti-abortion law in the nation, banning all abortions except those necessary to save the life of the woman, and mandating five-year prison sentences for doctors who perform abortions. This sets up a head-on collision with the legal right to abortion, as the law will be challenged all the way up to the Supreme Court.

Fifteen other states already have anti-abortion "trigger laws" ready to go into effect should *Roe* be overturned. The Supreme Court plans to hear legal challenges this fall to the grossly misnamed "partial birth abortion" ban passed by Congress, which is being used as a wedge to roll back all abortion rights. And Bush has recently appointed two new Supreme Court justices, John Roberts and Samuel Alito, who are thoroughgoing racist reactionaries on all social fronts (see "Racial Oppression and the Supreme Court Hearings," *WV* No. 864, 17 February).

Ominous as this all is, for many women in America the ability to have an abortion has already been placed effectively out of reach. In South Dakota, there is only one abortion clinic. Increasingly women need to travel great distances, including out of state, to obtain abortions. A recent *New York Times* (12 March) op-ed article stated, "We'd do better to view South Dakota's action not as transformative...but as an effort to formalize what for many women already exists in practice." The article cited some grim statistics, including: "In Mississippi, where the number of places that offer abortion services has shrunk from six to one, 60 percent of women traveled to neighboring states to terminate their pregnancies in 2000, up from 33 percent 12 years earlier."

As revolutionary communists, we defend abortion rights and every gain that's been won for women, no matter how partial. What is urgently needed is to fight to defend and extend women's rights, including the right to abortion. We fight for free abortion and contraception on demand, without qualification, linked to a program of free, quality health care for all. These are vital necessities for women and for working people as a whole, along with paid maternity leave and free 24-hour childcare facilities at work and in the community. We look to the power of the working class, not its mortal enemies in the capitalist state, as the motor force for social progress. Every real gain won by working people and the oppressed is, and will be, the result of hard class and social struggle, not appeals to bourgeois politicians and the courts.

AP

Demonstrators in Sioux Falls protest South Dakota's abortion ban, March 9.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

It is outrageous that the capitalist state—from state legislatures up to whatever nine people are appointed for life to the Supreme Court, an inherently reactionary institution—should have the life-and-death power to interfere in people's most intimate, private decisions. We say, government out of the bedrooms! Abolish all laws against "crimes without victims" such as laws against prostitution, homosexuality and "age of consent" laws that target teens! We oppose reactionary "parental notification" laws and all restrictions on access to contraception, including "Plan B" (the "morning after pill") and the RU 486 "abortion pill." Teenagers (like other humans) will have consensual sex, whether the anti-sex police like it or not, and accidents will happen—so it's a very good thing that abortion is actually a simple and safe medical procedure.

Democratic Party politicians whine that abortion is a "sad, even tragic choice," as Democratic senator Hillary Clinton recently said. In fact, abortion is often more a necessity than a "choice." Despite all the restrictions, in 2002 alone, some 1.29 million abortions were carried out in the U.S., according to the Guttmacher Institute. "At current rates," the Institute's Web site reports, "about one in three American women will have had an abortion by the time she reaches age 45." It further reports that half of all pregnancies in the U.S. are unintended and that half of those end in abortion. Given all the fundamentalist religious hysteria against abortion, it's significant too that 78 percent of women having abortions report a religious affiliation, according to Guttmacher.

Nineteenth-century utopian socialist Charles Fourier wrote that the level of any civilization could be determined by the degree of social progress for its women. The cruelty of American "civilization" can be measured by the fact that women in prison today are literally shackled to their beds as they give birth, and then their babies are ripped away from them. As for workers, as far as the ruling class is concerned, they might as well drop dead once they're no longer productive. Wall Street and Washington are united in trying to smash whatever limited health care and pension plans workers still have left today. In this racist society, blacks are hit hardest, as always—the racist contempt and lethal incompetence by all levels of government in the wake of Hurricane Katrina made that clear for all to see.

In this period of social reaction, for the capitalists and their political frontmen free health care and free abortion on demand are anathema, only a breath away from "godless communism" and who knows what wild "free love" scenarios. The Bush administration is so bizarrely reactionary that it views science with deep distrust. A truly frightening article, "Political Science," in the *New Yorker* (13 March) reports that the Bush regime opposes letting girls be inoculated with the new papillomavirus vaccine that protects against cervical cancer, noting: "The Bush Administration has been relentless

continued on page 10

WV Photo

Spartacists raise demand for women's rights at San Francisco antiwar protest, March 2004.

11

7 25274 81030 7

NYC Transit Strike: "We Showed Our Power"

New York City
March 9, 2006

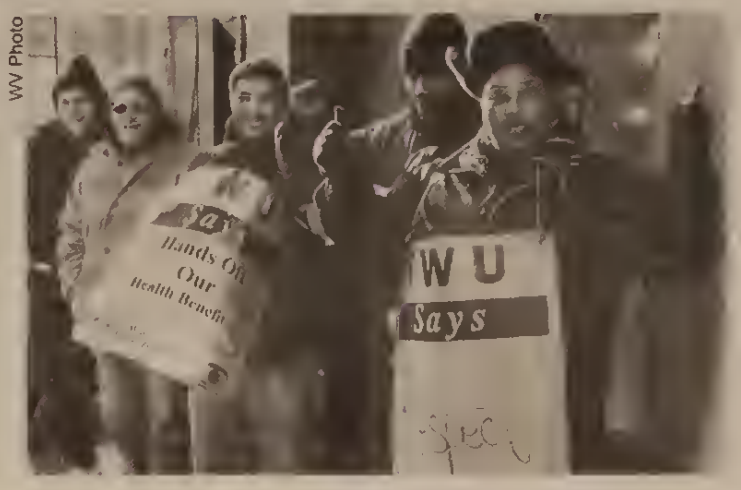
To Workers Vanguard:

Your newspaper's coverage of the NYC transit strike told the truth about what was going on. My union, TWU Local 100, went on strike for the first time in 25 years in defiance of the Taylor Law's han on public workers strikes. Most everyone knew we had to make a stand in defense of ourselves.

Since the strike ended and we voted down a proposed give-back contract by a slight margin at the end of January, the union leadership has left us in the dark, dangling in limbo. My workmates were infuriated when they heard that the MTA brass was pushing for binding arbitration and putting all their planned attacks on us back on the table. The MTA will do anything to undermine our power, from racist abuse on the work floor to calling on the cops and courts to beat us down.

The union leadership is divided between warring cliques loyal to either Local 100 president Toussaint or the TWU International leadership. This festering situation only creates cynicism among the membership. Workmates in my shop have heen asking lately, why did we even bother going on strike? But the strike was not a mistake. It was the only way to back off the MTA demands for major givebacks. Our union flexed its muscles, showed its power and was watched hy workers all over the world. The attacks on our union are part of a general assault on the living standards of all workers.

On the job, we've been discussing the "good old days" of past decades when workers thought that their children would naturally do better than themselves. The only way to turn around our degradation is through struggle against management. A recent New York Times article talks about the Caterpillar company's two-tier hiring system and the fact that newer workers have vastly lower wages and benefits than older workers. Multi-tier systems mean that as the older workers retire there is no higher tier left. Labor is being pushed back as the capitalists rake in greater profits.



TWU workers on the picket lines at Manhattan's Clara Hale bus barn, December 22.

That is why our struggle is so important, because it could inspire millions of other workers to realize that they don't have to just take it from the bosses.

The third day of our strike, a Thursday before Christmas, just when we were putting the squeeze on the racist politicians and MTA straw bosses, Toussaint folded the strike, pouring water on a fire that was threatening to get "out of control." For many of the picketers it was shocking and depressing. Our union shop chairman with bloodshot eyes and cracking voice told us to go home, it was over. Within an hour all that was left of our impressive picket line was a trash-strewn sidewalk and some picket signs.

There is a general feeling of powerlessness in getting the union leadership to fight and that frustration can lead to anti-union sentiment. Some workmates argue to sue the union. Five of the vice presidents who oppose Toussaint have a lawsuit pending against him. One argument you hear is that "suing the union is bad but you have to do these things sometimes because it is the only way to fight." But I think your articles are right that such "fights" only weaken the union, because suing the union is calling on the same state that is attacking the union and enforcing the Taylor Law against us. Look at what happened to the Teamsters whose president, Ron Carey, was removed by the government after he led a strike against UPS. Carey rode into the leadership of the union through court suits and a government-run election. Then, the next time the feds intervened in the union they threw him out.

Some workers are so mad at the union leadership that they are indifferent to the bosses' attacks on the union that are pending in court. Governor Pataki is calling for the jailing of Toussaint, and the government, through Public Employment Relations Board sanctions, is seeking to cancel the union's automatic dues check-off. When the judges and their cops go after the union leadership they are attacking all of us. So in defense of ourselves, we *must* fight to defend the union against the attacks on our elected officers and finances.

Our union shouldn't support the Democrats, Republicans or any other bosses' politicians. It is NY attorney general Eliot Spitzer, the Democratic Party's leading candidate for Governor, who is in charge of the prosecution of our union for going on strike. Some of my workmates agree that the Democrats are no friends of working people but argue that the union must support the Democrats anyway because there is no alternative. This is wrong! Workers need union leaders who will stand for our interests in opposition to this whole system. We need a party of our own that will fight for a society run by the working class.

Many transit workers ask if we should continue the contract struggle and strike again if necessary. One said, "Look at what we got when we went on strike in December, a giveback contract where we'll now have to start paying for healthcare. Why would we go on strike again under this leadership? They'd just screw it up again." I told him, we showed our power in December, and to win we needed to stand firm and get the rest of labor behind us.

All of the NYC area union leaders insisted that the strike must be called off, because they were afraid of upsetting their many connections with the bosses' politicians. The union leaders knew our strike had tremendous support throughout the ranks of labor, with many in the city wanting to come out to defend us and spread the strike. Judging from the many raised fists and honking horns from workers passing our picket lines throughout the city, that was a real possibility. But such a move would go completely against the politics of the union leadership, not only in NYC, but in this country as a whole. What the current TWU leaders are really about is supporting this rotten capitalist system.

During the three days of the strike, it was a different world. Black, white and immigrant workers together were fighting against the MTA, the politicians and the whole establishment with its anti-worker newspapers calling us selfish and unreasonable and hurling racist epithets at us. But the workers of New York were on our side and we were immensely popular with the countless nationalities that make up the colorful patchwork of our region. There were many conversations on the picket lines, from the job of cops as protectors of the bosses' property to the history of workers' struggles in the U.S. and around the world. We were fighting the bosses while the whole world was watching us. Our strike took place while there is simmering anger in this country over the bloody occupation of Iraq, the phony "war on terror" stomping on our civil rights and the racist specter of Hurricane Katrina which haunts and exposes this government.

I especially appreciated the campaign you wrote about to get unions internationally to defend TWU Local 100 and our strike. It shows that we are certainly not alone in our struggles. During the strike, transit workers in this city got a real taste of our potential and our power.

A *WV* reader

TROTSKY

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

LENIN

March 8, International Women's Day, which originated in 1908 in a march by women garment workers in New York City, was first celebrated in Russia in 1913. In a special edition of Pravda *marking the occasion, Alexandra Kollontai, a leader in the Bolshevik Party, polemicized against bourgeois feminism and stressed that the emancipation of women is the task of the entire proletariat, whose historic role is the overthrow of the capitalist order through socialist revolution.*

There was a time when working men thought that they alone must bear on their shoulders the brunt of the struggle against capital, that they alone must deal with the "old world" without the help of their womenfolk. However, as working-class women entered the ranks of those who sell their labour, forced onto the labour market by need, hy the fact that husband or father is unemployed, working men became aware that to leave women behind in the ranks of the "non-class-conscious" was to damage their cause and hold it back. The greater the number of conscious fighters, the greater the chances of success. What level of consciousness is possessed by a woman who sits by the stove, who has no rights in society, the state or the family? She has no "ideas" of her own! Everything is done as ordered by the father or husband....

On "Women's Day" the organised women workers demonstrate against their lack of rights.

But, some will say, why this ***singling out*** of women workers? Why special "Women's Days," special leaflets for working women, meetings and conferences of working-class women? Is this not, in the final analysis, a concession to the feminists and bourgeois suffragettes?

Only those who do not understand the radical difference between the movement of socialist women and bourgeois suffragettes can think this way.

What is the aim of the feminists? Their aim is to achieve the same advantages, the same power, the same rights within capitalist society as those possessed now by their husbands, fathers and brothers. What is the aim of the women workers? Their aim is to abolish all privileges deriving from birth or wealth. For the woman worker it is a matter of indifference who is the "master"—a man or a woman. Together with the whole of her class, she can ease her position as a worker....

For bourgeois women, political rights are simply a means allowing them to make their way more conveniently and more securely in a world founded on the exploitation of the working people. For women workers, political rights are a step along the rocky and difficult path that leads to the desired kingdom of labour.

—Alexandra Kollontai, "Women's Day" (February 1913)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop
EDITOR: Alan Wilde
EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James
EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

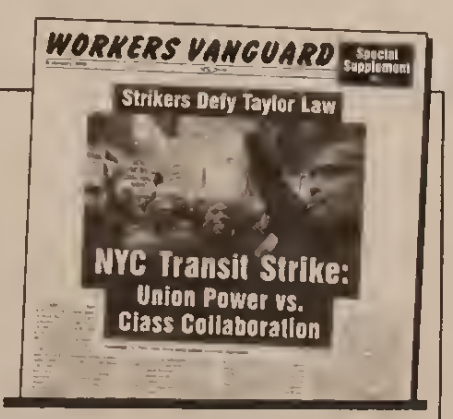
The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 14 March.

No. 866 **17 March 2006**



Special *WV* Supplement on NYC Transit Strike

10¢ each — bundles of 25: $2
bundles of 50: $3

Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

We print below a March 11 letter by the Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle, non-sectarian defense organization associated with the Spartacist League—to the Assistant Secretary of Homeland Security, Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

We strongly protest the vile attempt on February 7 by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement to deport Jiang Zhenxing, a pregnant Chinese woman. As a result of the physical and verbal abuse by immigration agents, Ms. Jiang suffered a miscarriage of the twins she was carrying. We join with others who have condemned these despicable actions: Hands off Jiang Zhenxing! No deportations!

Ms. Jiang has been in the U.S. for ten years and operates a small restaurant in Philadelphia with her husband. Their four- and six-year-old sons are American citizens, having been born in the U.S. On February 7, she reported for a regularly scheduled appointment with Immigration officials in Philadelphia. Within minutes of her arrival, Ms. Jiang was grabbed, hustled off and pushed into a minivan and driven to JFK airport in New York. Her husband and sons waited in the lobby unaware that she was being deported. En route Ms. Jiang told the agents she was pregnant and was experiencing pains. Her appeals for medical attention were not only denied but ridiculed. After they arrived at JFK airport her request for an ambulance was also refused. Hours later, she was finally taken to Jamaica Hospital, to be told by doctors the fetuses had no heartbeat. She underwent surgery the next day.

On February 14, demonstrations were held in Philadelphia and New York to protest the mistreatment of Ms. Jiang. Reportedly, your office agreed to suspend deportation for six months, at which time you will again seek to forcibly separate her from her husband and children. We demand no deportation! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!■

No Deportation!

Hands Off Jiang Zhenxing!

Immigrant Solidarity Network

Jiang Zhenxing in New York hospital recovering from ordeal at hands of immigration officers.

PDC Campaign

Labor Must Defend NYC Transit Unions!

In January, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a campaign urging labor solidarity with the New York City transit unions, which face massive legal sanctions for conducting a powerful three-day strike last December in defiance of the state's anti-strike Taylor Law (see *WV* Nos. 862, 20 January, and 863, 3 February). Trade unions nationally and internationally responded to the PDC campaign by sending protest letters demanding no reprisals to New York governor George Pataki, Attorney General Eliot Spitzer and NYC mayor Michael Bloomberg, as well as messages of support to the unions.

In response to this campaign, a spokesman at the Office of Labor Relations, writing on behalf of Mayor Bloomberg, sent the PDC the first letter printed at right, which exemplifies their vicious, anti-labor stance. The second letter is from Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president Roger Toussaint.

The memberships of TWU Local 100 and Amalgamated Transit Union locals 726 and 1056 have already been hit with fines and Local 100 is still working without a contract. Meanwhile, the leaders continue to be threatened with imprisonment and the unions with pauperization. Governor Pataki's office has reaffirmed his position that the union leaders "should face the full weight of penalties available under the Taylor Law," including jail time (*AM New York*, 3 March). Letters of protest and solidarity are still urgently needed. All of labor must take a stand with the NYC transit unions.

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF LABOR RELATIONS
40 Rector Street, New York, NY 10006-1705
http://nyc.gov/olr

January 18, 2006

Gene Herson
Labor Coordinator, Partisan Defense Committee

This is in response to your letter, dated January 9, 2006, to Mayor Bloomberg. He has asked me to reply on his behalf.

Be assured that the Mayor expects all employers in the City of New York to comply with applicable Federal, State and Local laws governing the workers in any workplace.

Similarly, the Mayor also expects all employees to comply with applicable Federal, State and Local laws governing the workers in any workplace.

Since your letter contains patently incorrect statements, including your misrepresentation of the Taylor Law—a law designed and implemented with Union input—we will respectfully refrain from any further discussion of your letter except to state that we disagree with its contents entirely.

Sincerely,
James F. Hanley

TWU LOCAL 100 "We Move New York"
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION
OF GREATER NEW YORK • AFL-CIO • LOCAL 100
80 West End Avenue New York NY 10023
Tel: 212-873-6000 • Fax: 212-379-3361 • www.twulocal100.org
Roger Toussaint, President · Ed Watt, Secretary-Treasurer · Darlynne Lawson, Recording Secretary

February 10, 2006

Mr. Paul Cooperstein
Chairman, Partisan Defense Committee

The members, staff and officers of Transport Workers Union Local 100 deeply appreciate your support during our recent contract fight and strike.

It seemed that our contract fight was conducted under the bright lights of the mass media. However, there were very important things happening outside camera range, like the solidarity you displayed. If the media ignored it transit workers did not. Our 35,000 members were strengthened by the knowledge that they were not alone.

I would have liked to have written sooner, noting how your efforts helped produce a successful resolution of our battle. While that has not yet occurred, expressing our appreciation can't wait.

Our picket signs said "It's About Respect." Please let your members, officers and staff know that you have the respect and heartfelt thanks of the entire TWU Local 100 family.

Sincerely,
Roger Toussaint
President

Send protest letters to:

Governor George E. Pataki
State Capitol
Albany, NY 12224
fax (518) 474-1513

Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg
City Hall
New York, NY 10007
fax (212) 788-2460

NY State Attorney General
Eliot Spitzer
120 Broadway
New York, NY 10271
fax (212) 416-8139

Send solidarity messages to:

TWU Local 100
80 West End Avenue
New York, NY 10023
fax (212) 595-9875

ATU Local 726
1390 Castleton Avenue
Staten Island, NY 10302
fax (718) 698-2300

ATU Local 1056
1 Cross Island Plaza
133-33 Brookville Blvd., 2nd Floor
Rosedale, NY 11422-1491
fax (718) 949-6446

Please send copies to:

Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013-0099
fax (212) 406-2210

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
International rates $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail
❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)
❑ I would like to contribute $_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____
Address _____
_____ Apt. # _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____
866

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Protestants and Catholics Strike Together

Postal Strikes in Northern Ireland

The following article was written by our comrades of the Spartacist Group Ireland, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

A wildcat strike of several hundred Belfast postal workers rocked Northern Ireland in February when Protestant and Catholic members of the Communication Workers' Union (CWU) walked off the job to protest against constant harassment by Royal Mail management. The strike effectively shut down mail delivery in most of Belfast for over two weeks and crippled mail to and from Northern Ireland. It also provided a powerful illustration of how class struggle can break down the sectarian division between Catholic and Protestant workers. In a defiant show of opposition to sectarianism, striking trade unionists marched from Belfast's Protestant heartland, the Shankill Road, to the Catholic Falls Road on 7 February. Postal workers were immensely proud of this demonstration which was applauded by working-class members of both communities.

Spartacist Ireland

Belfast: Communication Workers' Union strikers march on City Hall, February 14.

In fact the working class is the only class with the social power and objective class interests to transcend the sectarian divide, which serves the capitalist exploiters. Striking workers told *Spartacist Ireland* that Protestant workers walked off the job at Belfast's Tomb Street depot in disgust at a management lie that a union member was involved in "harassment." They were immediately joined by Catholic workers, and the strike soon spread to the main mail office for Northern Ireland at Mallusk. Mallusk, north of Belfast, is in the same area where in January 2002 20-year-old Catholic postman Daniel McColgan was murdered by pro-British Loyalists. At the time, postal workers walked off the job for five days to protest against this heinous murder and against Loyalist threats to kill other Catholics working in Protestant areas.

Postal workers who spoke to *Spartacist Ireland* supporters were conscious and very proud that they belong to an integrated union and that they understood the need for Protestant and Catholic to stand together to resist the attacks of Royal Mail. Management threatened to take legal action against individual union representatives involved in the strike, demanding that they get people back to work or face being sued for the company's losses. Company intimidation efforts included sending men to hand-deliver letters to union representatives at their homes late at night. Every worker on the picket line had stories of vicious harassment and mistreatment by management, which many workers saw as an attack on the union.

Some strikers linked management harassment to last year's Loyalist marching season, when some workers—both Catholic and Protestant—wanted to start and finish their rounds early to avoid the violence that inevitably accompanies Orange Order marches, which are simply a pretext for anti-Catholic violence and intimidation. Management refused, thus forcing all workers to go out during the height of the violence, which last September was the worst in Belfast in years.

As Marxists we seek to bring a proletarian perspective to labor struggles, which means not simply supporting workers' unity in struggle, but addressing broader social questions. The starting point for struggle must be a recognition that Northern Ireland is a sectarian statelet based on the subjugation of the Catholic minority and divide-and-rule over the working class. Orange supremacy is violently enforced through the Orange state—the backbone of which is the RUC/PSNI (Royal Ulster Constabulary/Police Service of Northern Ireland) backed up by the British Army—both of which work in tandem with Loyalist death squads in the execution of Catholics.

Marxists stand for the defence of the oppressed Catholic community in Northern Ireland and fight against all forms of discrimination in jobs, housing and education. At the same time, we oppose Sinn Féin's nationalist perspective of a capitalist united Ireland in which Protestants would become an oppressed minority. This prospect only serves to consolidate the Protestants behind Loyalist bigots such as Ian Paisley, laying the basis for communalist terror, and is antithetical to a polarisation along *class* lines. In this situation of interpenetrated peoples and fratricidal nationalism, there can be no equitable solution short of the destruction of capitalism and the institution of workers rule. A key demand is for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the British Army, a precondition for any just solution. We seek a solution through a proletarian internationalist perspective for the British Isles: for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism, the clericalist state in the South, which is hideously oppressive of women, Travellers and workers, and the sectarian Orange state.

Supporters of *Spartacist Ireland* were welcomed on the picket lines by strikers. A report by one comrade said: "The first two guys to come over to greet us set the tone: one Catholic, one Protestant, totally proud of having marched up the Shankill and down the Falls, both delighted to talk to us and fully committed to staying out and fighting." Union official Eoin Davey is a Catholic and self-described Republican; his second-in-command is a Protestant. Davey proudly told us that when the branch leadership decided to provide each striker with a whistle for the march, the only shop that could provide enough whistles was a Loyalist memorabilia shop on the Shankill Road. Despite his fear of even venturing up the Shankill Road, a Catholic striker did so, accompanied by a Protestant union representative. The shop provided hundreds of whistles, but to the strikers' dismay, they all had straps bearing Union Jack flags. However, the woman at the counter suggested they could cut the flags off, which they did!

But despite the courage and determination of the strikers, the CWU national leadership left the striking workers isolated through their criminal refusal to support the strike. Both the national and local leadership even repudiated the strike in an effort to avoid reprisals under the anti-union laws. As one striker told *Spartacist Ireland*, he didn't need to hear that from his union.

There was support for the strike from the union ranks in England, while postal workers in southern Ireland donated £100,000 to the strikers. What was necessary was to spread the strike, not least to Derry and East Belfast. But that would have required a fight against the CWU leadership, who had previously negotiated a sell-out deal to end the wildcat strikes that swept London and the south of England during the winter of 2003-04. Thus they have sabotaged effective resistance to Royal Mail's plans to slash the size of the workforce and ultimately to destroy the union (see "Hayes & Co. Sabotage Wildcat Victory," *Workers Hammer* No. 186, Winter 2003-2004).

Displays of class unity by Protestant and Catholic workers are rare in Northern Ireland, but as revolutionaries we know that such opportunities will inevitably arise even in such a deeply segregated society. The postal workers' march evoked the memory of the mass demonstrations of Catholic and Protestant workers in Belfast in 1932 in opposition to unemployment. Back then the demonstrators also went to the Falls and Shankill Roads where they were joined by bands from both communities who found that the only non-sectarian tune that the bands could play was "Yes, We Have No Bananas!" But in the absence of the intervention by a Communist vanguard, instances of class unity on the basis of trade-union struggles will be fleeting, and the sectarian division will reassert itself once the struggle ends.

The most powerful instance of joint class struggle was the 1919 Belfast engineering strike (part of a wave of class struggle that swept Britain and Ireland after the Russian Revolution) in which Charles McKay, a socialist of Catholic background, led mainly Protestant workers to shut down all heavy industry and most of the city. The strike was betrayed by Labourite bureaucrats and smashed by the capitalist rulers. The aftermath of this defeat included a hideous wave of anti-Catholic pogroms the following year in which 9,000 Catholics were driven out of their jobs, as were 3,000 Protestant socialists and trade-union activists. This communalism laid the basis for the partition of Ireland in 1921 by British imperialism. The lesson of these struggles is the necessity for a revolutionary vanguard to intervene to win Catholic and Protestant workers to a proletarian revolutionary perspective that can transcend the sectarian divide, and to the understanding of the need to uproot the capitalist system that gives rise to it.

The imperialist "peace deal" is premised on Orange supremacy and the continued presence of the British Army. Catholics in working-class areas such as Belfast's Ardoyne or the Short Strand live in a constant state of siege, in constant fear of attack by the army, police and/or Loyalist mobs. Sectarian divisions have deepened to the point where Catholics and Protestants in working-class areas are divided by 30-foot-high steel "peace walls." A London *Guardian* report (24 September 2004) noted that "Northern Ireland is more segregated than ever, with a geographical apartheid that many feel is now worse than during the 30 years of the Troubles." It adds that "in Belfast 98% of working-class housing is segregated along religious lines. Protestants and Catholics tend to use different bus stops, shops, hospitals and more than 90% of children go to separate schools." In scenes reminiscent of the situation of American blacks prior to the civil rights movement, in 2001 Catholic children attending Holy Cross school were confronted daily by howling Loyalist mobs trying to prevent them from entering the school through the front door or even walking to school on a "Protestant" road.

Although Protestant workers are only marginally better off than their Catholic counterparts, there is a commonly held view that any improvement in the condition of one community will be at the expense of the other. This points to the need for workers struggles to break out of the framework of capitalist rule.

The postal strike highlighted the need for a class-struggle leadership of the working class in Northern Ireland. A union march on 14 February ended in a rally that was addressed by a host of bourgeois politicians from Sinn Féin and the SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party) as well as the Progressive Unionist Party, a political front for the murderous anti-Catholic UVF (Ulster Volunteer Force). The union leadership deferred to these individuals, all of whom represent parties whose role is to maintain the sectarian division and to uphold the capitalist system that foments it.

The Socialist Party (affiliated to Peter Taaffe's Committee for a Workers' International and to Socialist Alternative in the U.S.) makes occasional claims to stand for working-class politics. But far from class independence, they pander to Loyalist prejudices. One can get a whiff of

continued on page 9

My Name Is Rachel Corrie and Zionist Censorship

"If any of us had our lives and welfare completely strangled, lived with children in a shrinking place where we knew, because of previous experience, that soldiers and tanks and bulldozers could come for us at any moment and destroy all the greenhouses that we had been cultivating for however long, and did this while some of us were beaten and held captive with 149 other people for several hours—do you think we might try to use somewhat violent means to protect whatever fragments remained?... I really think, in a similar situation, most people would defend themselves as best they could."

—Rachel Corrie to her mother, 27 February 2003 (rachelswords.org)

On 16 March 2003, Rachel Corrie, a 23-year-old American defender of the Palestinians and a supporter of the International Solidarity Movement (ISM), was deliberately crushed by an Israeli bulldozer as she tried to stop the demolition of a Palestinian home. Now, three years later, the Zionists want to silence her powerful and moving voice again.

In 2005, the words of Rachel Corrie, taken from her journals and e-mails home, were brought to the London stage to sold-out crowds in a prize-winning play, *My Name Is Rachel Corrie*. The play was supposed to come to New York, but the New York Theater Workshop "indefinitely" postponed it. James C. Nicola, the theater's artistic director, announced that "after Ariel Sharon's illness and the election of Hamas, we had a very edgy situation.... We found that our plan to present a work of art would be seen as us taking a stand in a political conflict, that we didn't want to take" (London *Guardian*, 28 February).

The refusal to produce *My Name Is Rachel Corrie* is a craven capitulation to Zionist censorship; its effect is to silence opponents of the "collective punishment" of the Palestinian people by Israel's rulers. Katharine Viner, co-editor of the play along with Alan Rickman, wrote (*Guardian*, 1 March): "After all, she had made her journey to the Middle East in order to [quoting Rachel Corrie] 'meet the people who are on the receiving end of our tax dollars,' and she was killed by a US-made bulldozer...if a voice like this cannot be heard on a New York stage, what hope is there for anyone else? The non-American, the non-white, the non-dead, the oppressed?"

International Solidarity Movement photos

March 2003: Rachel Corrie courageously attempting to stop Israeli army bulldozer from razing Palestinian home, shortly before its driver deliberately ran her over.

In January 2004 Tom Hurndall, British supporter of the ISM, died after being shot by Israeli forces in Gaza. His and Rachel Corrie's deaths must be added to the huge toll of Palestinians who have perished at the hands of the arrogant Zionist state, which is stepping up its stranglehold on the Palestinian masses. With support from the U.S. ruling class, it is continuing to starve the Palestinian population, staging murderous missile attacks on civilians, rounding up and imprisoning men and boys, and carving up and walling in the Palestinians on their own land. Defend the Palestinians! Israeli troops, settlers out of all the Occupied Territories!

We honor the memory of Rachel Corrie, the kind of person we would seek to win to revolutionary Marxism. She "was a manifestly courageous, intelligent and decent young woman who died for the just cause of defending the besieged Palestinian people," as we wrote after her death (*WV* No. 800, 28 March 2003). Let Rachel Corrie's voice be heard!■

FBI Raids NYC Central Labor Council

Feds: Hands Off Labor!

In a sinister dawn raid, more than 20 FBI agents invaded New York City's Central Labor Council (CLC) offices in Manhattan on March 2. The Feds sealed off the CLC offices for hours as they rummaged through records. Then they hauled away computers, books and records belonging to the labor federation, which includes 400 local unions representing over one million workers. The flimsy pretext for this outrageous raid was to find out whether CLC president Brian McLaughlin "had been given use of an American Express card by electrical contractors," according to "law enforcement officials" (*New York Times*, 3 March). In another government attack on the union movement, on March 3 two labor officials in Los Angeles were indicted on charges of illegally using union personnel and funds in an election campaign. These government attacks are a threat to the entire labor movement.

Estrin/NY Times

New York CLC head Brian McLaughlin (left) with Mayor Michael Bloomberg, 2002.

In a statement following the raid, the CLC said that there were "currently no charges or allegations against the Central Labor Council or any of its officers, directors or employees." The FBI raid on the CLC was part of an investigation of alleged bid-rigging launched in the late 1990s under Democratic president Bill Clinton. CLC president Brian McLaughlin is being targeted—as director of the street lamps division of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 3, NYC's main union of electrical workers—for supposedly agreeing to deals to reduce labor costs for two electrical companies, enabling them to win city contracts.

We don't think McLaughlin and his cohorts on the Central Labor Council are class-struggle heroes. None of them did a damn thing to support the New York City transit workers strike last December. McLaughlin, a Democratic Party state assemblyman, embodies the trade-union bureaucracy's collaboration with the capitalists and their politicians—he even campaigned for Republican mayor Michael Bloomberg's re-election last year. Instrumental in nailing down no-strike labor agreements for the 2004 Republican National Convention, he was cited by Kathryn Wylde of the New York City Partnership and Chamber of Commerce as a labor leader who "has always been reasonable." But we understand that when the government intervenes into the unions, they are representing the exploiting capitalist class that is the deadly enemy of the working class.

In Los Angeles, the poisonous logic of dragging the unions into the courts of the class enemy is now playing out. Citing the Feds' investigation, Martin Ludlow resigned as executive secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor two weeks before his indictment. He is up on charges of illegally using union personnel and funds in his 2003 City Council campaign. Janett Humphries, former president of Service Employees International Union Local 99, was also indicted. In reaching a plea agreement, Ludlow promised to cooperate with the state as it seeks to hang other union officials. In turn, Humphries has initiated her own lawsuit, seeking to implicate higher union officers.

It is a lie that the courts, cops and officials of the capitalist state—whose purpose is to defend the profits, property and rule of the capitalist class—intervene into the unions to protect the members' interests. Who really believes that this strike-breaking, blood-soaked imperialist state, with its Halliburton/Bechtel/Pentagon sweetheart deals, wants to root out "corruption"? The raid on the New York City CLC and the L.A. prosecutions are just the latest cases in the government's decades-long effort to strangle the unions in the guise of "fighting corruption," especially if the unions flex some muscle. Over the past 15 years, the Feds have seized sweeping powers in the Teamsters, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees and the Laborers' International unions. They have restructured a number of major local district councils under threat of outright government takeover—often the result of lawsuits initiated by labor "oppositionists" who seek to ride the Feds' coattails into union office.

We fight for the complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state. The labor movement has plenty of problems, including sometimes corruption, but it's up to the workers themselves to clean them up. NYC's powerful transport workers union crippled the finance center of U.S. imperialism last winter, while Los Angeles has had a series of militant strikes over the past few years, largely fueled by immigrants from Latin America who bring with them a history of hard class struggle. These are the forces to which we look to defend our class. All NYC and L.A. labor must demand: Feds/cops hands off the unions!■

Spartacist League/SYC Forum

Mumia Is an Innocent Man!

The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Speaker: Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee, former counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal

Thursday, March 23, 7 p.m.
First Parish Church
3 Church St., Harvard Sq., Cambridge
(This forum is not sponsored by the First Parish Church.)

For more information: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

BOSTON

Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste Forum

Canadian Imperialists: Out of Afghanistan, Haiti!

Saturday, April 8, 7 p.m.
OISE, 252 Bloor St. West
University of Toronto
(at St. George Subway)

For more information: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

TORONTO

British SWP: Reformists Who Hailed Counterrevolution

"'Communism has collapsed,' our newspapers and TV declare. It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing."
—*Socialist Worker* (Britain)
31 August 1991

Der Spiegel

Corbis

British SWP rejoiced over capitalist counterrevolution in USSR. Left: Russian Orthodox priest on Yeltsin's barricades, August 1991. Right: Desperate men and women sell possessions at makeshift market in Moscow, 1993.

They Fought for the Post-Soviet World, Now They've Got It

We reprint below an article that originally appeared in Workers Hammer *No. 194 (Spring 2006), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League.*

In August 1991, when Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary forces backed by George Bush Sr. seized power, every capitalist ruling class on the planet was triumphant. They loudly proclaimed this to be the "death of communism," hoping to bury the prospect of working-class revolution that the Soviet Union represented. Equally jubilant was the Socialist Workers Party [SWP—then affiliated to the International Socialist Organization in the U.S.], whose front page trumpeted: "Communism Has Collapsed" followed by "Now Fight for Real Socialism." The article described this as "a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker*, 31 August 1991).

We of the ICL fought with all our resources against counterrevolution. While the SWP was "rejoicing" for Yeltsin, our comrades in Moscow distributed by the thousands a leaflet dated 27 August 1991 titled: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" which said:

> "The working people of the Soviet Union, and indeed the workers of the world, have suffered an unparalleled disaster whose devastating consequences are now being played out. The ascendancy of Boris Yeltsin, who offers himself as Bush's man, coming off a botched coup by Mikhail Gorbachev's former aides, has unleashed a counterrevolutionary tide across the land of the October Revolution."
>
> —reprinted in Spartacist pamphlet, *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled* (1993)

Our leaflet emphatically stated that, although Yeltsin & Co. then saw their way clear to implement the reintroduction of capitalism, ***the outcome had not yet been definitively decided.*** In calling on Soviet workers to defeat Yeltsin-Bush, we said that "Soviet workers are facing a disaster of catastrophic proportions: every gain for which they, their parents and grandparents sacrificed is on the chopping block." In the ensuing months the Soviet working class did not mobilise in resistance to the encroaching capitalist restoration and thus counterrevolution triumphed. Due to decades of Stalinist lies and misrule, the working class was atomised and bereft of any leadership that opposed capitalism. It also lacked any consistent socialist consciousness and was sceptical of class struggle in the capitalist countries.

What we said at the time has been overwhelmingly confirmed by subsequent events. The political landscape around the world today is still conditioned by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. The final undoing of the world's first workers state ushered in a global offensive against the world's working class and oppressed by the imperialist ruling classes. The programme that the ICL upheld—that of Trotsky's Left Opposition and of the Bolshevik Party that led the October Revolution—was proven correct. We fought to the end for unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, while fighting for workers political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and replace them with regimes based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism. This is the programme we apply today to the remaining deformed workers states—China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam.

In sharp contrast, the SWP got what they wanted in 1991. They rejoiced in Yeltsin's triumph because it represented victory for what their tendency has stood for since it came into existence: the notion that imperialist "democracy" is preferable to Stalinism. In this post-Soviet ideological climate, which is dominated by the widespread belief that "communism is dead," the SWP projected there would be a radicalisation. This was pure fantasy. Having contributed to this climate throughout the Cold War, and having spent the past 15 years trying to cash in on it, long-time SWP hack John Molyneux has criticised the party leadership because the SWP is not getting the pay-off. At a January SWP conference Molyneux stood as an oppositional candidate for election to the Central Committee on a document exposing the fact that, even according to the SWP's vastly inflated figures, "somewhere during this period of radicalisation and outward success the party appears to have lost up to 5,000 (50%) of its membership (without acknowledging that this was happening)" (from "Why I Intend to Stand" by John Molyneux, published in *Weekly Worker*, 5 January).

While Molyneux wants to bring the SWP's expectations into line with today's political climate, he firmly upholds the SWP's support for counterrevolution—the SWP's very own contribution to that climate. Molyneux writes:

> "A key problem, in my opinion, was our estimation of the effects of the collapse of Stalinism. We were right to identify this as fundamentally historically progressive and to argue that internationally it created a space for genuine socialist ideas to get a hearing. However we seriously underestimated the extent to which it was perceived by millions, indeed hundreds of millions as the defeat of socialism. This led to what was a major characteristic of the 90s and is still with us today: namely a yawning gap between the large numbers who could be mobilised against various things (pit closures, the criminal justice bill, the nazis, 'capitalism,' war) and the small number who could be recruited for active revolutionary socialism."
>
> —*Weekly Worker*, 5 January

Molyneux's statement that the collapse of Stalinism was "fundamentally historically progressive" is a declaration of support to the SWP's political perspective that the restoration of capitalism was preferable to Stalinism. Well, Molyneux and the SWP got what they wanted. For anyone not blinded by anti-communist loyalty to "democratic" imperialism, the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was a ***defeat of historic proportions for the working masses of the whole world.*** In the former Soviet Union alone, from 1991 to 1997 gross domestic product fell by over 80 per cent; according to (understated) official statistics, capital investment dropped by over 90 per cent. By the middle of the 1990s, 40 per cent of the Russian population was living below the official poverty line and a further 36 per cent only slightly above it. Millions were starving; unemployment was massive; life expectancy plummeted. Life for women was drastically altered for the worse, and there was a resurgence of religious backwardness, both Russian Orthodox and Muslim.

This followed the devastating consequences of the tide of counterrevolution that had swept the former deformed workers states in Eastern Europe and led to the capitalist reunification of Germany in 1990. In the "one superpower" world, U.S. imperialism's military might allows it to dominate the world and to rape and plunder neocolonial countries such as Iraq. All the imperialist powers feel they have free rein to grind the working class at home and are trying to reverse historic gains for workers, as seen in the Blair government's attacks on wages, pensions and welfare provision. However it is not the repercussions of counterrevolution for the working masses of the world that bother Molyneux, whose only concern is that the SWP's numbers have plummeted.

Vitali S. Latov

Socialist Challenge

Pyongyang, North Korea, devastated by U.S. bombs during 1950-53 Korean War. Tony Cliff (inset) broke from international Trotskyism, refusing to defend North Korean deformed workers state under attack by U.S. and British imperialism.

The Significance of the Russian Revolution

Historically the destruction of the Soviet Union through counterrevolution in 1991-92 represented the final undoing of the

continued on page 8

Parliamentary Cretinism

ISO Goes All the Way with Capitalist Greens

Josh On

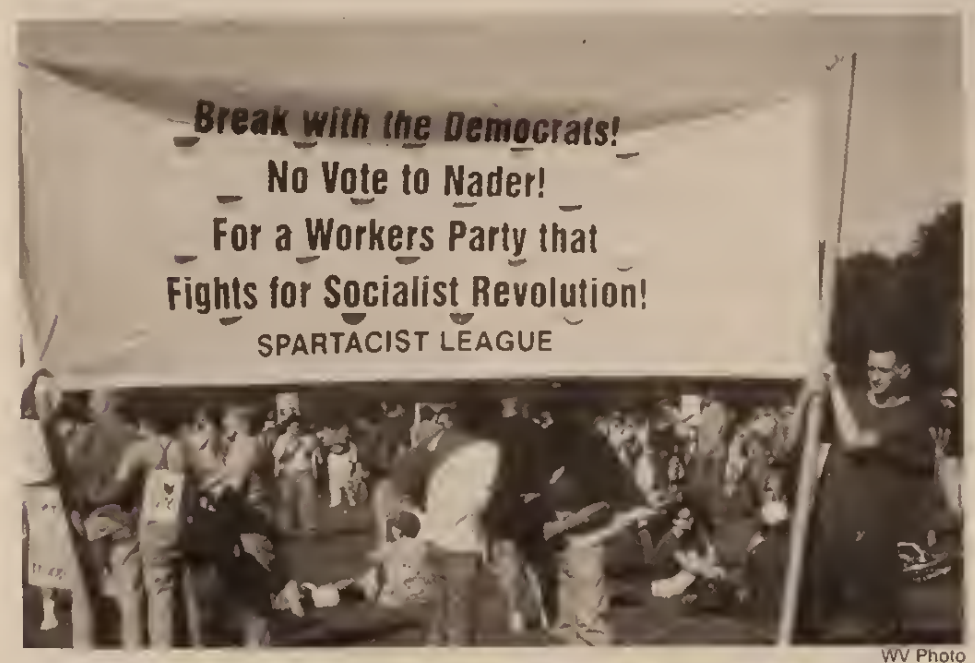
December 2005: Todd Chretien (second from left) launches candidacy for capitalist Green Party ticket in front of Democratic senator Dianne Feinstein's San Francisco office.

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) is running candidates for the Green Party, a *capitalist* party putting forward a *capitalist* program. Foremost among these efforts is Todd Chretien's "Million Votes for Peace" campaign—directed against pro-war incumbent Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein—for the Green nomination for California Senate in the June primary elections. As our Los Angeles comrades wrote in a leaflet distributed to an event last month addressed by Chretien (reprinted in *WV* No. 865, 3 March):

> "The only way to end this system of imperialist war and colonial occupations, like in Iraq, is through socialist revolution to do away with capitalism that generates racism and war. The ISO's strategy of pressure politics and class collaboration, whether in the streets or at the ballot box, is an ***obstacle*** to fighting for the necessary mobilization of ***independent working-class struggle*** against imperialist war and the capitalist rulers."

The avowed socialists of the ISO are trampling on the most fundamental of Marxist principles: the political independence of the proletariat. More than 150 years ago, Karl Marx argued against calls for the German workers to support a petty-bourgeois party. In his 1850 "Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League," Marx declared, "The proletariat would lose its whole independent, laboriously achieved position and once more sink down to being an appendage of official bourgeois democracy. This union must, therefore, be most decisively rejected."

The ISO has acted as an appendage of bourgeois democracy from its inception, when it made common cause with the imperialists in their drive for counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. It is fully in character with the ISO's abject reformism that it has now pitched its tent in a party of the class enemy.



WV Photo

Spartacists at 2004 Republican National Convention protests in New York City raised call for revolutionary workers party.

ISO and the Greens: From Flirtation to Consummation

The aim of the Spartacist League is to forge a workers party modeled on the Bolshevik Party that led the workers to power in Russia in the October Revolution of 1917. This task requires political struggle against the trade-union bureaucracy and reformist leftists who act to keep the working class politically chained to the bourgeoisie in its Democratic Party face.

The ISO's Lance Selfa promotes their work in the Greens as a fight for an "independent left-wing alternative outside the Democratic Party" (*Socialist Worker*, 8 April 2005). This is a cynical hoax. When anti-union populist Ralph Nader—heavily backed by the ISO—ran for president on the Green Party ticket in 2000, he said his campaign was "going to be a real hammer on the Democrats. It's going to pull them in the right direction" (*LA Weekly*, 30 June 2000). Four years later, ISOers who had joined the Green Party fought (unsuccessfully) for the party to run Nader again. Running on his own, this "alternative" told the *New York Times* (10 January 2004) that his campaign "could work to the Democrats' advantage." By pounding populist themes, the article reported, Nader would "force the leading Democratic contenders to move left. That, he says, would expand the party's base."

As part of Greens for Democracy and Independence (GDI), the ISO is embroiled in a Green Party debate over *how best* to pressure the Democrats to fight the Bush administration. The GDI wants the Greens to give the Democrats a push from the outside; its opponents openly work with the Democratic Party's Progressive Democrats of America. Making the ISO's reformist aims explicit, a *Socialist Worker* (21 November 2003) report on a gathering of "left-wing" Green activists stated that "an alternative independent of both parties" is "the only thing that will ever force the politicians to do what we want."

The backdrop to this debate is the Democrats' drive to take back Congress (and the White House) by posing as the better "war on terror" party. *Socialist Worker* (24 February) is left to lament that "the Democrats aren't interested in carrying an antiwar message, much less an oppositional message, into the fall campaign." In a letter to the *Nation* (2 January) announcing his campaign, Chretien stated that he "was very encouraged to read that your editorial board will not endorse *prowar* Democrats in 2006" (emphasis added). This is a shameless appeal to liberals who, like the *Nation*, oppose the Iraq occupation because it undermines the imperialists' "war on terror."

With the Democrats trying to steal the Republicans' thunder, the Greens provide disgruntled liberals with a way station on the road back into the Democratic Party. This is typical of "progressive" bourgeois third parties in the U.S. Thus in 1948, as the Democratic Truman administration was spearheading the anti-Soviet Cold War, Henry Wallace's Progressive Party ran on a "pro-labor" stance and called for "friendship" with the Soviet Union. Wallace, who had been vice president under Franklin D. Roosevelt, was supported by the Stalinist Communist Party under the rubric of the "anti-monopoly coalition." (Nader was similarly touted as an opponent of "corporate greed," while the 1960s' Peace and Freedom Party offered a left-sounding program against racism and the Vietnam War in order to channel social discontent into bourgeois electoralism.) In reality, Wallace only had tactical differences with the mainstream Democrats over the interests of U.S. capitalism. Four years later, he recanted and lent his voice to the anti-Soviet crusade.

James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, refuted the argument that Henry Wallace was not a capitalist candidate because the capitalists did not support him. At a 1948 Central Committee plenum of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, Cannon remarked: "The class character of the party is determined first by its program; secondly by its actual policy in practice; and thirdly by its composition and control. The Wallace party is bourgeois on all these counts.... We have to stir up the workers against this imposter, and explain to them that they will never get a party of their own by accepting substitutes."

When Spartacists condemn Chretien for running in a capitalist party, he responds that if the Greens were bourgeois they would have a lot more money. But that only makes the Greens a *small-time* bourgeois party. Its 2004 platform reads: "Greens support small business, responsible stakeholder capitalism, and broad and diverse forms of economic cooperation." Its eccentric, reactionary positions such as "creating and spreading local currencies and barter systems" and its insistence that "there is a fundamental conflict between economic growth and environmental protection" are pitched to layers of the petty bourgeoisie concerned with ecology and small-scale production. We noted in "The California Recall and the Left" (*WV* No. 812, 24 October 2003): "This anti-industrial stance is fundamentally anti-working-class, dreaming of a long-gone pre-industrial age, an America of small farms and small businesses...and rural idiocy and backwardness."

In his 2000 campaign, Nader was all but silent on the oppression of black people, but quite vocal in joining a racist, chauvinist chorus against Mexican truckers on U.S. roads and dismissing women's rights as "gonadal politics." Three years later, ISO favorite Peter Camejo, the "progressive investment banker," declared on his Web site as he was running for California governor: "The Green Party is the party of law and order." "Law and order" is the standard racist code word for bringing cop terror down on the ghettos and barrios.

It comes as no surprise that the Green Party embraces elements of the ideologically ultra-capitalist Libertarian Party, which appeals to the same layer of professionals, small business owners and intelleetuals as the Greens. The Libertarians hate unions, taxes on the rich and social programs for black people and the poor. None of this stopped *Socialist Worker* (5 August 2005) from spilling favorable ink over one Kevin Zeese, a Libertarian cohort of the ISO in the GDI. An incurable bout of parliamentary cretinism has the ISO stumbling around in a fantasy world where a bloc of liberals and right-wing reactionaries constitutes a "left alternative"! Then again, the anti-communist ISO and Libertarians earlier found a common purpose when both

continued on page 9

AP

German troops in Macedonia near Kosovo border. Greens in German coalition government joined 1999 U.S./NATO war against Serbia.

British SWP...

(continued from page 6)

Russian Revolution of October 1917. A defining event of the 20th century, that revolution was the greatest victory for the working people of the world. For the first time in history the programme of proletarian revolution became flesh-and-blood reality under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party. The young workers state was a beacon of liberation: it decreed land to the peasants; pulled Russia out of the imperialist war; eliminated laws discriminating against women and homosexuals and recognised the right of self-determination for oppressed peoples. Production was collectivised and planned according to need—for jobs, housing, health care and education.

Under conditions of imperialist encirclement, extreme scarcity and social backwardness, a bureaucracy coalesced around J.V. Stalin. The proletariat had been decimated by the imperialist war and by the Civil War of 1918-20 against internal counterrevolutionary forces that were backed by invading armies of 14 capitalist countries. The failure of the German revolution in 1923 was a decisive factor in the isolation and resulting degeneration of the Soviet state. The Stalinist bureaucracy usurped political power in 1923-24 and later adopted the nationalist dogma that socialism could be built in one country (i.e., Russia). This was a renunciation of the Marxist understanding that socialism is a classless society based on abundance, requiring an international division of labour, which in turn requires proletarian revolution in several advanced capitalist countries.

The SWP rejected the programme of Trotsky and the Left Opposition, who systematically fought against the degeneration of the Soviet Union, seeking to maintain it as a bastion of world revolution. Trotsky defended the Soviet Union because it remained a workers state based on the planned, collectivised economy, while fighting against the bureaucratic misrule of the Stalinists. As he pointed out in *The Revolution Betrayed* written in 1936, the fact that within a decade the country had been transformed from a backward peasant-dominated country into an industrial powerhouse demonstrated the power of the planned economy, ***despite*** the bureaucracy. These gains included the collectivised economy that enabled the Soviet Red Army to smash the Nazis and liberate Eastern Europe and allowed the USSR to develop the military might to act as a counterweight to U.S. imperialism. Despite Stalinist degeneration, the fundamental gains of the October Revolution remained until the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. Whereas Trotsky insisted that the Stalinist bureaucracy was an unstable caste, the SWP adopted the "theory" that the Soviet Union was "state capitalist" and that the bureaucracy was a new ruling class.

Korea and the Cliff Group

The SWP originated out of a capitulation to the anti-Soviet hysteria that accompanied the Korean War of 1950-53 by its founder, the late Tony Cliff, who broke from the Trotskyist Fourth International on the question of defence of the Soviet Union and other workers states. Cliff's break from Trotskyism was precipitated by the anti-communist Cold War hysteria that accompanied the outbreak of the Korean War. He reneged on the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defence of the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states against imperialist attack, which took place under the auspices of the United Nations. This was a cowardly capitulation to the British bourgeoisie and to the Labour government that dispatched British troops to Korea.

As we wrote in "The Bankruptcy of 'New Class' Theories" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 55, Autumn 1999):

> "The 'new class' theories of these renegades from Trotskyism like [1939 renegade from Trotskyism in the U.S., Max] Shachtman and Cliff were an attempt to justify their betrayal of the class interests of the proletariat and their own reconciliation with capitalism by denying the working-class nature of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the post-WWII East European deformed workers states. In reality these 'theories' were nothing but attempts—dressed up in pseudo-Marxist terminology—to conceal their real program of capitulation to anti-communist bourgeois public opinion and the renunciation of a proletarian revolutionary perspective...."

The article further noted:

> "While clinging to their threadbare theories, the Cliffites and their ilk are oddly modest about their real contribution. The restoration of capitalism in the USSR and East Europe was the implementation of their program. Like Shachtman, who supported Washington's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, Cliff & Co. did their utmost to seek to bring victory to U.S. imperialism in the Cold War, lusting for the bloodying of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, championing the 'trade union' credentials of Solidarność—instrument of the Vatican, Wall Street and Western social democracy for capitalist counterrevolution in Poland—and vicariously dancing with the black marketeers, monarchists and yuppies on Yeltsin's barricades in 1991."

Political Consciousness in the Post-Soviet World

In many countries of the world, hundreds of thousands have taken to the streets in protests against the Iraq War and there have been significant mobilisations in opposition to "globalisation." But to win elements from these protests to revolutionary Marxism requires recognising that counterrevolution has been accompanied by a massive regression in political consciousness. As we stated in a report of the ICL's fourth international conference of Autumn 2003: "The political worldview of the generation that has been politicized by hatred of 'global capitalism' and opposition to the war against Iraq is for the most part far removed from historical materialism and a proletarian perspective, and these youth confront a world in which Marxism is widely portrayed as a relic of the past" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 58, Spring 2004).

The SWP's answer to the retrogression of consciousness is to adapt to it by moving further to the right, increasingly abandoning their erstwhile claim to be the "socialist alternative," which only ever amounted to pressuring the Labour Party to pressure British imperialism. Accepting the framework of "democratic" British capitalism, their programme amounts to unashamed class collaboration, which is amply demonstrated by the Stop the War Coalition (StWC) and Respect. The StWC is a cross-class bloc of leftists (the SWP, Socialist Party, Workers Power and others) and union bureaucrats in coalition with elements of bourgeois parties (the Greens) as well as Christian and Muslim organisations. Its purpose is to unite with all the forces who uphold the capitalist status quo, but disagree with Blair over Iraq. This is in flat contradiction to the Marxist understanding that opposition to war must be linked to a struggle against the capitalist system that gives rise to war. In Britain such a struggle must be premised on the need for workers revolution to overthrow British imperialism.

The Respect coalition is the SWP's most blatant acceptance of the British imperialist status quo to date. Led by maverick MP [Member of Parliament] George Galloway, this coalition makes no pretence to being a working-class formation. From the outset SWP leaders made sure that no formal commitment to "socialism" appeared in its programme and voted down a motion calling for the abolition of the monarchy. Within Respect, the SWP tailored their demands to the mosques, abandoning the struggle for women's liberation or gay rights in all but name, and they have not publicly disagreed with Galloway on abortion, which he opposes. A recent article in the SWP's press attacks Richard Dawkins, a leading defender of atheism and of science against religious obscurantism. *Socialist Worker* (21 January) complains that Dawkins "can only view religion in an abstract sense—as a set of ideas that need to be fought." Marxism is based on dialectical materialism and atheism and therefore regards every religion as a set of ideas that need to be fought. Religion serves as a kind of consolation for material oppression and degradation, and therefore Marxists explain that for the masses to reject religion requires overcoming the material conditions that give rise to it.

Respect purports to represent Britain's Muslims, who are among the poorest sections of the population and are foremost targets of the government's racist "war on terror" at home. Far from representing the interests of any oppressed minority, Respect is based on a bald-faced acceptance by the SWP of racist British capitalist rule, based on the monarchy, the House of Lords, the established Protestant churches and parliament. Respect certainly does not represent the interests of the working class, minorities or women. It ought to repel young activists who want to fight to overthrow the racist system of capitalist exploitation and to liberate women from the yoke of oppression and religious reaction—whether it comes from church, temple or mosque.

For all the SWP's opportunist adaptations, Respect does not appear to be the get-rich-quick scheme they imagined. George Galloway spent much of January locked in Channel 4's *Celebrity Big Brother* TV show, allegedly trying to "reach a wider audience." This made him and the SWP a laughing stock on the left, gave New Labour a stick to beat him with and didn't go down well with some devout Muslims.

The SWP's capitulation to Islamic forces in Respect is a continuation of their cheering for the victory of the reactionary ayatollahs in the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran. This was followed by their support to the U.S. and British imperialists against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, where the Soviet Red Army was fighting a CIA-backed insurgency of mullahs, warlords and tribal chieftains. We said "Hail Red Army!" and "Extend the social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan was a prelude to counterrevolution in the USSR itself, which found the SWP rejoicing. Throughout our existence as a tendency, the ICL has placed the Trotskyist programme for defence and extension of the gains of the October Revolution at the centre of our work. As we noted in "The Bankruptcy of 'New Class' Theories," all the "state capitalist" and "new class" theories of the USSR "were predicated on the search for an illusory 'third camp' between capitalism and Stalinism, which always proved sooner or later (mainly sooner) to be firmly situated at the side of their 'own' ruling class. We take pride in having fought to the limits of our ability to defend the remaining gains of October against imperialism and counterrevolution."■

"Leftist" MP George Galloway, acting as a "pussy cat" on British reality show *Big Brother*, made opportunist SWP a laughing stock.

Spartacist Ireland

Publication of the Spartacist Group Ireland

€4/4 issues—Britain, Ireland (Europe outside Britain and Ireland: €7; Other: €10)

Order from/mail to:
Dublin Spartacist Group
PO Box 2944, Dublin 1, Ireland

Workers Hammer

Newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain

£3/1 year—Britain, Ireland (Europe outside Britain and Ireland: £5; Other: £7)

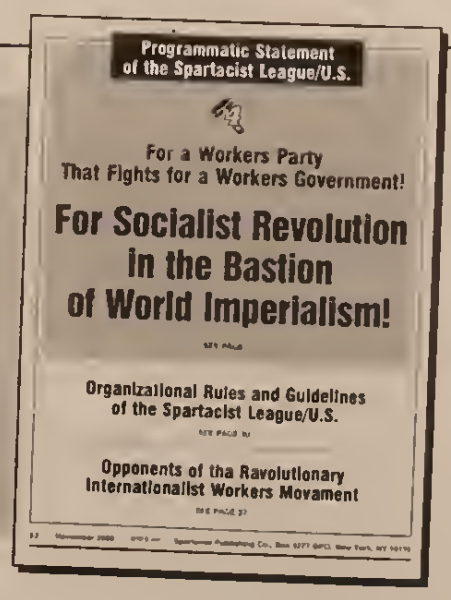
Order from/mail to:
Spartacist Publications
PO Box 1041, London NW5 3EU, England

Order from/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

$2 (40 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



ISO...

(continued from page 7)

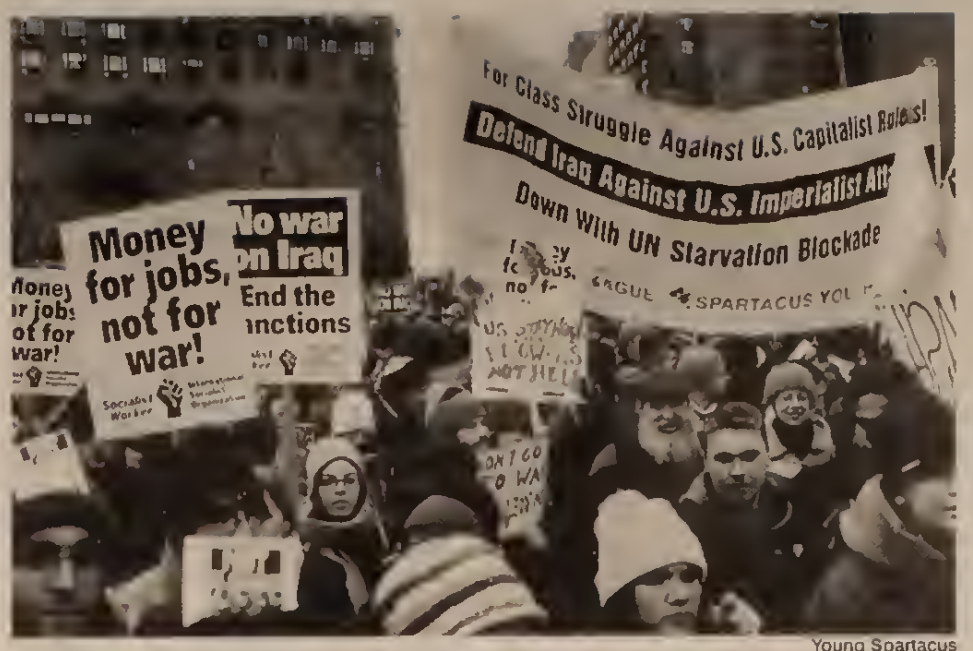
served as foot soldiers in the imperialists' anti-Soviet Cold War.

Only Socialist Revolution Can End Imperialist War

As to Chretien's "Million Votes for Peace," we offer the words of revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky: "It is impossible to fight against imperialist war by sighing for peace after the fashion of the pacifists.... A peace concluded by imperialists would only be a breathing spell before a new war. Only a revolutionary mass struggle against war and against imperialism which breeds war can secure a real peace" ("Lenin and Imperialist War," December 1938).

Before and during the U.S. invasion of Iraq, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Clubs called for military defense of semicolonial Iraq while politically opposing Saddam Hussein's bloody capitalist regime. Today we say: All U.S. and allied troops out of Iraq and Afghanistan! When insurgents strike against the U.S. occupiers, they strike against the greatest enemy of the working people and oppressed of the world. However, we are intransigent opponents of the murderous communal violence against ethnic, religious and national populations often carried out by the forces fighting the occupation armies. We call for international working-class struggle against the capitalist rulers, above all in the U.S. Our perspective is to defeat U.S. imperialism through socialist revolution.

Chretien's bourgeois "peace" campaign is of a piece with the ISO's efforts to build antiwar coalitions like United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ) around pacifist slogans to "Stop the war!" The call to defend Iraq was anathema to the ISO, which wanted to build a "movement" extending to anti-Bush Democrats to pressure the imperialists to end the war. This policy of *class collaboration*—



Young Spartacus

NYC, February 2003: While ISO seeks to pressure imperialists to change priorities (see sign at left), SYC fights for perspective of smashing imperialist order.

linking up with bourgeois forces whose concern is how best to carry out U.S. imperialism's interests—is the antithesis of mobilizing the proletariat in class struggle against the capitalist rulers. The ISO moaned about the withering of the antiwar protests in 2004 as pressure mounted to get out the vote for "anybody but Bush." But the fact is that the liberal program of all the antiwar coalitions—UFPJ, the ANSWER coalition of the Workers World Party and Party for Socialism and Liberation, and the NION initiative of the Revolutionary Communist Party—fed right into John Kerry's campaign.

While the ISO claims to oppose United Nations intervention in Iraq and elsewhere, they allied with liberals in UFPJ who preferred that U.S. imperialism pursue its predatory wars under the UN fig leaf. Meanwhile, the Green Party openly calls for UN intervention. A Green Party "issue position comparison" posted on its Web site states: "Greens favor giving the UN and a regional coalition a major role in dealing with security issues during Iraq's transition to a new government." The 2004 Green Party platform called for the U.S. "to render military assistance or service under U.N. command" to enforce Security Council resolutions. When the German Greens in 1999 held the foreign ministry in a coalition government, these "pacifists" helped carry out the U.S.-led NATO war against Serbia.

With mounting calls in bourgeois circles for an "exit strategy" out of the Iraq quagmire, Chretien is fond of repeating the liberals' patriotic slogan of choice: "Bring our troops home now!" Lynndie England and her fellow Abu Ghraib torturers are the true face of "our" troops carrying out the brutal occupation of Iraq. Taking the oldest page from the reformist playbook, Chretien calls for a "dramatic *reductian* in military spending in order to finance a radical reconstruction plan, both for New Orleans and for our public schools and hospitals" (todd4senate.org, emphasis added). In other words, calling for some shutter and slightly fewer guns from a government whose military budget is greater than that of the next 19 countries combined. In the tradition of German revolutionary Marxists Wilhelm and Karl Liebknecht, we say: Not one person, not one penny for the U.S. imperialist military!

Speaking from the floor at a March 1 New York City event featuring Chretien and others, an SL spokesman remarked that the ISO had "thrown away any 'antiwar' pretensions when they did their utmost to assist U.S. imperialism in their drive to destroy the Soviet Union." When Boris Yeltsin, backed by Bush Sr., seized power in Moscow in August 1991 and set in process the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet workers state, *Socialist Worker* (September 1991) cheered that the collapse of Communist Party rule "should have every genuine socialist rejoicing." The collapse of the Soviet Union—a world-historic *defeat* for the proletariat—has resulted in social catastrophe for the peoples of the former Soviet Union and emboldened the U.S. imperialists to pursue their unbridled appetite for world domination. (See "They Fought for the Post-Soviet World, Now They've Got It," page 6, for an in-depth polemic against the anti-Soviet tendency that spawned the ISO.)

In contrast, we fought to the end to defend the Soviet degenerated workers state and East European deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. We called for proletarian political revolution to restore soviet democracy and defend the social gains of the October Revolution through their extension internationally. Today we raise this program in defense of the remaining deformed workers states—China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam. This is a crucial axis of the struggle for socialist revolutions in the U.S. and around the world—the only road to destroying capitalist imperialism. As for the ISO, anti-communism abroad has always meant class betrayal at home.■

Belfast...

(continued from page 4)

what they stand for from the statement by Socialist Party TD (member of parliament) Joe Higgins when a Loyalist mob attempted to march in Ireland through Dublin city centre on 25 February under the banner of "Love Ulster." This provocation failed because it was met by a determined protest of working-class youth and Republicans, who faced physical attacks by Dublin cops and a barrage of condemnation by capitalist politicians. Higgins stated in the Dáil (Irish parliament): "The Socialist Party condemns those who orchestrated Saturday's violence. It was a sectarian riot to prevent the Love Ulster group marching through Dublin" (available on socialistparty.net, 1 March). The Socialist Party refuses to call for British troops out of Northern Ireland and is willfully blind to the oppression of Catholics. It has a track record of championing the "right" of the Orange Order to stage their anti-Catholic provocations. We stand in solidarity with the Dublin protesters who sent these Loyalist thugs home with their tails between their legs. At the same time we give no political support to the Republican nationalists, whose politics reinforce the sectarian division within the working class.

Another organisation active during the postal strikes was the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which hailed the decision by Royal Mail to concede a "modest but crucial demand": an "independent review of employee relations and industrial relations," into which "Royal Mail has guaranteed that there will be no interference in the process or outcome" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 18 February). Leaving aside the reformist acceptance of "guarantees" from Royal Mail, Marxists stand for class independence and warn against any reliance on such "reviews" or inquiries. We argued with workers on the picket lines that it was necessary to rely only on their own power and, crucially, to spread the strike. By promoting the call for an "independent review," the SWP helped cover for the union bureaucracy, which was hell-bent on containing the dispute and preventing workers elsewhere going out in solidarity.

Although sectarian hostility in Northern Ireland can often seem intractable, when major instances of integrated working-class struggle do occur, intervention by a communist vanguard will make a decisive difference to the outcome. We are dedicated to building vanguard parties capable of bringing socialist consciousness to the working classes of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales and to the fight for an Irish workers republic as part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles.■

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

BAY AREA

Thursday, March 30, 5 p.m.

The Russian Revolution

SF State University, Rosa Parks F

Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, April 8, 2 p.m.

After the Revolution: Economic Planning and the Communist Social Vision

3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Near Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

Wednesday, March 22, 7:30 p.m.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Columbia University, 703 Hamilton Hall
116th Street and Broadway
(take 1 train to 116th St.)

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, March 22, 5 p.m.

Trotskyism vs. Bourgeois Nationalism: For International Workers Revolution to Defeat Imperialism!

University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 224

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: tllt@look.ca

Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
tllt@look.ca

Abortion...

(continued from page 1)

in its opposition to any drug, vaccine, or initiative that could be interpreted as lessening the risks associated with premarital sex." From their hostility to science to their criminal response to the raging worldwide AIDS pandemic, one thing is clear: to these demented religious fanatics, death is preferable to sex.

The onslaught against abortion rights is the spearhead for generalized social reaction. The anti-sex witchhunt in this current period of U.S. history began in the late 1970s and achieved full flower with AIDS hysteria and the child sex abuse witchhunts. Overall it served the purpose of bolstering the legitimacy of capitalist law and of fomenting anxiety and bigotry in the service of the social regimentation of the population behind the aims of U.S. imperialism at home and abroad.

Break with the Democrats!

The capitalist Democratic Party is seen as at least standing for the legal right to abortion, even though Democrats today pander to the anti-woman, anti-sex Christian fundamentalist bigots who thunder about sin and guilt, "woman's place" as subordinate to her husband, and her role as a "vessel" to produce babies whether she wants to or not. The Democrats' "pro-choice" position is paper-thin, catering to middle-class and bourgeois women—in practice they have repeatedly slashed access to abortion for working women and the poor. Hillary Clinton today expresses her "respect" for those opposing abortion rights, as do Howard Dean and other leading Democrats. In this November's elections, the Democrats' senatorial candidate in Pennsylvania against the loathsome all-sided reactionary Rick Santorum is Bob Casey Jr., who opposes abortion rights entirely.

The first major post-*Roe* attack on abortion rights took place under "born-again" Democrat Jimmy Carter, who in 1977 sneered, "There are many things in life that are not fair," as he signed into law the Hyde Amendment that eliminated abortion coverage from the Medicaid health plans of 23 million poor women. The Democratic administration of Bill Clinton carried out a relentless campaign against poor and black women that went virtually unopposed by feminists as long as abortion remained formally legal. In 1996, as part of his campaign to "end welfare as we know it," Clinton signed the "Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act," which slashed benefits for women and children and was a recipe for starvation and death for the most vulnerable members of society.

During Clinton's eight years in office, safe access to abortion was effectively gutted across much of the country, as the number of abortion providers plummeted 14 percent between 1992 and 1996, and a huge number of laws chipping away abortion rights, including parental consent regulations targeting teenagers, were passed. Some 87 percent of U.S. counties have no abortion clinics, which are now outnumbered by "crisis pregnancy centers"—fake clinics set up by anti-abortion groups whose purpose is to subject pregnant women to anti-abortion propaganda and otherwise pressure them to carry the fetus to term.

Ruling Class Reaction, Religion and the Family

The oppression of women is rooted in the institution of the family, which arose with the advent of private property as the mechanism for passing property from one generation to the next—the monogamous wife is supposed to ensure the paternity of the heirs. The family serves in general as the social mechanism for rearing the next generation, and under capitalism, where the masses of youth are slated for wage slavery or service as cannon fodder in the armed forces, it seeks to instill obedience to authority. The institutions of organized religion and the family enforce social conservatism and conformity to the "family values" ideal. The institution of the family reinforces, as Friedrich Engels put it, "the supremacy of the man over the woman, and the individual family as the economic unit of society" (*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, 1884).

The private property system, upheld by the state, and the family are the most basic and deeply intertwined aspects of class society. They cannot be "reformed" away. To succeed in winning freedom for women requires a workers socialist revolution to overturn capitalist property relations. While we fight to defend every gain wrested through hard struggle from this ruling class, the inescapable conclusion must be that the entire capitalist system must go, and a workers state created, which will rest on a collectivized and planned economy where production is for human need, not profit.

Johnson/ZUMA

California inmate chained to her bed after giving birth. Though now banned in California, this barbaric practice is common in U.S. prisons.

As Karl Marx wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848): "On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain.... The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital." A workers government will be able to begin to provide social alternatives—in caring for children, the sick, the elderly, for housework, etc.—to the oppressive family structure. Religion, too, which enforces mindless subordination to "higher authority," instilling so much guilt and misery, will begin to wither as its state props are kicked away. In a world of plenty, much of the despair and ignorance which drives people to seek solace in religion will be gone.

The young Soviet workers state, created by the 1917 Russian Revolution led by the Bolshevik Party, acted on this understanding of women's oppression and did more to liberate women than any other society in history. While inheriting a largely peasant society devastated by the First World War and a bloody civil war, the Bolsheviks made heroic efforts to replace the family with social alternatives. They were the first government in the world to overturn criminal penalties for abortion in 1920 (health concerns prevented earlier legalization in those days before antibiotics).

As we pointed out in "The Russian Revolution and the Emancipation of Women" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition], No. 59, Spring 2006):

> "Today, millions of women even in the advanced capitalist 'democracies' endure nasty and brutish lives of misery and drudgery... But even 15 years ago women in the Soviet Union enjoyed many advantages, such as state-supported childcare institutions, full abortion rights, access to a wide range of trades and professions, and a large degree of economic equality with their male co-workers—in short, a state in some ways far in advance of capitalist societies today.
>
> "The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution made these gains possible."

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92, which had remained a workers state despite degeneration under the Stalinist bureaucracy, was a deep blow to the world working class, not least women in the former USSR, and conditions the current period of reaction.

What is essential is a fight to forge a multiracial workers party to lead the working class in a socialist revolution that sweeps away this system of capitalist exploitation and racial and sexual oppression. *For new October Revolutions!*

USA: "Salami Tactics" and Liberal Baloney

The legal right to abortion was won only as a result of the massive social struggles of the 1960s and 1970s, the civil rights movement and the radicalization of the Vietnam War years. This short but intense period of upheaval shook loose some gains for black people and women—from the end of Jim Crow segregation in the South to the legalization of abortion—from the bourgeoisie, which feared the unraveling of its control. As we wrote not long after the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision, "As the success of recent restrictive legislation on abortion makes clear, reforms are always reversible under capitalism. Only in a genuinely socialist society can gains for women be consolidated, maintained and extended" ("Anti-Abortion Laws: Weapon of Church and State," *Women and Revolution* No. 9, Summer 1975).

The radicalization, which had the possibility of reaching into the working class and breaking in the direction of revolutionary socialist consciousness, was diverted back into bourgeois politics with the help of reformist leftists, who sought to keep struggles limited to what is acceptable within the bounds of the racist capitalist system. This treacherous and losing strategy, pursued for decades by groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), has kept working people, blacks and the oppressed tied to Democratic Party "lesser evilism." The result is that *less* is exactly what people get.

The ISO's Sharon Smith complains today that "without pressure from feminists to defend the right to abortion, the Democratic Party steadily retreated on choice" (*Women and Socialism* [Haymarket Books, 2005]). In fact, the goal of bourgeois feminism, which is hostile to working-class interests, has been at best to gain equality for middle-class women within capitalism. At the height of the battle in the early 1990s to defend abortion clinics against anti-abortion terror—exemplified by the 25,000 screaming anti-woman fanatics who blockaded clinics in Wichita, Kansas, in 1991—we communists fought to mobilize women and their allies, backed up by the organized labor movement, to keep the clinics open. In contrast, throughout the 1990s bourgeois feminist organizations such as NOW *demobilized* protest by preaching reliance on the "pro-choice" Clinton administration.

The Democrats are committed just as much as the Republicans to the preservation of the capitalist system, to the exploitation of the working class for profit, to the institution of the family, and to furthering U.S. imperialist interests abroad—they just differ with the Republicans on tactics. We oppose the Democrats on principle because they are a capitalist party. In contrast, the ISO opposes the current *policies* of the Democrats, seeking to be a left pressure group on them—sometimes through "grassroots" pressure, sometimes via the capitalist Green Party, sometimes directly. This was clear during the recent liberal hue and cry over Bush's Supreme Court appointees John Roberts and Samuel Alito. The ISO's would-be candidate for U.S. Senate on the Green Party ticket, Todd Chretien of California, openly appealed to Democratic Party senator Dianne Feinstein on his Web site (todd4senate.org): "There is only one way to stop Alito and protect women's rights: Sen. Feinstein must draw a line in the sand and publicly call for an open-ended filibuster that makes it plain to the Republican leadership that she will not relent until they withdraw Alito's name." So the "only" way to "protect women's rights" is the Democrats? This is no slip, but the ISO's real program (see article, page 7).

Left: Clinton signing 1996 bill to "end welfare as we know it." Below: Ophthalmology clinic at L.A.'s King/Drew Medical Center filled to capacity with impoverished patients awaiting medical care, 2004.

Gaulhier/LA Times

U.S. Out...

(continued from page 12)

the largest operation in CIA history, and included aid to Osama bin Laden, who would later turn on his former masters.

U.S. aid to the Afghan *mujahedin* began in the late 1970s under the Carter administration, which had launched an anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. The Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* were in rebellion against the pro-Moscow People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), who took power in an April 1978 coup. The PDPA sought to implement some minimal reforms to bring Afghanistan closer to the 20th century: land distribution, freeing women from the *burka* (the head-to-toe "veil"), reducing the bride price to a nominal sum, and providing education for girls. These basic reforms sparked a ferocious rebellion by landlords, tribal chiefs and mullahs who launched a *jihad* (holy war), burning down schools and flaying teachers alive for the "crime" of teaching young girls to read. When the PDPA requested assistance from Moscow in quelling this bloody rebellion, the Soviet Army intervened, acting to defend the USSR's southern border against the CIA-backed insurgency.

We declared: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" Our defense of the Soviet intervention was based on our understanding that the USSR was a workers state, despite its degeneration under Stalinist bureaucratic rule. The Soviet intervention into Afghanistan—a country so backward it lacked a proletariat to carry out a social revolution—posed the possibility of extending the social gains of the 1917 October Revolution to the Afghan peoples.

Sending troops into Afghanistan was an unambiguously decent and progressive act that cut across the Stalinist bureaucracy's dogma of building "socialism in one country," which meant renouncing the struggle for world socialist revolution in favor of a futile quest for peaceful coexistence with imperialism. We warned that the Moscow bureaucracy might well cut a deal with the imperialists. Indeed, in an attempt to placate the imperialists, Moscow treacherously betrayed the Afghan peoples as well as Soviet defense by pulling out its troops in 1988-89. This opened the door to an all-sided civil war resulting in the fundamentalists taking power and the victory of the Taliban in 1996.

Supporting the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was the duty of proletarian revolutionists. As historic American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon said in 1939:

> "The question of the Russian revolution and the Soviet state which is its creation has drawn a sharp dividing line through the labor movement of all countries for 22 years. The attitude taken toward the Soviet Union throughout all these years has been the decisive criterion separating the genuine revolutionary tendency from all shades and degrees of waverers, backsliders and capitulators to the pressure of the bourgeois world."

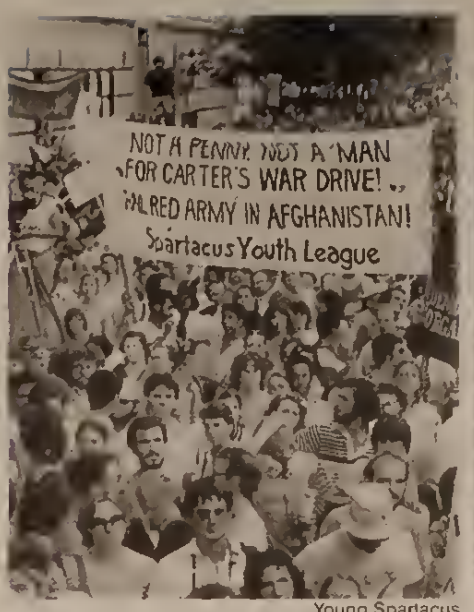
As Trotskyists, we stood for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state, while fighting for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and return the USSR to the revolutionary road of Lenin and Trotsky.

Capitulating to the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive, the bulk of the left internationally condemned the Soviet "invasion" of Afghanistan. The anti-Communist International Socialist Organization (ISO) and its then-parent group in Britain, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP), criminally stood with the imperialists. The 12 January 1980 issue of the British SWP's *Socialist Worker* blared, "Troops Out of Afghanistan!" After the Soviets withdrew, the ISO declared: "Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs" (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], May 1988).

The anti-Communism of the Cliffites stretches back to their very origin, when Tony Cliff and his followers broke from Trotskyism by renouncing defense of the Soviet Union at the start of the Korean War in 1950. Under the fig leaf of the United Nations, U.S. and British imperialism launched a counterrevolutionary war against the North Korean deformed workers state, which was militarily backed by Red China. The Cliffite tendency was founded on a capitulation to international imperialism.

For its part, the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party declared in *Revolutionary Worker* (11 January 1980): "Superpowers Square Off Over Afghanistan," and condemned "Soviet social imperialism." In order to cover for its treachery, the RCP invented Afghan Maoist groupings opposed to both the mullahs and the Soviets. But the real enemy of this "opposition" were the liberating Soviet troops, as the RCP made clear in a retrospective article in *Revolutionary Worker* (10 March 2002): "Revolutionary and progressive forces, including the country's Maoist organizations, threw themselves into the fight against the Soviet invaders."

Uniquely in modern history, the rights of women were a central issue in the civil war that raged in Afghanistan from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. The liberating effects of the Soviet intervention can be measured in hard statistics. In 1988, women made up 40 percent of the doctors and 60 percent of the teachers at the University of Kabul; 440,000 female students were enrolled in educational institutions and 80,000 more in literacy programs. Western dress was common in the cities, and women enjoyed some real measure of freedom from the veil and subjugation for the first time in Afghanistan's history. As we wrote in "Afghanistan: Hell for Women" (*WV* No. 654, 25 October 1996), immediately after the Taliban took power: "*The blood of every unveiled woman butchered by the Afghan fundamentalists is also on the hands of those leftist organizations internationally which lined up behind U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet dirty war in Afghanistan!*" (emphasis in original).



Young Spartacus

Baldev/Sygma

Left: Spartacists at 1980 New York City protest hail Red Army intervention in Afghanistan against CIA-backed, anti-woman Islamic reactionaries. Right: Afghan women armed with Soviet AK-47s, 1988. Thousands volunteered for women's militia, fighting for their rights and lives.

For New October Revolutions!

Warning against Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev's maneuvers to withdraw troops from Afghanistan, we declared that it was far better to fight and defeat the forces of counterrevolution there than be forced to take them on inside the Soviet Union itself. Following the Soviet withdrawal, the Partisan Defense Committee wrote to the Afghan government in 1989 offering to organize international brigades to help fight the CIA's *mujahedin* killers. Though this offer was declined, the PDC and fraternal organizations raised $44,000 to aid civilian victims of the *mujahedin* in the city of Jalalabad. But with the Soviets out, the PDPA regime collapsed by 1992, giving rise to a brutal civil war between the various warlords that culminated in the Taliban's victory in 1996.

The Kremlin's retreat from Afghanistan emboldened the imperialist rulers in their drive to destroy the Soviet workers state and strengthened the forces of capitalist counterrevolution within the USSR. Withdrawal from Afghanistan was followed by the capitalist reunification of Germany in 1990 and the final undoing of the October Revolution in 1991-92.

Today, U.S. imperialism feels it can ride roughshod over every perceived opponent and enemy. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, U.S. imperialism's current strategic target is the Chinese deformed workers state, where capitalist rule was overthrown in 1949. Besides pursuing their economic penetration of the Chinese mainland under the Beijing bureaucracy's "market reforms," the imperialists are also increasing their military pressure against China.

The September 11 attacks served to temporarily divert Washington's attention away from China. However, the occupation of Afghanistan and the placement of U.S. military bases in Central Asia and elsewhere in Asia under the rubric of the global "war on terror" point toward a strategic encirclement of China. Earlier this month, the Bush administration finalized a nuclear agreement with nuclear-armed India to help "counter the rising power of China," as the *Los Angeles Times* (4 March) put it. The current bipartisan threats against Iran, a key trading partner with China, likewise pose a danger to the Chinese deformed workers state (see "U.S. Hands Off Iran!" *WV* No. 863, 3 February). We stand for the unconditional military defense of China and the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. We call for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist misrulers and replace them with regimes based on workers and peasants councils.

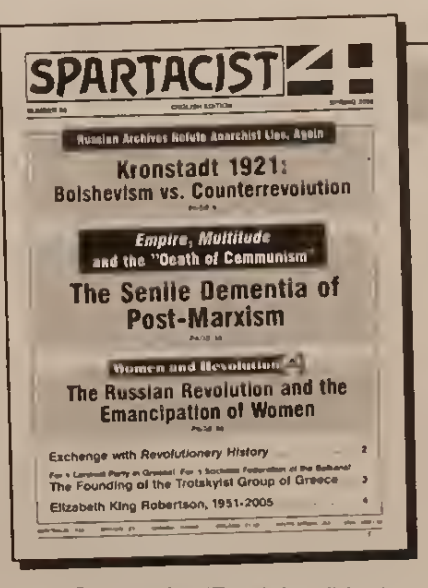
The logic of the bloody imperialist system starkly poses the choice: socialism or barbarism. Young fighters against war and oppression must study and learn the lessons of past struggles and defeats if they are to go forward to win new victories. The ICL fights to forge Bolshevik parties internationally to lead the fight for new October Revolutions, opening the door to a socialist world in which imperialist war and oppression are relics of a barbaric past.■

To be sure, Alito and Roberts are sinister reactionaries who want to overturn the legal right to abortion, reflecting the way the political winds are blowing these days. Feinstein herself, an ardent "war on terror" and "Homeland Security" supporter, said regarding Alito: "This is a man I might disagree with. That doesn't mean he shouldn't be on the court." Samuel Alito thinks of women as perpetual minors: in the 1991 *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* decision, Alito dissented from the Third Circuit court's decision (later upheld by the Supreme Court) that it was unconstitutional to require a husband's consent for a woman's abortion, citing *parental* notification rulings!

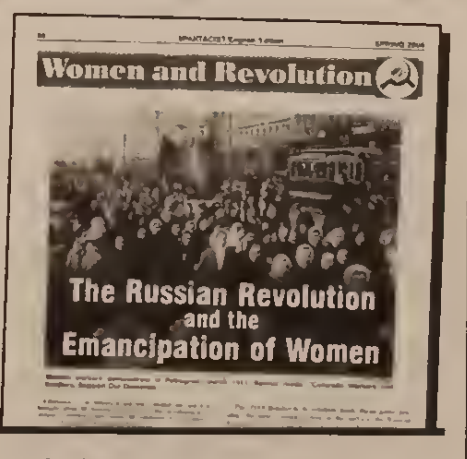
Alito helped devise the "salami tactics"—that is, slicing away bit by bit at abortion rights, as opposed to a frontal assault on *Roe*—that characterized anti-abortion tactics on the legal front in the 1980s and 1990s. Doctors and clinic workers were bombed, maimed and murdered, attacked by Operation Rescue and the KKK and other fascists, forcing the closing of many clinics nationwide. When abortion provider Dr. Barnett Slepian was murdered in 1998 in Buffalo, we wrote, "While mainstream capitalist politicians hypocritically decry the murder of Dr. Slepian, it is the Congressional onslaught on abortion rights—embraced by Democrats as well as Republicans—which legitimizes and encourages the terrorist killers" ("Anti-Abortion Bigots' Trail of Murder," *WV* No. 700, 6 November 1998).

The continuing battle for women's right to abortion in America shows that the capitalist class, notably in the most "advanced" societies, has long outlived its progressive role and is a fetter on further human progress. The inherent contradiction within the bourgeois-democratic approach to women's oppression is that the outer limit of bourgeois democracy for women ends at the threshold of the family institution.

Today it falls to the proletariat, which owns nothing but its labor power, to assume the role of liberator of humanity, freeing women and all the oppressed from the many chains of capitalist society. It is the job of the revolutionary vanguard party, which we seek to build, to bring to the working class the understanding that they must fight for all the oppressed in their battle to free themselves from wage slavery. The entry of women into the working class opened the way to their liberation: their position at the point of production gives them social power, along with the entire working class, to overturn the capitalist system. ***For women's liberation through socialist revolution!***■



JUST OUT!



Spartacist (English edition) **No. 59, Spring 2006, $1.50** (56 pages)
Spartacist is sent to all *WV* subscribers.
Order from: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

WORKERS VANGUARD

EPA

AFP

U.S. Out of Iraq, Afghanistan Now!

Left: U.S. bombing in January kills nine family members in Baiji, northern Iraq. Right: U.S. Army troops storm building in Afghanistan.

Break with the Democrats, the Other Party of War and Racism!

For a Workers Party that Fights for Socialist Revolution!

Three years into the U.S. occupation of Iraq, that country has become a hellhole of all-sided bloodshed, with scores killed daily by occupation forces, government death squads and communal militias. Over 100,000 Iraqis have died in the war and occupation, on top of tens of thousands slaughtered in the 1991 Gulf War and more than 1.5 million killed as a result of United Nations sanctions between 1990 and 2003. As we warned from the beginning of the 2003 war, the U.S. occupation has unleashed a cauldron of ethnic and religious violence, pitting Shi'ite and Sunni Arabs as well as Kurds against each other and posing the real possibility of communally based civil war.

Meanwhile, some 23,000 U.S. troops supplemented by 10,000 NATO forces continue the murderous occupation of Afghanistan carried out after the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. The U.S. and NATO plan to add some 10,000 more troops this year and to expand operations throughout the country in order to shore up the puppet government of Hamid Karzai. The occupation of Afghanistan has meant continued brutal oppression of women and warfare among the various tribal warlords. Afghanistan's U.S. overseers brokered a constitution that effectively enshrined Islamic fundamentalist *sharia* law, while in Iraq Islamic clerics are granted authority to strike down "un-Islamic" laws. Last October the Afghan Supreme Court sentenced a journalist to two years in prison for questioning the use of stoning to execute women accused of adultery.

The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), stood for the military defense of Afghanistan and Iraq against imperialist attack without giving any political support to the reactionary, woman-hating Taliban cutthroats or the capitalist dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. Today, we call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and bases from Iraq, Afghanistan and Central Asia!

Insofar as the forces on the ground in Iraq aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers, we call for their military defense against U.S. imperialism. But as we wrote in "U.S. Out of Iraq Now!" (*WV* No. 830, 6 August 2004): "We do not imbue the forces presently organizing guerrilla attacks on U.S. forces with 'anti-imperialist' credentials.... We are intransigent opponents of the murderous communal violence against other ethnic, religious and national populations oftentimes carried out by the very same forces fighting the occupation armies."

We have fought for *class struggle at home* against the U.S. capitalist rulers. This perspective is crucial to puncturing the illusion that the working class and its exploiters share common "national interests." That lie, propagated by both imperialist ideologues and the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, is meant to obliterate the class line that divides the proletariat from the bourgeoisie.

With even sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie embarrassed by revelations of abuse by the military in its Guantánamo prison camp, Washington has announced that it will be expanding the detention camp at its Bagram air base in Afghanistan. Bagram is itself a notoriously brutal interrogation center, one of many maintained by the U.S. around the world. The hundreds of detainees in these torture centers include not only fighters against the invasion of Afghanistan but many who had no role in any fighting but just "looked the part" or had the "wrong" name. We say: Free all the detainees! U.S. out of Guantánamo, now!

With the Bush administration under increasing fire from sections of the bourgeoisie worried that White House policies are undermining U.S. imperialism's interests, the Democrats seek to regain control of Congress and the White House as the party that can better carry out the "war on terror." It is notable that while many Democrats call for an "exit strategy" from Iraq in order to cut U.S. losses, none are calling for an end to the occupation of Afghanistan. There was exactly *one* vote in Congress opposed to the Afghanistan war (by California Democrat Barbara Lee), as well as near-unanimous approval of the draconian USA Patriot Act—the linchpin of the government's war on immigrants and on the civil liberties of the population at home.

Our fight for class struggle against the blood-drenched imperialist rulers means a fight against both the Democratic and Republican parties of capital. Thus we are not and have not been part of any of the various antiwar coalitions built by the reformist left—United for Peace and Justice, ANSWER, Troops Out Now, NION—whose purpose is to build a political alliance with "peace-loving" sections of the bourgeoisie, i.e., liberal Democrats. None of these coalitions took the elementary stand of military defense of Afghanistan and Iraq against the imperialists.

The call for the March 18 antiwar protests by the ANSWER Coalition, which was founded by Workers World Party, states: "In order to realize the demand 'Money for jobs, housing, education, and healthcare, Not for war and occupation' we must create a national grassroots movement." In other words, organizing right-minded people in large enough numbers can convince the war-crazed, profit-driven ruling class to address the needs of working people, blacks and the poor. In contrast, we fight for *proletarian revolution* to rip industry out of the hands of the capitalist exploiters and create a planned, collectivized economy. That is the only way to end imperialist war and to provide jobs and quality housing, education and health care for all.

Steve McCurry

Women in U.S.-"liberated" Afghanistan are segregated, humiliated, degraded.

We Said: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

Republican and Democratic party politicians rail against the barbarity of Islamic fundamentalism. Not so long ago, the American bourgeoisie, including the liberals who were tailed by most of the left, heralded the Islamic reactionaries as "freedom fighters" in the war against the Soviet "evil empire." In the 1980s, the CIA doled out billions to the *mujahedin* fighting the Soviet Army in Afghanistan. This was

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 867 | GCIU C-701 | 31 March 2006

Down With Racist U.S. Imperialism!
For Socialist Revolution on Both Sides of the Border!

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Joint Declaration of the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Grupo Espartaquista de México

The following declaration was issued on March 24 and distributed the next day at a demonstration in Los Angeles of up to one million people, overwhelmingly Latinos, protesting proposed legislation that would further criminalize immigrants and create a racist border wall. The largest in an ongoing series of protests around the country, including high school walkouts, the L.A. demonstration was led largely by Catholic church officials and featured capitalist politicians such as Democratic mayor Antonio Villaraigosa.

Marcus

March 25: Some one million people demonstrated in downtown Los Angeles against racist immigration bill.

As millions of impoverished Mexican and Central American immigrants risk their lives to find some means of livelihood in the U.S., the racist U.S. imperialist rulers are proposing a spate of new anti-immigrant measures. Each in its own way, the various proposed "reforms" would further strengthen the stranglehold of repression and regimentation implemented in the name of a bipartisan "war on terror." The HR 4437 bill passed in the House of Representatives in December calls for building 700 miles of wall at the border and for making it a felony to even be an undocumented immigrant, or to assist one in any way. Two alternative proposals in the Senate would also tighten border control, albeit without a new wall, while creating massive "guest worker" programs that amount to indentured servitude.

The racist border wall proposal has provoked widespread outrage in Mexico. In the U.S., opposition runs the gamut from Latino organizations and the trade unions to the Catholic church hierarchy, Democratic Party liberals and even a section of the Republican Party. In Chicago this month, some 100,000 demonstrators marched against these measures. Further protests against HR 4437 are planned in other cities. As proletarian internationalist opponents of U.S. imperialism, the Spartacist League/U.S. opposes both the criminalization of immigrant workers and the legalization of indentured servitude. The SL/U.S. and the Grupo Espartaquista de México, sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), join in calling for the unity in struggle of the U.S. and Mexican proletariat. We demand: Down with racist anti-immigrant repression! No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

We start from the standpoint that only socialist revolution internationally can put an end to the growing immiseration of the toiling masses—both in dependent capitalist countries like Mexico and in the imperialist centers. Under capitalist imperialism, a handful of wealthy industrial powers strive to divide and redivide the rest of the world for their own aggrandizement, leading to neocolonial exploitation and imperialist war. As we explain in the ICL Declaration of Principles (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

> "Modern capitalism, i.e., imperialism, reaching into all areas of the planet, in the course of the class struggle and as economic need demands, brings into the proletariat at its bottom new sources of cheaper labor, principally immigrants from poorer and less-developed regions of the world—workers with few rights who are deemed more disposable in times of economic contraction. Thus capitalism in ongoing fashion creates different strata among the workers, while simultaneously amalgamating the workers of many different lands. Everywhere, the capitalists, abetted by aristocracy-of-labor opportunists, try to poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. The struggle for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism is thus a vital task for the proletarian vanguard."

The massive increase in immigration from Mexico over the past period is a direct result of the imposition of the NAFTA "free trade" agreement in 1994, which forced millions of Mexican peasants out of the countryside and led to a huge increase in urban poverty. Close to 10 percent of the Mexican population now lives in the U.S., and the money they send home—some $20 billion annually—is Mexico's third-largest source of income. A 1991 joint statement of the Mexican, Canadian and U.S. sections of the ICL called to "Stop U.S. 'Free Trade' Rape of Mexico" and declared: "There is a burning need for an *internationalist* proletarian opposition which stands with the working class and impoverished peasantry of Mexico against the imperialist assault" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 530, 5 July 1991).

The fundamental divide in all capitalist countries is the divide between the working class, whose labor makes society run, and the capitalist class, which reaps enormous wealth from exploiting that labor. The Mexican rulers' crocodile tears over the plight of Mexican immigrants is used to enhance the nationalist lie that exploiter and exploited share the same interests because "we are all Mexicans." This is only a smokescreen to cover exploitation and oppression by the parasitic Mexican bourgeoisie, which serves as the local enforcer of imperialist domination. In 2004, the Mexican government arrested almost four times as many Central Americans—over 200,000—seeking transit to the U.S. as were arrested by the U.S. border authorities (*La Jornada*, 13 November 2005). The GEM opposes such attacks and calls for full right of transit as well as full citizenship rights for all those who want to stay in Mexico.

In the U.S., the most powerful and dangerous of the imperialist countries, the multiracial proletariat has a particular obligation to oppose the wars and depredations of the U.S. capitalist class. Defense of immigrant rights is necessary not only to fight the exploitation of the most vulnerable layers of the population. It is also crucial to reversing the decades-long decline of the trade unions, by enlisting immigrant workers, many of whom have a history of militant struggle, in the front ranks of the labor movement. Mexican immigrant workers can serve as a human bridge linking the struggles of the North American and Latin American proletariat.

Opposition to anti-immigrant racism in the U.S. is directly intertwined with the struggle against black oppression. It is particularly important to combat anti-immigrant chauvinism among U.S.-born black and white workers, while immigrant workers must grasp that anti-black racism

continued on page 2

AP

Mexico City, March 7: Mass rally in solidarity with National Mining and Metallurgical Workers Union after government attack on union leader. ICL fights for class-struggle unity of U.S. and Mexican proletariat.

7 25274 81030 7 13

Immigrants...

(continued from page 1)

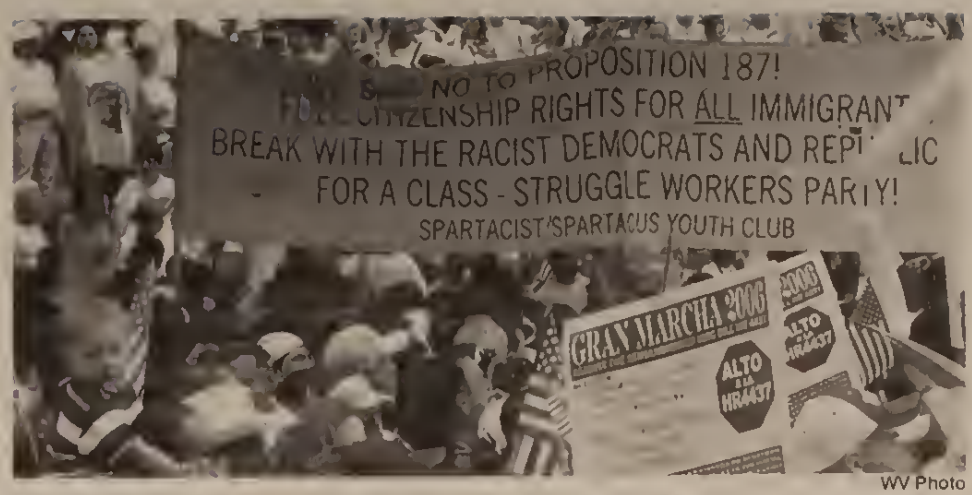
remains the touchstone of social reaction in the U.S. Black oppression is the cornerstone of American capitalism. It was the Southern slavocracy's desire to extend slavery that partly motivated the 1846 invasion of Mexico, which resulted in the U.S. stealing half of Mexico's territory. A workers government in the U.S. would return to Mexico certain predominantly Spanish-speaking areas along the border.

As expressed in the two Senate "guest worker" bills, the bourgeois opposition to the nativist racist mindset expressed in HR 4437 reflects the interests of employers reliant on low-wage, non-union labor, like Wal-Mart. The bill being fashioned by Republican Arlen Specter with the tacit support of the Bush White House includes criminalization of undocumented immigrants and their supporters. Unlike the Specter proposal, the bill co-authored by Republican John McCain and liberal Democrat Ted Kennedy holds out the promise of eventual permanent residency or citizenship for some "guest workers."

Even without the proposed new criminalization provisions, in 2004 more than a million Mexicans were detained trying to enter the U.S. Intensified border repression, whether carried out by the hated *la migra* or vigilante terror gangs like the Minutemen, simply forces desperate immigrants to seek more dangerous and deadly routes. In 2005, at least 279 bodies were found near the Sonora-Arizona border alone. U.S. college students Daniel Strauss and Shanti Sellz were recently arrested in Arizona for attempting to transport several severely dehydrated immigrants to a hospital and face up to 15 years in jail and fines of $250,000 for "conspiring to traffic" immigrants (*Proceso*, 12 March). Drop all charges against Strauss and Sellz!

"Use 'em, abuse 'em and send 'em back" has long been the motto of U.S. capitalists, who have seen Mexico and other countries as a vast reservoir of cheap labor to be tapped in order to drive down wages in the U.S. The current "guest worker" legislation is reminiscent of the notorious *bracero* program of 1942-64, under which thousands of "temporary" Mexican workers, denied the most elementary rights, were brought in to slave in agribusiness. Former *braceros* and their families are still trying to get wages never paid them.

What is needed is a class-struggle mobilization to *organize the unorganized* into the unions with full rights and protections. The potential for this was seen in the widely popular strike by Southern California supermarket workers—black, Latino and white—in 2003-2004. Had the union tops made a concerted effort to extend the strike nationally and to enlist Teamsters truck drivers in halting shipments to the supermarkets and warehouses, that strike could have ended in a resounding victory and paved the way for an organizing drive against Wal-Mart. A successful drive to organize Wal-Mart would have an immediate impact in Mexico, where the corporation is the largest private employer.



WV Photo

Los Angeles, March 25: Spartacist banner at massive demonstration for immigrant rights.

But instead of mobilizing union power in defense of immigrants, the union tops embrace one or another of the capitalists' anti-immigrant "reforms," particularly favoring their so-called "friends" in the capitalist Democratic Party. This policy of class collaboration, sacrificing labor's interests on the altar of capitalist profitability, flows from the labor bureaucracy's support for the capitalist system and its identification with the "national interests" of U.S. imperialism. This program has led to defeat after defeat, leaving the U.S. labor movement weaker today than at any time since the early 1900s.

When NAFTA was first proposed in the early 1990s, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy denounced it from the standpoint of chauvinist protectionism, railing against Mexicans "stealing American jobs." The Teamsters bureaucracy, today a component of the "Change to Win" breakaway from the AFL-CIO, is notorious for its chauvinist campaigns against Mexican truckers on U.S. roads. The leaders of two other leading "Change to Win" unions—the heavily immigrant SEIU service employees union and UNITE HERE hotel, restaurant and garment workers union—support the McCain-Kennedy plan for a new *bracero* program.

For its part, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy has waffled on McCain-Kennedy. Rejecting guest worker programs, AFL-CIO executive vice president Linda Chavez-Thompson declared in a March 1 statement: "We propose that if employers can demonstrate a real need for outside workers, these workers should be allowed into our country with the SAME RIGHTS AND LABOR PROTECTIONS as any U.S. citizen." This leaves it to the capitalists to determine who will be let in and under what conditions they will remain. Opposed to a program of class struggle, the labor tops look to the capitalist state to defend the rights of workers and immigrants. The unions should use their power to fight for full citizenship rights for *everyone* who makes it into this country.

A class-struggle perspective requires an uncompromising fight for the class *independence* of the proletariat from all wings of the capitalist exploiters. In the U.S., that chiefly means breaking the ties that bind labor to the Democratic Party, which occasionally postures as "friends" of labor, immigrants and black people to better hoodwink the exploited and oppressed. The Democratic Party avidly embraced Bush's "war on terror" and now proclaims itself the party most capable of prosecuting this "war," which was never more than a pretext for imperialist adventures abroad and ripping up democratic rights at home. Indeed, it was Democratic president Clinton who enacted the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, which calls for deporting even longtime permanent residents for trivial offenses committed years earlier. Under Clinton's "Operation Gatekeeper," a border wall was built to seal off San Diego. Break with the Democrats! For a workers party that fights for a workers government!

In Mexico, bourgeois nationalism is the chief means binding the exploited to their exploiters. It was the nationalist PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party), not the clerical reactionary PAN (National Action Party) of "free market" exponent Vicente Fox, that pushed through the NAFTA agreement in the early '90s. And the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), which is today the chief exponent of populist nationalism, does not even oppose NAFTA.

While the PRD has not yet gotten its chance to devastate living standards as have the PRI and the PAN, its populist nationalism is but another means of administering capitalist/imperialist exploitation. In the context of the tragic death of 65 miners in an explosion caused by the bosses' criminal thirst for profits, PRD presidential hopeful López Obrador joined Fox in denouncing the miners union, accusing its leaders of being "contract dealers." Break with all the bourgeois parties—PAN, PRI, PRD! For a workers party that fights for socialist revolution!

Our model is the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, which replaced the rule of the capitalists and landlords with that of the working class and raised high the banner of world socialist revolution. Despite the Stalinist degeneration that ultimately opened the door to capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, the Soviet Union demonstrated the power of a planned, collectivized economy in providing employment, education, health care and decent living conditions. When put to the service of all humanity, the enormous wealth and productive resources extracted by the U.S. bourgeoisie from the sweat and blood of working people in the U.S. and around the world would provide an enormous impetus for the advance of all mankind. But that requires the smashing of the capitalist state and the expropriation of the rapacious U.S. bourgeoisie through proletarian revolution.

The counterpart to the nationalist myth of "we are all Mexicans" is the idea that there is no class struggle in the U.S. The December strike by largely black and immigrant transit workers in New York, which crippled the world center of finance capital, refuted that notion. The multiracial U.S. working class is potentially the most powerful ally of Mexican workers. The SL/U.S. and the GEM are dedicated to forging revolutionary workers parties on both sides of the border as part of the fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.■

TROTSKY

Imperialist Capitalism and the Trade Unions

In an unfinished article found after his assassination by a Stalinist agent in 1940, revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky described the role of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy in subordinating the unions to the bourgeois state. The struggle for the independence of the working class from the capitalist political parties and state agencies is key to the fight for proletarian socialist revolution.

LENIN

Monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions. It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy, who pick up the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class. If that is not achieved, the labor bureaucracy is driven away and replaced by the fascists. Incidentally, all the efforts of the labor aristocracy in the service of imperialism cannot in the long run save them from destruction.

The intensification of class contradictions within each country, the intensification of antagonisms between one country and another, produce a situation in which imperialist capitalism can tolerate (i.e., up to a certain time) a reformist bureaucracy only if the latter serves directly as a petty but active stockholder of its imperialist enterprises, of its plans and programs within the country as well as on the world arena. Social reformism must become transformed into social imperialism in order to prolong its existence, but only prolong it, and nothing more. Because along this road there is no way out in general.

Does this mean that in the epoch of imperialism independent trade unions are generally impossible? It would be fundamentally incorrect to pose the question this way. Impossible are the independent or semi-independent reformist trade unions. Wholly possible are revolutionary trade unions which not only are not stockholders of imperialist policy but which set as their task the direct overthrow of the rule of capitalism. In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution.

—Leon Trotsky, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (August 1940)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co , 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is 28 March.

No. 867 **31 March 2006**

Publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México

No. 24, Summer 2005

$.50 (24 pages)

Subscription: $2 for 4 issues

(includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Order from/pay to:

Spartacist Publishing Co.

Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Chicago Transit

Mass ATU Meeting Authorizes Strike, Bureaucrats Turn Tail

Dump Binding Arbitration!

MARCH 27—Fed up with years of management abuse and attacks on their working conditions, some 2,000 members of the Chicago Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241 turned out for a March 6 meeting and overwhelmingly authorized a strike on or after April 9. Working without a contract for most of the last six years, the bus drivers, mechanics and servicers of Local 241 want to wage a struggle against the arrogant Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) bosses. Workers leaving the meeting told *WV* salesmen that many waited in line for up to two hours to vote to authorize a strike even knowing that the vote was already one-sidedly in favor (although hundreds left before voting). The final count was 1,029 for and only 11 opposed.

The new Local 241 leadership under President Darrell Jefferson called for the vote in response to the CTA's practice of "rostering." Under this brutal scheduling method, which is in effect at two garages, many drivers work split shifts spanning more than 13 hours while getting only eight hours' pay. "Rostering" guts seniority rights and cheats workers out of overtime pay. It is an indictment of the CTA's wage scale that full-time transit workers can't make ends meet without working heavy overtime. Further fueling workers' anger are the CTA's union-busting demands to extend part-time work to mechanics and to create a special category of part-time workers with no benefits. The CTA also seeks to make mechanics work *eight years* to reach top pay and to increase pension contributions from all workers.

Showing that his strike talk was just cynical posturing, Jefferson submitted the "rostering" issue to binding arbitration only eight days after the strike authorization vote. Many union members say that they support the new leadership or at least want to "give them a chance." But Jefferson is not fundamentally different from his predecessors in Local 241, who had kicked the union contract to binding arbitration. Long a weapon in the bosses' anti-union arsenal, binding arbitration is designed to stop strikes and leaves union members with no say in the final decision. The supposedly "impartial" arbitration boards are in reality stacked against the union. Dump binding arbitration!

The unions' power to fight against the bosses derives from their ability to halt production and transportation, based on the workers' strategic role in the economy. Local 241 provides a vital service, operating about one million passenger trips each weekday. A strike against the CTA would turn the Loop (downtown Chicago) into a parking lot. ATU Local 308 (rail) and the 16 craft unions at the CTA are also working without contracts. The transit unions should revive the traditional fighting labor slogan: No contract, no work!

WV Photo

ATU Local 241 members at downtown Chicago contract rally, January 2003.

Just as binding arbitration ties the workers' hands in order to keep class peace, the labor officials' support for the Democrats—and sometimes other capitalist politicians—ties the union movement to the class enemy. While the Republicans openly spit in the face of workers, black people and the mass of immigrants, the Democrats lie to labor and minorities while carrying out their attacks against working people and the poor. Even as CTA chief Frank Kruesi, a crony of Democratic Chicago mayor Richard Daley, is hammering the union, ATU and AFL-CIO officials mailed letters to Local 241 members asking them to go to the polls for the Democratic Party primary.

The union tops' allegiance to the Democrats is a consequence of their support for a capitalist profit system that constantly seeks to drive down wages and working conditions at home and carries out imperialist wars and occupations abroad. What's necessary in the ATU, as in the entire U.S. labor movement, is a fight for a class-struggle leadership that rejects the lie of labor-management partnership and uses the weapons of class struggle. Such a leadership must be based on the political independence of the working class. Break with the Democrats! For a workers party that fights for a workers government!

Sensing the frustration of the ATU membership with their leaders, Teamsters officials have attempted off and on for several years to raid Local 241. But the Teamsters bureaucrats, who are guided by the same class-collaborationist outlook that defines the ATU tops, are no alternative. A successful Teamsters raid would break up the relationship between ATU locals 241 and 308, which represent nearly 90 percent of unionized CTA workers. The two locals have a history of joint contract negotiations and struck the CTA together for four days in 1979. Joint action by the ATU locals can pave the way for one industrial union of all transit workers, including those in the craft unions, that fights for more full-time jobs with full benefits and seniority rights for the entire membership.

The Local 241 tops held the strike authorization vote a week after the Teamsters filed petitions claiming that they had the signatures of 3,000 CTA workers seeking a representation election. It was the Local 241 tops' fear of losing their jobs that induced them to even pay lip service to the need for a strike. Until recently, the ATU International had deprived Local 241 members of a voice in their union and effective representation on the job by keeping the local in trusteeship for more than two years. The International sent out-of-town officials to Chicago to help oppose the Teamsters raid. Many members would be pleased if the bureaucrats had that much enthusiasm for fighting the company!

Transit workers have told *WV* that the question of the legality of a strike has been a hot topic in the bus barns ever since the strike authorization meeting, where Jefferson said that unlike former local leaders, he rejected the idea that transit strikes were illegal. But then Jefferson turned to binding arbitration, during which strikes are banned by state law. As we wrote last year in "Democrats Turn the Screws on Chicago Transit Workers" (*WV* No. 845, 1 April 2005): "The only strike that is 'illegal' is a strike that loses. The relationship of forces between capital and labor—not words on paper—is what determines the outcome of class struggle, and the question of working-class leadership weighs heavily in that balance."

Workers say that some ATU officials are arguing that the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 strike in New York City last December proves that illegal strikes don't work. In fact, Transit workers *crippled the center of finance capitalism* by walking off the job in defiance of the state Taylor Law's ban on public workers strikes. But with strikers up against both the transit bosses and the courts and cops of the capitalist state, the TWU International stabbed them in the back while the city labor tops left them out to dry. And just as the strikers were feeling their power, the Local 100 leaders demobilized the strike and sent workers back without a contract (see "Union Busting and Capitalist 'Democracy'," page 4, as well as the special 6 January *WV* supplement, "NYC Transit Strike: Union Power vs. Class Collaboration").

A successful fight against the CTA's union-busting attacks would be a blow against the poverty and despair of the black and Latino neighborhoods of Segregation City. Working for the CTA has long been seen as a good job in Chicago, but for years the transit bosses have ratcheted up their drive against wages and working conditions. A fighting ATU, with its largely black membership, could draw behind it the working class and poor of the inner city. Last spring's threatened mass layoff of drivers was accompanied by plans to again slash the inadequate bus service to a number of black and Latino neighborhoods. The ATU should fight for free, quality mass transit!

The only way to put an end to the exploitation and racial oppression of this society is to put an end to the capitalist profit system itself. It is only through a workers revolution that a planned economy can be established in which the tremendous resources of this society will be placed at the service of those who labor, providing a future for generations to come. Through intervention into class and social struggle and political combat against labor's pro-capitalist misleaders, we fight to build the multiracial workers party that is the necessary instrument for proletarian revolution. ■

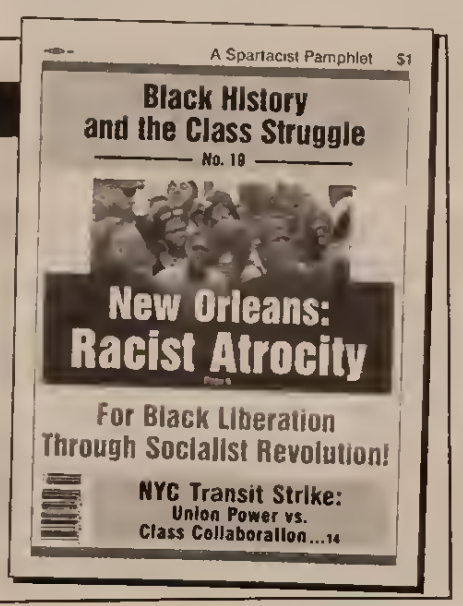
Just Out!

Black History and the Class Struggle
No. 19

Black History is sent to all *Workers Vanguard* subscribers.

$1 (48 pages)

Order from:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste Forum

Canadian Imperialists: Out of Afghanistan, Haiti!

Saturday, April 8, 7 p.m.
OISE, 252 Bloor St. West
University of Toronto
(at St. George Subway)

For more information: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

TORONTO

Chicago Historical Society

UAW

Union Busting and Capitalist "Democracy"

For Class-Struggle Leadership in the Unions!

For a Workers Party That Fights for a Workers Government!

Above left: Chicago cops killed ten union members on strike against Republic Steel in "Memorial Day Massacre," May 1937. Above right: Detroit auto workers sit-down strike that same year, part of wave of plant occupations that solidly established UAW and other new industrial unions.

When New York City transit workers went on strike and crippled the financial center of U.S. imperialism last December, they had the entire capitalist government arrayed against them. Republican governor George Pataki and NYC mayor Michael Bloomberg railed against the 33,700 members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, which was on strike with Amalgamated Transit Union locals 726 and 1056, and engaged in racist vilification of their leaders, calling them "thuggish." Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer issued anti-union injunctions under the state Taylor Law, which bans public workers strikes. As we wrote in "NYC Transit Strike: Union Power vs. Class Collaboration" (*WV* No. 861, 6 January 2006):

> "Like every major strike, this was a bullheaded battle between labor and capital. On one side are the bosses, their government, whether run by Democrats or Republicans, and the repressive capitalist state apparatus, mainly the courts and cops.... On the other side, the workers have their own weapons: their numbers and power based on their collective labor at the workplace, and their union organization."

The strike, which won broad support among working people and in the ghettos and barrios, should have led the entire labor movement to join with the TWU to challenge the Taylor Law. But Central Labor Council head Brian McLaughlin, United Federation of Teachers president Randi Weingarten and other city labor tops refused to even mouth support for the strike, much less mobilize their membership in the necessary solidarity action. Abandoned by the rest of the labor officialdom, facing fines and possible jail time, and with his phony "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party mainly ducking their heads, Local 100 president Roger Toussaint called off the strike after scarcely three days and sent workers back without a contract.

Weingarten & Co. didn't even call to repeal the Taylor Law, at most saying that it should be "reformed" so that it can be used against the employers. But the entire purpose of the Taylor Law is to keep the public workers unions in chains. The catalyst for its enactment was the 12-day January 1966 NYC transit strike, which was carried out in defiance of the 1947 New York State Condon-Wadlin Act under which striking government workers could be fired en masse. That law was a direct reaction to a one-day general strike in Rochester in 1946, called in support of 486 government workers who had been fired for requesting union recognition, and a week-long teachers strike in Buffalo the following year.

On the eve of the 1966 transit strike, then-TWU president Mike Quill famously ripped up an anti-strike court injunction. He went to jail rather than cave in, and died shortly thereafter. The union returned to work on the condition that there be no reprisals against strikers, and the TWU won large wage gains and other advances. The Condon-Wadlin Act, which was rendered a dead letter by the strike, was soon repealed.

Republican governor Nelson Rockefeller announced that he was "determined that this should never happen again." This is the same governor who enacted the infamous draconian drug laws that helped criminalize generations of black and Latino youth and who would order the racist massacre of rebellious inmates at Attica in 1971. The 1967 Taylor Law—officially the Public Employees' Fair Employment Act—grew out of a commission appointed by Rockefeller to "make legislative proposals for protecting the public against the disruption of vital public services by illegal strikes, while at the same time protecting the rights of public employees." The verbiage of evenhandedness was so much hot air. The Taylor Law affirmed the right of public workers to engage in collective bargaining. But by banning strikes, the law is intended to make the unions fight their contract battles with both hands tied behind their backs.

The Taylor Law also created the Public Employment Relations Board (PERB) to intervene in contract disputes. Beneath the guise of "neutrality," this governor-appointed agency is another weapon in the capitalist state's anti-labor arsenal. The PERB is penalizing transit workers six days' pay for their three-day strike under Taylor Law guidelines. On March 23, the PERB ruled to impose binding arbitration on the TWU following the membership's rejection of a contract deal. For its part, the Toussaint leadership, which called the strike under pressure from the membership and in response to provocation by the transit bosses, is now pushing for a revote on the same rejected package.

Bengiveno/NY Times

WV Photo

Top: TWU rally, 13 December 2005. Right: TWU Local 100 head Roger Toussaint (far right) and other labor tops with Democrat Basil Paterson (far left), cop "union" leader Patrick Lynch (third from left) four days before transit strike. Union bureaucrats embrace cops, Democrats as allies.

The Fraud of Bourgeois Democracy

The massive fines levied against transit workers and the jail threats against their union leaders are an object lesson in the class nature of this "democratic" capitalist society. Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin exposed the fraud of bourgeois democracy in *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918), a polemic against German social democrat Karl Kautsky, who was a bitter enemy of the 1917 workers revolution in Russia:

> "Take the fundamental laws of modern states, take their administration, take freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, or 'equality of all citizens before the law,' and you will see at every turn evidence of the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy with which every honest and class-conscious worker is familiar. There is not a single state, however democratic, which has no loopholes or reservations in its constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth, in case of a 'violation of public order,' and actually in case the exploited class 'violates' its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner. Kautsky shamelessly embellishes bourgeois democracy and omits to mention, for instance, how the most democratic and republican bourgeoisie in America or Switzerland deal with workers on strike."

Unions in the U.S. were built at the cost of the lives and livelihoods of thousands of workers in the course of bitter battles. From the Haymarket martyrs of 1887, hanged in Chicago for fighting for the eight-hour day, and the Ludlow, Colorado massacre of striking miners and their families by the Rockefeller clan's hired guns in 1914, to the PATCO air traffic controllers fired for striking in 1981,

labor has confronted the capitalist state. It has also had to battle the state's Pinkerton and Ku Klux Klan auxiliaries. The bosses know that keeping unions out means billions in extra profit.

Time and again, workers have courageously defied anti-labor laws and court injunctions. Otherwise there would be no labor movement. This history amply demonstrates the Marxist understanding of the capitalist state as a machine of organized violence—consisting at its core of the military, police, courts and prisons—whose purpose is to protect the profits and power of the exploiters against the working people. "Democracy" in the U.S., as in other capitalist countries, is simply a facade for the dictatorship of the exploiting class. The U.S. rulers can afford this facade due to the obscene riches they've collected through brutal colonial plundering and other imperialist depredations.

The rulers seek to deceive workers with the notion that all citizens, whatever their class—from billionaire mayor Bloomberg to workers and homeless people—are "equal" under the law. But as French author Anatole France quipped in 1921, "The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread." Under capitalism, Lenin wrote in his polemic against Kautsky, democracy is "a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited, for the poor." Pointing to the lynching of black people then sweeping the U.S., the anti-Semitic persecution of French officer Alfred Dreyfus in the 1890s and other such examples, Lenin observed: "*The more highly developed a democracy is, the more imminent are pogroms or civil war in connection with any profound political divergence which is dangerous to the bourgeoisie*" (emphasis in original).

Preaching the virtues of the "democratic system," the union tops mobilize the ranks for get-out-the-vote campaigns for Democratic, and sometimes Republican, politicians and for toothless lobbying efforts. For the unions to become instruments of militant struggle against the exploiters requires fighting against the politics of the labor bureaucracy, which places faith in capitalist politicians and state agencies.

To their credit, Quill and Toussaint defied anti-labor laws by leading transit workers on strike. But these exceptional acts ran against the grain of their own class-collaborationist outlook. Quill, who in the 1930s was associated with the Stalinized Communist Party (CP), was by the late 1940s an ardent red-baiter and became closely tied to the city's Democratic machine. Toussaint, who is also tied to the Democrats, was elected in 2000 as the candidate of the New Directions outfit, which had treacherously used the bosses' courts against union opponents. Notably, Toussaint did not call on the city labor tops to mobilize their ranks in support of the transit strike and never set up picket lines at other transit systems. The labor bureaucrats are quite aware that any such action would jeopardize their privileges and their connections with capitalist politicians.

Class Struggle vs. Class Collaboration: The 1930s

The model for the kind of "labor-friendly" administration the union tops seek was the 1930s New Deal government of Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt. Liberals and labor tops in particular hail Roosevelt's 1933 National Industrial Recovery Act (NRA), whose section 7(a) stated that workers have "the right to organize and bargain collectively." An article by Bob Master and Hetty Rosenstein of the Communications Workers of America (posted on the Web site of the social-democratic *Labor Notes*), titled "No Short-Cuts: Mobilization and Politics Must Drive Labor's Revival from the Bottom Up," claims that the NRA and other New Deal laws "were a critical *prerequisite* of the organizing success of that era" (emphasis in original). They write that these laws "crucially opened up the space for workers to organize without fear of instantaneous police or military suppression."

In fact, the NRA was enacted in the depths of the Great Depression to save the tottering banking system, forestall corporate bankruptcies and put capitalism on the road to new profits. A revival of the economy between 1934 and 1937 spurred massive labor unrest as workers began to feel their strength. A subsequent downturn was ended through the military buildup for World War II.

The purpose of Section 7(a) and other such regulations and laws, especially the 1935 Wagner Act, was to *head off* workers struggles by setting up and reinforcing labor boards and arbitration mechanisms. Even before the NRA took effect, miners union leader John L. Lewis, who compared the law to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, sent organizers into the coal fields, shouting "The president wants you to join the union." But Section 7(a) essentially repeated language already contained in such laws as the Railway Labor Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Act. As Art Preis of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) noted in *Labor's Giant Step* (1964), "Labor already had that right to organize—whenever it exercised the right and fought to maintain it." It took bitter, determined struggle for the mass union organizing drives to win.

Combined with the victory of fascism in Germany, the impact of the Depression sowed the seeds for a leftward radicalization of the U.S. working class. The year 1934 saw three citywide strikes: one led by Communists in San Francisco, the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters strikes, and a general strike led by left-wing socialists in Toledo. Further struggles over the next few years led to the formation of the CIO industrial unions, in many cases under the leadership of self-described communists or socialists. A key tactic was the sit-down strike, with workers occupying a factory or warehouse in open defiance of capitalist property rights.

The Minneapolis strikes demonstrated the ability of labor, led by class-struggle militants, to prevail against the union-busting bosses and the capitalist state. Led by Trotskyists of the Communist League of America (CLA—precursor to the SWP) working through the AFL Teamsters General Drivers' Local 574, the strikes began with a work stoppage by coal yard drivers in February. Mass picketing shut down the yards completely, winning union recognition in just three days.

This laid the groundwork for a general strike of drivers and warehousemen in May, which also won in short order. Local 574 dispatched flying picket squads to fight strikebreakers. A two-day battle in the City Market ended with the flight of the entire police force and special deputies in what strikers dubbed "The Battle of Deputies Run."

The bosses retaliated by provoking a third strike in July, which lasted over a month. They were aided by International Brotherhood of Teamsters president Daniel Tobin, a reactionary craft unionist and notable FDR supporter, who started a red-baiting campaign against the strike leadership. Local 574 organized support among women, the unemployed, farmers and professionals. CLA leaders James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman flew in to help produce a daily strike paper, *The Organizer*, which countered the lies of the capitalist press.

Despite the imposition of martial law and the strikers' exhaustion, the third strike solidly established the union and the authority of its leadership. Previously an open-shop town, Minneapolis became a solid union town. The 1934 strikes also spurred the growth of the Teamsters into a powerful, national industrial union. Tobin, meanwhile, repeatedly tried to drive Trotskyists out of the union leadership. This was achieved only through the government's Smith Act prosecution of SWP leaders—including those involved in the strikes—in the early 1940s for their opposition to U.S. imperialism during World War II.

The Trotskyists' tactics flowed from their revolutionary Marxist program and its crucial component, the independence of the working class from the capitalist state and its politicians. Summing up the experience, Cannon wrote in *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944):

> "The strikes of that period brought the government, its agencies and its institutions into the very center of every situation. A strike leader without some conception of a political line was very much out of date already by 1934. The old fashioned trade union movement, which used to deal with the bosses without governmental interference, belongs in the museum. The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all of its auxiliary setups....
>
> "Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity."

New Deal Labor Wars

The AFL craft-union federation, which had lost substantial ground between 1920 and 1933, grew slowly (even compared to company unions) in the course of the upsurge of labor struggle. The citywide strikes in 1934, which broke craft boundaries and grasped the weapon of class struggle, pointed to the need for a broader union organization structure. And the fact that the strikes had been led by leftists alarmed AFL leaders like John L. Lewis, who was determined to cut off Communists and Socialists from gaining leadership of the radicalized workers. Lewis became the founder of the Committee for Industrial Organization (later renamed the Congress of Industrial Organizations), which formalized its break with the AFL in 1938. Despite his political conservatism and contempt for union democracy, Lewis was at the same time a more far-sighted bureaucrat who perceived the need to organize industrial unions in the mass production industries (steel, rubber, auto, etc.).

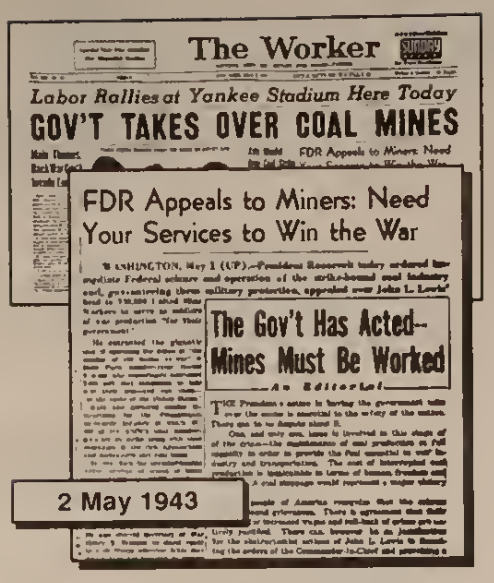
1935 also saw the passage of the Wagner Labor Relations Act. While the AFL officials hailed the Wagner Act as the "Magna Carta of Labor" because of its nominal recognition of union rights, its purpose was to set up mechanisms for integrating the unions into the capitalist state. The NRA, which was voided by the Supreme Court in 1935, had only flirted with that task. The Wagner Act stated in its preamble that its goal was to remove "sources of industrial strife and unrest" and gave the newly created National Labor Relations Board wide powers to determine which unions would be recognized as bargaining agents. During the Cold War beginning in the late 1940s, these powers were used to destroy leftist-led unions.

The New Deal's facade of cooperation between labor and capital offered no protection against violent strikebreaking. Preis observed, "The Wagner Act proved no more effective than section 7(a) in protecting the workers' right to organize and bargain collectively. It took a couple of million workers in the 1936-37 sit-down wave to actually seize that right by the

continued on page 11

Wide World

1943: Coal miners won strike in defiance of Roosevelt's WWII no-strike ban. In name of imperialist war effort, Communist Party paper supported FDR's strikebreaking moves.


The Worker

Labor Rallies at Yankee Stadium Here Today

GOV'T TAKES OVER COAL MINES

FDR Appeals to Miners: Need Your Services to Win the War

The Gov't Has Acted--Mines Must Be Worked

An Editorial

2 May 1943

Minnesota Historical Society

Unionists battle strikebreaking cops and deputies during 1934 Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters strike.

French Trotskyists Say:

Down With Racist "First Employment" Law! Defend Ghetto Youth!

We print below a translation of a March 15 supplement of Le Bolchévik, *newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League.*

LE BOLCHEVIK

State repression and intimidation of demonstrators protesting the First Employment Contract (CPE) grow more intense every day, with a growing number of arrests. ***Freedom now for all protesters! Drop all charges!*** The riot cops are tear-gassing and beating students, just as the state last November went after the youth of African and North African origin from the working-class districts who revolted against daily racist oppression and the death at the hands of the cops of two youth fleeing a police checkpoint in Clichy-sous-Bois. For these youth as well ***we demand they be immediately freed and all charges dropped!***

The CPE would impose a two-tier system for workers, with a probation period of two years for those under 26 years old. Young workers, whatever their social or ethnic origins, will find themselves at the mercy of their employers: if just once they refuse to work overtime, if just once they go on strike or are seen discussing with a union activist, if they get pregnant, and so on, they are likely to be shown the door. This measure seeks to weaken the union movement even more and to prepare new attacks targeting all workers. That's why the whole working class has a direct stake in beating back this new attack.

The first targets of the CPE are the suburban ghetto youth who already experience massive unemployment, permanent racist segregation in hiring, education and housing, and constant cop harassment. The so-called "equal opportunities" law, of which the CPE is just one component, also anticipates suspending if not eliminating the family allowance for parents of youth who skip school or "because of any other difficulty linked to inadequate parental authority." In other words, this law targets the poorest layers of the population, especially those of working-class origins and most particularly families headed by single parents of immigrant origin. [Prime Minister Dominique] de Villepin said as much in his TV interview on March 12, seeking to appease the students and more generally to divide the youth by saying that this measure is aimed at the unemployed ghetto youth and that (white) students, with their qualifications, will continue (?!) to receive permanent contracts. ***Down with the CPE! Down with the racist "equal opportunities" law! Down with the racist Vigipirate police checks! The workers movement must defend the ghetto youth!***

AP

Paris, March 23: Plainclothes and riot cops attack and arrest protester following student demonstration.

Reuters

Students and unions march in Paris on March 18 against anti-youth employment law.

The CPE is all about undermining the integrity of the working class by reinforcing the divisions between young and old and between dark-skinned youth of non-European origin and those of European origin. It's an attempt to manipulate youth, especially those from the ghettos, against the trade unions themselves. To repel this attack, the workers movement must overcome the narrow limits of trade unionism and confront head-on the special oppression of immigrants and of French-born youth of North African and African origin. The workers movement must fight racist segregation in housing, education and hiring. ***For the division of all the work among all workers, without loss in pay, on permanent contracts!*** Not only is the capitalist system incapable of resolving unemployment, but it is the system itself that produces a layer of the permanently unemployed in order to increase the exploitation of all workers. Any serious struggle on this question poses the question of overthrowing the whole capitalist system by workers revolution.

The union leaders and the social democrats—mostly the Socialist Party (PS) but also the Communist Party (PCF)—oppose the CPE, while also trying to put a brake on workers' strike actions. That's why the second major union mobilization was called for March 18, a Saturday. But back in November, these same union bureaucrats didn't lift their little finger to defend the youth under siege in the ghettos. As for the PS and PCF, at the height of the revolt, they were calling for the bourgeois state to "re-establish order," with the PS even openly supporting the "state of emergency" in order to defend "their" republic. So now when these same misleaders angrily decry [Interior Minister Nicolas] Sarkozy/de Villepin's anti-youth attacks and the government's sending in of the riot police against student protesters, it only serves to underline once again their gross hypocrisy and opportunism and their conciliation of racist oppression. ***In fact it was their support to the government against the ghetto youth revolt that emboldened de Villepin to launch his CPE and "unequal opportunities" law in January.***

Behind the social-democratic leaders' anti-CPE radicalism are of course their electoral ambitions for 2007. At last they see a way to try and wipe out the memory of [PS prime minister Lionel] Jospin's "Plural Left," the previous popular-front government (that is, a government of the PS and PCF together with small bourgeois parties like the Chevènementists, the Left Radicals and Greens). It was Jospin's "Plural Left" that last time around introduced its own brand of minimum-wage youth jobs, put in place the university "reform" and re-launched the racist Vigipirate identity checks. The social democrats, especially the PCF, peddle the lie that they have supposedly learned their lesson, and if they are elected they'll be out there defending the interests of workers, immigrants and youth. But administering the capitalist system means first and foremost defending the interests of their "own" bourgeoisie and its rate of profit against foreign capitalist rivals—which means heightened exploitation of workers and more oppression at home, in the ex-colonies, in East Europe and beyond.

The students must turn to the working class. They should place no confidence in the anti-CPE proclamations of some university presidents, who carry out their ministerial directives to cut budgets, lay off workers and privatize the auxiliary services [cafeterias, cleaning]; they hire campus security and call in the cops, etc. Students' potential allies on campus are not the university presidents who represent the capitalists, but the campus workers and teachers. Capitalism isn't a set of policies from which its rulers can pick and choose; it's a system rooted in the exploitation of one class by another, and the ruling class wields its riot cops, its courts and prisons to try and ensure that this relationship of forces remains in effect. The role of the universities is to train the next generation of ideologues and administrators to run the capitalist system. Students have the choice to either conform—or to rally to the cause of socialist revolution.

The CPE is the latest in a line of anti-worker, anti-youth attacks, and it must be defeated. But even if it were, the capitalists would take the offensive again with new attacks. To finish once and for all with such "flexibility" measures, intrinsic to capitalism, it's the system itself which must be destroyed. We are fighting to build a revolutionary workers party—multiethnic and internationalist—whose goal is to lead the working class in socialist revolution. And that means combatting the politics of those, including the many student activists amongst the Communist Youth and the UNEF student federation, who spout their "fight the right" rhetoric today to pave the way tomorrow to yet another *capitalist* popular-front government led by the PS and PCF.

In May '68, the students' actions sparked a three-week workers general strike, mobilizing millions of workers in the streets, but also importantly at first, in factory occupations. It was those strikes and factory occupations which shook up the ruling class not only here in France but across the world. But in the absence of a revolutionary party, the strikes were demobilized and betrayed, chiefly by the Stalinist Communist Party which, thanks to its influence within the working class, was ultimately able to save the skin of the French bourgeoisie.

But today is not 1968. Now that the degenerated Soviet workers state was destroyed in 1991-1992, the capitalists around the world are stepping up their offensive to demolish workers' gains,

continued on page 11

U of C United-Front Rally Demands:

Drop Charges Against Anti-Military Recruitment Protesters!

CHICAGO, March 21—Over 70 students and faculty at the University of Chicago came out to a March 8 rally to demand: "Drop all charges against the anti-military recruitment protesters now! Administration hands off! No disciplinary actions!" The Spartacus Youth Club initiated this united-front demonstration in defense of four protesters arrested by campus cops at the U of C's Reynolds Club on February 21 during a protest against Marine recruiters. Jeremy Cohan and Ben Fink were arrested for rightfully standing their ground in the face of the campus administration's demands that they end their protest against the Marines, while SYC supporters Tom Discepola and Brian Stapleton were arrested for leading chants of "Administration hands off!" and "Recruiters off campus!" in Cohan and Fink's defense. All four face prosecution on bogus charges of disorderly conduct.

Young Spartacus

U of C, March 8: SYC-initiated united-front protest in defense of anti-military recruitment protesters.

As part of our defense campaign, the SYC issued a statement on February 27 calling on students to protest these arrests and stating: "We urge students to protest military recruiters as part of the struggle against the brutal occupation of Iraq and the entire imperialist system. Military recruiters off campus now!" ("Drop Charges Against U of C Protesters!" *WV* No. 865, 3 March). In addition to building widely on campus for the defense rally, the SYC has also circulated a petition demanding that the charges be dropped and has written to the campus newspaper, the *Chicago Maroon*.

More than 40 individuals and organizations endorsed the March 8 united-front rally, including faculty, students and student groups, such as the Environmental Concerns Organization (ECO). Speakers at the rally included three of the arrested protesters, Jeremy Cohan and the two SYC supporters, as well as Professor Robert J. Richards, who gave voice to widespread faculty outrage over the arrests. Not surprisingly, some organizations that hate the SYC's Marxist politics, such as the fake-socialist outfit Spark and the anti-communist liberals of the campus ACLU and Amnesty International, refused to endorse.

March Separately, Strike Together

For a communist organization, the united front is a *tactic*:

> "The dual nature of the UF [united front] is captured in the CI [Communist International] slogan, 'March separately, strike together.' Each participant in the UF retains its organizational identity; agreement in the UF need pertain only to the details of the specific action to be carried out and can only be reached through unanimous agreement. Another slogan which captures the dual nature of the UF is 'freedom of criticism, unity in action'."
>
> —"On the United Front," printed in *On the United Front* (1976), a Spartacus Youth League pamphlet

Within this framework, the SYC sought the endorsements of all who understood that the right to free speech on campus was under serious attack at the U of C. As Joe Feinberg, a member of the 49th Street Underground (a self-described "anti-capitalist group"), said at the rally: "There used to be a slogan in the labor movement that a lot of people have forgotten these days that went 'an injury to one is an injury to all.' So to me it's not an issue of whether I agree with the people who are endorsing this. I don't agree with everything the Spartacus Youth Club says, or anyone else, but that's why we come together to debate things, discuss things."

For the SYC, building the biggest and broadest united-front defense goes hand in hand with seeking to win youth to our revolutionary Marxist perspective. At the rally, arrested protester and SYC supporter Brian Stapleton spoke to the connection between our fight against the military on campus and our broader program:

> "We were out protesting the military recruiters because as communists, we are opposed to bourgeois militarism on principle, including the imperialist armed forces recruiting on high school and college campuses for their murderous wars and occupations abroad. We recognize that war is essential to the capitalist system, where imperialist nation-states compete for control of resources and spheres of influence. It is only through international socialist revolution that the material and political roots of bourgeois militarism can be destroyed, and the foundation laid for the construction of an economy based upon human need rather than profit.
>
> "The same goes for military recruiters on campus. While it's a great thing that student protests may succeed in temporarily kicking recruiters off campus, they will keep coming back so long as the imperialist army exists. The fact that the Supreme Court just unanimously upheld the Solomon Amendment shows that the bourgeoisie is intent on keeping schools open to its military recruiters."

Defend Free Speech on Campus! No Reliance on the Administration!

The administration and its mouthpiece, the *Chicago Maroon*, have attempted to justify the outrageous arrests by slandering the four protesters. We have successfully fought against the attempts to malign Jeremy Cohan and Ben Fink for their obvious satirical political theater in carrying a swastika-marked sign that read "Don't join the Marines—join the American Nazi Youth Corps" during their protest against the Marines.

We have also fought the many slanders aimed particularly at the SYC. According to the *Maroon* (24 February), the director of the Office of the Reynolds Club and Student Activities, Sharlene Holly, "said they [supporters of the SYC] escalated the protest and created a dangerous environment." This was exposed by Leah Olm who spoke for ECO at the defense rally: "As somebody who was there when the protesters were arrested in the Reynolds Club last week, the charges by the administration that the Spartacus Youth were creating an unsafe environment are erroneous and ridiculous."

In response to the support our vigorous defense campaign has gained on campus, the *Maroon* published its own smear-job in a March 3 editorial slandering the SYC as "disrupters" whose ideas "have no content except shock-values." The *Maroon* was compelled to print an SYC letter in response on March 7, which stated: "In reality, what the *Maroon* calls 'disruption' is Marxist student activists fighting for the program that only socialist revolution can end the exploitation and oppression endemic to capitalism. The *Maroon* editors find this idea 'shocking'."

For the U of C administration, the "life of the mind" is acceptable as long as opponents of U.S. imperialism don't speak their mind. If they do, they're shut up through cop repression. We warn students that these arrests and administration actions are not aberrant, for either universities in general or the U of C in particular. As an SYC speaker stated at the rally:

> "The Spartacus Youth Club does not rely on the administration to protect free speech on campus. We understand that the administration's role is to maintain this university as a pillar of capitalist society. The U of C is complicit in the crimes of U.S. imperialism and were the brains behind Nagasaki and Hiroshima, which killed hundreds of thousands of innocent people. The U of C is also the leading landlord in Chicago's largely black South Side. Its private army of campus cops have been terrorizing black residents of the surrounding neighborhoods for decades. It is no surprise that the outrageous racist 'ghetto party' happened at this campus. This is also the campus where black student Clemmie Carthens was beat up by the UCPD after they saw him hugging a white girlfriend at night, and the charges pressed against the cops have been dismissed. We want cops off the campus!"

The administration stated in a February 28 letter to an SYC supporter that it "has decided to ask the Cook County State's Attorney's Office to dismiss the criminal charges against you." However, the protesters are still facing charges. In addition, in a meeting with the administration, we were told there would be no university discipline. Still, the administration made its attitude clear in its letter: "The University believes that your conduct was disruptive and that your arrest on the charges was appropriate under these circumstances." So far the administration's hand has been stayed, but defenders of the student protesters need to hold them to their word. An April 5 court date has been set for the protesters. We urge all students to mobilize to fill the courtroom in support of the anti-military recruitment protesters. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BAY AREA
Thursday, April 20, 5 p.m.
Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
SF State University, Rosa Parks F
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

BOSTON
Saturday, April 22, 3 p.m.
The Russian Revolution and the Emancipation of Women
Boston University, College of Arts and Sciences, Room 320
725 Commonwealth Ave.
(BU Central Stop on Green Line B)
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

CHICAGO
Tuesday, April 4, 7 p.m.
Meet the Marxists
University of Chicago, 104 Cobb Hall
5811 S. Ellis Avenue
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, April 8, 2 p.m.
After the Revolution: Economic Planning and the Communist Social Vision
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(near Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK
Wednesday, April 5, 7:30 p.m.
Defend China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam Against Imperialism and Counterrevolution! For Workers Political Revolution!
Columbia University, 703 Hamilton Hall
116th Street and Broadway
(take 1 train to 116th St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

Revolutionaries and World War II

We reprint below the second and concluding part of an edited version of the presentation given by Comrade Olly Laing at a Spartacus Youth Group forum in London on 22 October, which appeared in the Young Spartacus *pages of* Workers Hammer *No. 193 (Winter 2005-2006), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain. The first part of this presentation appeared in* WV *No. 865, 3 March.*

PART TWO

Though the Leninist position of revolutionary defeatism of all the capitalist powers was the main thrust of Trotskyist policy during World War II, there was a political deviation from this perspective. Based on their hatred of fascism, the British and American working classes were overwhelmingly supportive of the conscription drive and war effort against Nazi Germany. By 1940 the Nazis had occupied most of Western Europe in a matter of months and stood across the Channel—less than 30 miles from Britain. There was enormous pressure on the American and particularly the British Trotskyists to accommodate to the misguided consciousness amongst the workers—pushed by the reformists such as the Labour Party in Britain—that they must support their so-called "democratic" bourgeoisie in a war against the fascist powers. The "Proletarian Military Policy" (PMP), first adopted by the American SWP in September 1940, was a partial capitulation to this consciousness.

It's a fact that Trotsky authored the first expression of what became the PMP. However, he was murdered by a Stalinist assassin shortly before its formal adoption and didn't have the chance to defend or reconsider the PMP in the debate raging within the Fourth International. Observing the rapid advance of the Nazi armies in Europe, Trotsky saw how the European bourgeoisies had given up the fight and accommodated the Nazis very easily. This was particularly so in France whose bourgeoisie was, if anything, even more anti-Semitic than the German ruling class and wanted to smash the organised working class just as much. Generalising this experience, Trotsky predicted that the remaining "democracies" would soon appease Hitler or turn into military dictatorships, ripping off their democratic mask. This would quickly expose their reactionary character to the working class which, armed and with military training from the capitalist state itself, would direct its anti-fascist and democratic sentiment against its "own" imperialist rulers. But this underestimated the extent to which the British and American imperialists would use the facade of a democratic crusade against fascism to further their own war aims: a facade which the PMP complemented. We of the ICL are unique today in opposing the PMP. And now I'll tell you why.

Yevgeni Khaldei

Soviet soldiers raise red flag over Berlin's Reichstag, 1945. Red Army smashed Hitler's Third Reich.

Artrage

Peasants rally under red flag in Punjab. British and Indian Communist parties subordinated the fight for Indian independence to support for British imperialism in WWII.

The central demand of the PMP was to call for trade-union control of the compulsory military training being carried out by the imperialist state, with "federal funds for the military training of workers and worker-officers." The implication that working-class organisations could control a function of the bourgeois army was wildly utopian. It went against the Leninist understanding of the state. The military is part of the "special bodies of armed men" that make up the state. The police, prisons and army in a capitalist state are there to defend capitalist property relations and the rule of the bourgeoisie against any threat to its order, including the working class—the ultimate potential threat. These oppressive institutions cannot be reformed to act in the interests of the workers. They must be smashed and replaced by organs of working-class rule through a socialist revolution. Revolutionaries fight for democratic rights for the soldiers within the bourgeois military, and for the forming of soldiers soviets, or councils, to further a split within the army, with the rank-and-file soldiers coming over to the side of the workers in a socialist revolution against the bourgeoisie. And if the working class is conscripted, revolutionaries will go into the military with the rest of their generation in order to further this split. But this does not mean revolutionaries support the imperialists' conscription drive and war effort.

Calling for the funding of military training, even if under the control of the trade unions, the PMP was in brazen opposition to the slogan of revolutionaries in the first world war: "Not a man and not a penny" for the imperialist military. It went against the elementary Leninist revolutionary defeatism during interimperialist war that the main enemy was the working class's "own" imperialist bourgeoisie. Ultimately the PMP could only be for the trade unions to control and to make more efficient the American and British imperialist war effort.

Trotsky was wrong in his support for the PMP in 1940—in fact his and the Fourth International's positions in the build-up to and early months of World War II are the most effective polemics against the PMP. In his 1934 polemic "War and the Fourth International" Trotsky tears apart the bleatings of reformists about the need to support the bourgeoisies of the democratic countries in order to fight fascism. He wrote:

> "The sham of national defense is covered up wherever possible by the additional sham of the ***defense of democracy***. If even now, in the imperialist epoch, Marxists do not identify democracy with fascism and are ready at any moment to repel fascism's encroachment upon democracy, must not the proletariat in case of war support the democratic governments against the fascist governments?
>
> "Flagrant sophism! We defend democracy against fascism by means of the organizations and methods of the proletariat. Contrary to the Social Democracy, we do not entrust this defense to the bourgeois state.... And if we remain in irreconcilable opposition to the most 'democratic' government in time of peace, how can we take upon ourselves even a shadow of responsibility for it in time of war when all the infamies and crimes of capitalism take on a most brutal and bloody form?"

The PMP went against the entire nature of Trotsky and the Fourth International's otherwise heroic and revolutionary defeatist intervention into the war. In the "democratic" imperialists' colonies the Trotskyists went nowhere near the PMP. Within a few weeks of Britain's announcement that India was at war with the Axis powers, 90,000 workers were on strike against the war in Bombay, with strikes and mass meetings in Calcutta and elsewhere. If the Trotskyists had demanded, during this strike wave, that the British imperialists fund military training under trade-union control so that the Indian masses could "fight fascism" and defend British "democracy," it would have meant their virtual dissolution into the British administration. This most starkly demonstrates the absurdity and the anti-internationalist parochialism of the PMP. It only had application for the Anglo-American imperialist centres, not their enslaved colonies or, of course, the fascist and military dictatorships of the Axis powers.

In 1942 a gigantic movement for independence known as the "Quit India" movement swept the subcontinent. Inspired by Japanese military victories in Britain's Far East colonies, barricades went up in the streets of Bombay and strikes erupted with millions shouting "Long Live the Revolution!" The British retaliated by killing thousands, bombing villages and interning tens of thousands in concentration camps. The Trotskyists of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India intervened heroically calling for "Down with imperialism! Down with the imperialist war!"

If British imperialism's war effort had been damaged by colonial uprisings abroad and working-class struggle at home, it would have been a good thing for revolutionaries and the masses of the world—including the British working class. As our comrades pointed out in "Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy'" [*Prometheus Research Series* No. 2, February 1989]: "***far better*** that intense proletarian class struggle and colonial uprisings paralyze the British and American war effort, perhaps leading to transient German victories, than that the proletariat implicitly support the Allied armies by demanding better trained and equipped soldiers!"

The pamphlet goes on to explain:

> "If mass popular opposition to the war had disrupted the British war effort, leading Hitler to attempt a Channel crossing (as it was, he never mounted a serious effort), the German

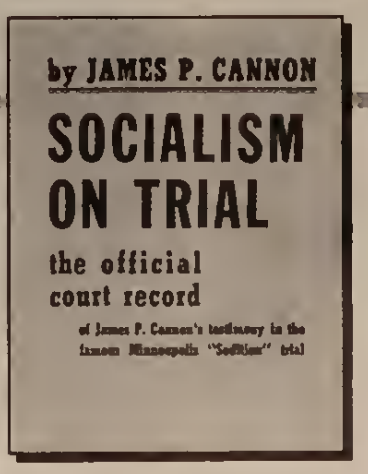
Imperialism and the Myth of the "Democratic" War Against Fascism

> conquerors would have inherited the problems of the British bourgeoisie, compounded by national resentment at the foreign invader. The colonial slaves of the British Empire would doubtless have taken advantage of a humiliating British defeat to declare their independence. It is not hard to imagine the revolutionary world scenario which would have ensued, infecting even the soldiers of the Wehrmacht [the German army], many of whom were sons of Social Democratic and Communist workers."

For anyone who thinks winning the worker-soldiers of the German army over to the overthrow of Nazism is just wishful thinking, I should point out that 80,000 German soldiers were shot or hanged by Nazi authorities for insubordination or desertion during the war. As well as the Trotskyist cells I have already mentioned, there are other instances of proletarian resistance and solidarity within the German army that we know about. One example was reported by the American SWP's newspaper, the *Militant*. It printed two letters in 1942 from a socialist worker drafted into the German army. He had spent three weeks in Warsaw at the end of 1941 where he had made contact with Jewish Bundists and Polish socialists, for whom he raised 500 marks from his underground resistance group upon returning to Berlin.

Many may think that the Trotskyist position of turning the imperialists' second world war into a series of socialist revolutions against all the capitalist powers, even if courageous and principled, never had any chance of happening. But there *were* pre-revolutionary situations around the world during and because of World War II. Proving the policy of revolutionary defeatism correct, the military defeat of the fascist Italian bourgeoisie in 1943 led to the Italian working class rising up and taking their revenge against Mussolini and his ilk. They seized arms and formed workers councils, creating a pre-revolutionary situation against the capitalist order. Similar revolutionary opportunities occurred with the defeat of the Nazi-collaborator regime in occupied France. But it was the betrayals of Stalinism which strangled these revolutionary opportunities. Desperate not to see the overthrow of capitalism by workers revolution in the West, the Stalinist bureaucracy ordered the re-emerging Communist parties in Italy and France to instruct the workers to disarm and join the governments of the supposedly progressive "democratic" bourgeoisie.

Had the workers made their revolution, under the kind of leadership the Trotskyists were fighting to build, there was every chance that the working-class conscripts of the American and British armies in Italy and France would have refused to crush them and indeed supported them. A revolutionary appeal to these soldiers, particularly the black GIs who faced vicious racist discrimination in the forces and at home, could have split the base of the armies from the officers, winning it over to the cause of socialist revolution. Stalin also allowed the British imperialists to crush the Greek Communist Party-led uprising at the end of the war. After the defeat of the Japanese imperialists, the Vietnamese Trotskyists—with a mass following amongst the workers—led the 1945 Saigon insurrection against the reinvading French colonialists who were supported by British forces. The uprising was put down and the Trotskyist forces massacred, not only by the French and British imperialists but above all by the Vietnamese Stalinists.



Pioneer

Trotskyist leaders imprisoned under Smith Act during WWII for revolutionary opposition to U.S. imperialism. SWP leader James P. Cannon's trial testimony was published as a pamphlet (above).

Even though the PMP was adopted in theory in America by the SWP, in practice—because it was utopian and because the American Trotskyists *did* focus on opposing the American imperialist war effort—it never came to anything.

There were two Trotskyist groups in Britain at the start of the war: the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Workers International League. The Revolutionary Socialist League opposed the PMP, correctly arguing that it was a concession to social-patriotism. The Workers International League, however, embraced it—though there was opposition to it within the party. The Workers International League remained revolutionary defeatist towards British imperialism in its activities. It highlighted British atrocities in its colonies during the war and called for their immediate unconditional independence. It actively supported strikes and made clear in a headline from its newspaper *Socialist Appeal*: "Capitalist Second Front will crush European Revolution." But its support for the PMP did blunt its revolutionary propaganda and provided for a current that was conciliatory to social-chauvinist defensism of British imperialism. There is a flyer from the time for a meeting of the Workers International League. It says workers control of production is the answer to the chaos of the war effort. It doesn't mention any opposition to the imperialist war. At a 1943 Workers International League conference, one of its leading members, Ted Grant, went so far as to voice his support for an army of British imperialism. He declared: "We have a victorious army in North Africa and Italy, and I say, yes, Long Live the Eighth Army, because that is our army" (quoted in Sam Bornstein/Al Richardson, *War and the International* [1986]). Grant was talking at a time when there was working-class dissent in the Eighth Army. But it was still very much an army of British imperialism. Grant's statement is an example of the seeds of social-chauvinist and reformist perspectives that were to grow and contribute to producing the many Labourite outfits sometimes referring to themselves as Trotskyists in the decades since the war.

WV Photo

Spartacist-initiated contingent at January 2003 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco.

The Socialist Party: Parodying the PMP

Ted Grant went on to lead a reformist outfit called Militant, which was characterised by being deeply buried inside the Labour Party until it was thrown out in the early 1990s. The [British] Socialist Party of today has its origins in the Militant group and still holds to Militant's reformist social-chauvinist tradition. In a Socialist Party meeting a week after the 7 July [London] terrorist bombings, Socialist Party speakers, including its leader Peter Taaffe, participated in an orgy of social-patriotic ravings about the need for the working class to unite against terrorism and war. They said what was needed was for the trade unions to help in organising a campaign for this unity. This sentiment was repeated in its newspaper for the next four weeks in a row, with the front page spelling out such slogans as: "No to terrorism, no to war" and "Workers' unity against war and terrorism." We Marxists of the International Communist League of course condemn all terrorist attacks against innocent civilians. But this condemnation does not mean echoing the British ruling class's own campaign for mobilising national unity "against terrorism," which is aimed at maintaining class peace and arming the state to the teeth with reactionary racist "anti-terror" legislation. The Socialist Party's demands for demonstrations to be built by trade unions and working-class organisations under the slogans "United against terror" and "United against war" conceal the fact that the biggest threat to the working class and oppressed at this moment in time is not terrorism but the "anti-terror" laws.

In providing a thin proletarian veneer for the ruling class's own aims of national unity in the "war against terrorism," it is as though the Socialist Party are acting out their own bizarre parody of the PMP. Instead of trade-union control of the war "against fascism," today they are practically calling for trade-union control of the "war on terror." The difference being, of course, that the PMP was a result of tremendous pressures on Trotskyists resulting from the Nazi victories and a desire of the working class to fight fascism. The Socialist Party's unity campaign against "terrorism and war" is the result of its standard reformist practice of shamelessly adapting to the most backward moods and fears within the working class which are conditioned by bourgeois scaremongering.

In contrast we communists of the Spartacus Youth Group and International Communist League base ourselves on the principles laid out by Trotsky at the founding conference of the Fourth International:

> "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's programme on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour of action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International."

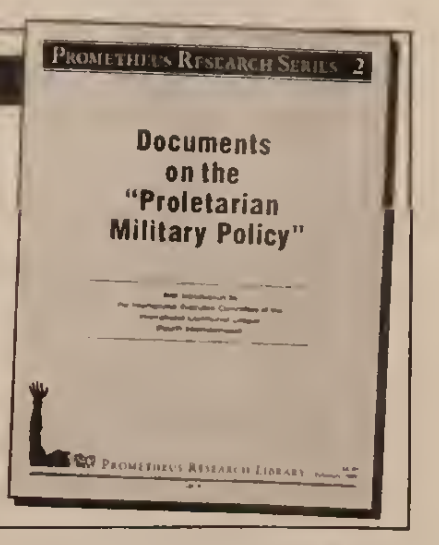
This is our tradition and this is why we honour those Trotskyists in World War II who swam against the stream in the fight against imperialism—fascist and "democratic"—and the struggle for socialist revolution, the only road for the liberation of humanity. A struggle which today we fight to carry forward. ■

Prometheus Research Series No. 2

Includes "Trotskyist Policies on the Second Imperialist War—Then and In Hindsight," an introduction by the International Executive Committee of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) plus documentary material, including resolutions from the founding conference of the RCP in Britain (1944), SWP (U.S.) resolution on the "Proletarian Military Policy" (1940) and Max Shachtman's 1940-41 polemics.

$9 (includes postage) 102 pages

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



Protests...

(continued from page 12)

came in the 1960s and '70s from the countries of France's former colonial empire, especially from North Africa and, more recently, West Africa. The LTF demands full citizenship rights for *all* who have made it to France, including undocumented immigrants and asylum-seekers!

The reformist working-class leaders, whose sights are trained on presidential and legislative elections next year, are seeking to put together a new popular-front coalition. The popular front is a class-collaborationist alliance between mass parties of the working class, such as the PCF and PS, and bourgeois parties, such as the Greens or the grouping around ultra-nationalist Jean-Pierre Chevènement. This treacherous policy subordinates the working class to the class enemy, undercutting class struggle and demoralizing the proletariat.

The multiethnic French working class ***can be*** mobilized against racist attacks. On 9 November 2005, in Bobigny, a working-class suburb of Paris, a demonstration that had been called by the trade-union leaders around economic demands became focused instead on the racist cop terror that was sweeping the ghettos. At the demonstration were workers from the Citroën auto plant in Aulnay-sous-Bois, where the workforce is largely of immigrant origin. Several of them underscored the link between the layoff of 500 temporary workers the previous month and the revolt in the minority housing projects of that same city.

Stuttgart, Germany: Recent public workers demonstration against government attempt to increase workweek from 38.5 hours to at least 40.

It could not be clearer that the fight against the bosses' anti-labor attacks must place at its center the defense of the minority population against racist terror and discrimination and that this in turn requires a political struggle against the parties of the popular front. A small but telling example of this point was seen at a Rouen student assembly on March 24 when our comrades introduced a motion calling for "freeing all students and *banlieue* youth arrested now! And to lift all charges against them!" This motion was initially favorably received by the bulk of the 150 students at the assembly. It was the "far left," acting as the fighting vanguard of the racist popular front, that ensured the defeat of this elementary statement of unity between the students and the ghetto youth.

A speaker for Gauche Révolutionnaire (GR), affiliated to Peter Taaffe's British-centered Committee for a Workers' International (CWI) and Socialist Alternative in the U.S., called on the students to enlist the support of the police in demanding the release of those arrested. This expressed the CWI's notorious position that the bosses' cops are "workers in uniform." GR's call provided an entry for a speaker from the UNEF student association, which is supported by the PS and Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, to openly defend the cops for doing their job when they arrested "*casseurs*." A counterposed motion, which avoided explicitly defending the *banlieue* youth, was passed with the support of the entire "far left," including some of the anarchists present.

Some of these anarchists later admitted to our comrades that they had made a mistake in not supporting our motion. At a March 27 meeting of the student assembly in Rouen, upon our comrades' initiative a motion was passed demanding the exclusion of police from the protests and calling for cops "out of the labor unions and the workers movement!"

At a student assembly in the Paris suburb of St. Denis on March 24, where our comrades also argued for defense of the *banlieue* youth, a speaker from Lutte Ouvrière (LO) explicitly defended the use of goon squads to physically exclude "*casseurs*" from the demonstrations. Our comrades have engaged in sharp political struggles with the anarchists and social democrats over our defense of the Russian Revolution of 1917, whose final overturn in 1991-92 paved the way for the current anti-working-class and anti-immigrant assault.

AFP

30 October 2005: Cops arrest youth in Paris suburb during crackdown against ghetto rebellion that swept France.

Racist attacks on minorities are a hallmark of the popular front as it enforces capitalist austerity against the working class. The Vigipirate plan of racist cop terror in the ghettos was introduced by the popular-front government under President François Mitterrand in the lead-up to the 1991 Persian Gulf War. In the fall of 1998, in the face of a growing movement by high school students demanding more teachers and protesting the lousy conditions in their schools, the popular-front government led by Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin responded by unleashing police terror against minority youth. The "immediate action plan" proposed by the Jospin government included the creation of 10,000 five-year contracts for "youth jobs," in which youth would work under a special contract at starvation wages with no guarantee of permanent employment.

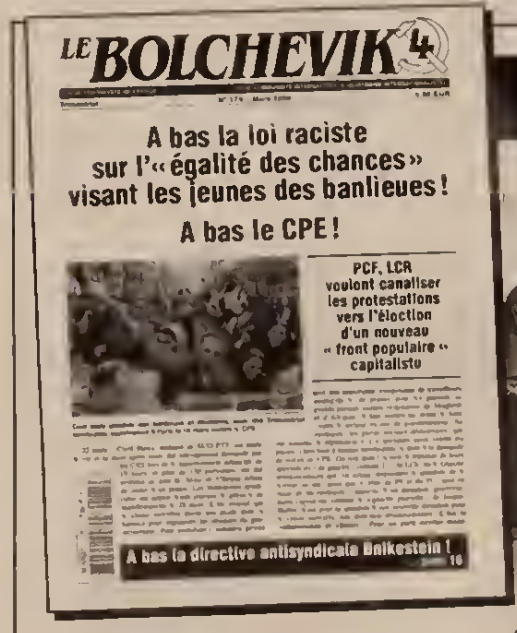
Then as now, the LTF was unique on the French left in coming to the defense of the hundreds of youth rounded up by the police at demonstrations or through arbitrary identity checks. As the LTF wrote in "'*Casseurs*': Code Word for Racist Terror—Only Workers Revolution Can Provide a Future for Youth!" (*Le Bolchèvik* No. 148, Winter 1998-1999):

> "Throughout France, the cops have violently attacked youth from the minority ghettos, using the racist code word '*casseurs*.' This code word is a veritable license to kill directed against youth of immigrant origin....
>
> "The capitalist PS-PC government, the bourgeoisie's executive committee, is trying to set youth from the minority ghettos in the suburbs against the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois youth of the white city centers. Using racism, the government is encouraging the latter's tendency to defend education for the privileged while trying to turn them away from fighting for education for all."

As protests continue in France, Germany has been engulfed by a two-month-long cascade of rolling strikes by the Ver.di public employees union against plans to cut bonuses and to increase the workweek from 38.5 hours to at least 40 hours. In addition, the current coalition government of Christian Democrats and Social Democrats seeks to abrogate the law protecting workers against arbitrary firings and to impose a two-year probation period on all new-hires. The eyes of workers throughout Germany have been fixed on the events in France. Many argue for the need to use "French methods" against the employers, though in the mouths of the union tops this is a warning to the government that they should settle or face increased social unrest. The head of Ver.di in the state of Baden-Württemberg, a stronghold of the public sector strike, declared in a solidarity message to the French workers and students: "Our enemies are already working together. Let's do it, too!"

Throughout West Europe, capitalist governments are intent on overturning the remains of the so-called "welfare state," the social measures introduced mostly during the anti-Soviet Cold War after World War II by bourgeoisies fearful of the spectre of social revolution. Following capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe in 1989-92, the rulers of the European Union (EU) embarked on a wholesale assault on the workers movement aimed at ratcheting up profitability in order to more effectively compete with their imperialist rivals, particularly the U.S. "hyperpower." First and foremost, this has meant racist terror and other attacks directed at immigrants, asylum-seekers and the oppressed minority populations, largely Turkish- and Kurdish-derived in Germany and African- and North African-derived in France. At the same time, these minority workers, as part of the proletariat, have significant social power and have shown great combativity in numerous struggles in recent years to resist the bosses' assaults. However, as long as such struggles are channeled into the dead end of class collaboration and new popular-front governments, the rulers' attacks will only continue and multiply.

Against the reformists' appeal for a ***capitalist*** "social Europe," we call for proletarian revolutions to achieve a ***socialist united states of Europe***. At the time of massive public sector strikes in France in 1995, we warned against the reformists "who claim to offer leadership to the workers only to behead their struggles and divert them into electoral channels" ("For a New, Revolutionary Leadership!" *WV* No. 635, 15 December 1995). Indeed, the combative 1995 strikes were derailed by the reformist misleaders and used to bring to power the racist and anti-working-class Jospin popular front. Our warning is no less true today. What is needed above all is the forging of revolutionary workers parties committed to the complete and unconditional political independence of the proletariat. Those who labor must rule! ■


LE BOLCHEVIK 4
A bas la loi raciste sur l'«égalité des chances» visant les jeunes des banlieues!
A bas le CPE!
PCF, LCR veulent canaliser les protestations vers l'élection d'un nouveau «front populaire» capitaliste
A bas la directive antisyndicale Bolkestein!

Le Bolchévik
Publication of
the Ligue Trotskyste de France
Subscribe! **$5 for 4 issues**
Includes *Spartacist* (French edition)
Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Just Out!

Le Bolchévik

LTF literature table at March 18 student protest.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
International rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail
❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)
❑ I would like to contribute $ _____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____
Address _____
_____ Apt. # _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____
867

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Union Busting...

(continued from page 5)

seizure of hundreds upon hundreds of factories and other places of work." 1933 to 1938 were the years of the most ferocious assault on American labor in its history, with hundreds of workers killed and tens of thousands arrested or otherwise victimized. In the 1937 "Little Steel" strike, led by the CIO Steel Workers Organizing Committee, police killed ten workers near the gates of Republic Steel in South Chicago in what became known as the "Memorial Day Massacre." When Lewis called Roosevelt to protest, the president declared "a plague on both your houses." The governors of Indiana and Ohio dispatched militia units to disperse pickets.

On the part of the CIO tops, including the social democrats and Stalinized Communist Party, the New Deal coalition was a ***betrayal*** of the interests of the working class. It headed off the evident possibility of forging an independent workers party—a perspective fought for by the Trotskyists—by corralling workers behind phony Democratic "friends of labor." Under the umbrella of the Democratic Party, the CIO tops were joined to not only the liberal wing of the capitalist class in the North but also the Southern Dixiecrats, whose rule was buttressed by KKK terror against black people and unionists.

For the CP, political support to Roosevelt and the Democratic Party was the application on U.S. soil of the "Popular Front" strategy adopted by Stalin's Comintern in 1935 following Hitler's rise to power. Hitler was allowed to seize power without a shot being fired as a result of the betrayals by both the reformist German Social Democracy and the Communist Party. The German CP criminally refused to fight for a united front with Social Democratic workers against the Nazis, based on the Stalinist Third Period idiocy that the Social Democracy was the "left wing" of fascism. Making an about-face, the Stalinists put forward the class-collaborationist strategy of the Popular Front—i.e., coalition with the "progressive" bourgeoisies around the world.

Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the October Revolution, commented in his unfinished 1940 essay "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (written shortly before his assassination by a Stalinist agent), "The rise of the CIO is incontrovertible evidence of the revolutionary tendencies within the working masses. Indicative and noteworthy in the highest degree, however, is the fact that the new 'leftist' trade union organization was no sooner founded than it fell into the steel embrace of the imperialist state."

U.S. imperialism's mobilization for World War II further solidified the ties of the labor bureaucracy to the state. The labor leadership agreed to wartime wage controls and a no-strike pledge. In support of the imperialist war effort, the CP even opposed A. Philip Randolph's proposed 1941 "March on Washington" for black rights. John L. Lewis broke from Roosevelt and in 1943 led the miners on strike in defiance of the no-strike pledge. But Lewis's break was in the direction of the Republicans.

For Proletarian Class Independence!

Emerging victorious after the war, the U.S. rulers shortly afterward launched the Cold War against the Soviet Union. At home that meant the purge of reds and other militants from the unions and anti-Communist hysteria throughout society. After a strike wave in 1945-46, the biggest in U.S. history, social-democratic labor tops like the United Auto Workers' Walter Reuther joined with the government in driving out Communists, Trotskyists and other militants who had built the CIO. Resistance to the purge was undermined by the CP's previous betrayals, such as their support to the Smith Act prosecution of Trotskyists and their enforcement of the WWII no-strike pledge.

The witchhunt was codified in the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which had the dual aim of driving reds from the unions and banning militant union tactics. Among the actions outlawed were secondary boycotts or sympathy strikes, which had played a crucial role in the formation of the unions, and strikes by federal government employees. New York's Condon-Wadlin Act banning public workers strikes was passed the same year. Millions of unionists denounced Tart-Hartley as the "Slave Labor Law," and when the bill was passed on 23 June 1947, over 200,000 miners walked out in Pennsylvania, Alabama, Ohio, Virginia and West Virginia. Lewis was moved to declare that the labor movement would have been better off if neither the Wagner nor the Taft-Hartley Acts had ever been passed.

The following year, Democratic president Truman, who had made a show of vetoing Taft-Hartley knowing he would be overridden, invoked the law against the miners, packinghouse workers and other unions. Injunctions banned particular strikes, penalized picketers, or, in the case of the International Typographical Union, which was striking five Chicago daily newspapers, prohibited uttering words in furtherance of a strike. In 1999, a Taylor Law injunction against the TWU similarly barred unionists from voicing the word "strike."

A further blow against labor was struck with the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act, aimed primarily at shackling the power of the Teamsters by banning provisions in union contracts giving workers the right to refuse to handle struck goods. The law authorized sweeping government and court powers to intervene in union affairs and finances—a legal sledgehammer that threatened the whole labor movement. In the name of union democracy, the law's "Bill of Rights" section encouraged legal actions against the unions by protecting members who sued their union from being disciplined. The law has been used repeatedly to drag the government and courts into the unions in the name of fighting "corruption" (see "Association for Union Democracy: Lawyers for Government Union-Busting," *WV* No. 738, 30 June 2000).

The Feds assumed sweeping powers in the 1990s over the Teamsters, the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees and the Laborers unions, as well as a number of local district councils. In every case, the government filed or threatened to file a "racketeering" lawsuit, using the 1970 "Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations" (RICO) law. Supposedly enacted to fight gangland crime, RICO became the government's union-busting weapon of choice. In almost every case, Feds and prosecutors were aided by elements within the unions who filed lawsuits using Landrum-Griffin protections.

The Spartacist League has always stood on principle against suing the unions or otherwise inviting the capitalist state to intervene in union affairs. In contrast to virtually every other organization claiming to be Marxist, we gave no support to Arnold Miller, who won the presidency of the United Mine Workers in 1972 through a "reform" movement—Miners for Democracy—that relied on government intervention into the union. Similarly, we opposed Teamsters for a Democratic Union which, supported by *Labor Notes*, Socialist Action, the International Socialist Organization and other reformists, engineered lawsuits that paved the way for the government's takeover of the union.

Currently, five TWU Local 100 vice presidents have lawsuits pending against the Roger Toussaint leadership of Local 100. Toussaint's own past involvement in the union-suing New Directions caucus is consistent with his close relations with Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA) head Patrick Lynch, who has appeared regularly on TWU speaker's platforms. The job of the cops is to safeguard the bosses' profit system. The PBA and other police "unions" are enemies of labor and minorities. Cops, courts out of the unions! Labor must clean its own house!

By their appeals to the bosses' state, union-suing "oppositions" and their ostensibly socialist supporters undermine the very purpose of unions—to defend workers from the bosses—and demonstrate that they are fundamentally no different from the corrupt bureaucrats they seek to replace. Labor needs a leadership based on the ***independence*** of the working class from the bosses' state and political parties. Such a leadership would support the building of a workers party to lead all the exploited and oppressed in the fight for a workers government, under which industry will be ripped out of the hands of the capitalists and a planned, collectivized economy will be built, with production for social need and not private profit. As Trotsky wrote in his 1940 essay: "In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution."■

France...

(continued from page 6)

including those achieved in the wake of May '68, with the CPE being just one attack in the generalized onslaught to increase the French capitalists' levels of profit as against their rivals. The counterrevolution in the former USSR has brought with it an enormous political demoralization of the workers, reinforced in France by the years of capitalist austerity governments headed by popular fronts (Mitterrand, Jospin), so that the working class currently does not see revolutionary socialism as a viable alternative to capitalism.

It wasn't communism, but its parody, Stalinism, which arrived at a dead end. Despite its Stalinist degeneration, we defended the Soviet Union against imperialism and counterrevolution; we fought for a proletarian political revolution to throw out the Stalinist bureaucracy. For example, in East Germany in late 1989 and early 1990, we threw all our forces into fighting for a Red Germany of workers councils, in East and West Germany, and against capitalist reunification. This was counterposed to the role played by the so-called "leftists" of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), Lutte Ouvrière (LO), etc., who supported the counterrevolution and who now whine about the CPE and other consequences of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union.

To break the vicious circle of capitalist governments of the right wing and of the popular front, it's necessary to break with the reformists and expose these traitors. Instead, the so-called "far left" LCR spends its time trying to organize joint meetings and other unconditional proposals of "unity in struggle" with the likes of [PS head] Hollande and [PCF head] Buffet. On March 11, right after the cop attack on the Sorbonne, [LCR leader] Besancenot again appealed to these same forces: "The youth mobilized against the CPE need the support and the solidarity of all the forces of the left, notably against the high-handedness and intransigence of the government. We propose a meeting, at the earliest opportunity, to prepare a united fight back against these latest government attacks." The LCR's crawling before the PS and other "left forces," such as the bourgeois Chevènementists, in hopes of making them more combative can only fuel the worst illusions that the working class and militant youth have in the social-democratic traitors, and give a left cover to their ambitions to take advantage of the anti-CPE campaign for the 2007 elections. The price of the LCR's appeal for unity with the PS & Co. today is to disappear the racist character of the "unequal opportunities law" and the fact that its main target is immigrant-derived and working-class youth in the ghettos.

Today the LCR works for the next PS-PCF government, but in April-May 2002, they used their influence in the massive multiethnic demonstrations of youth against [fascist demagogue] Le Pen to call for a vote to [President] Chirac. Thus they bear a share of responsibility for this reactionary right-wing government. LO opposed voting for Chirac, but their support to the racist law on the [Muslim] headscarf and their narrow economist intervention into the working class facilitate the attacks of Chirac, de Villepin and Sarkozy. These reformist organizations cannot struggle against racist oppression, much less lead the working class toward its social emancipation, because their whole perspective is based on class collaboration.

A revolutionary workers party would combat such class collaboration. A revolutionary leadership of the unions would be seeking to mobilize the working class of this country against the CPE and the police repression of demonstrators. The working class is the source of all the profits that the capitalist class seizes for itself, and when the workers stop work and go on strike, they have the power to shut down production and to stop the flow of profit. Through the defensive class struggles in West Europe and in other parts of the world, Marxism—the theory of scientific socialism and proletarian revolution—must again become understood and accepted as its own by the working class. We struggle to build international revolutionary workers parties to lead the workers to new victorious revolutions, as in October 1917 in Russia.■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
tllt@look.ca

WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist Hysteria Against Ghetto Youth: Tool to Derail Struggle

Mass Protests Shake France

MARCH 28—The protests by workers and students rocking France have created the sharpest political crisis in years for the French bourgeoisie and the rightist government of President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin. Provoked by the government's attempt to impose a new measure, the First Employment Contract (CPE), stripping young workers of any job security, the protest movement has electrified workers throughout the European Union. This is especially the case in Germany, where the government is similarly trying to roll back the wages, rights and benefits won by the working class through decades of struggle.

In the seven weeks since the protests began, dozens of universities around the country have been occupied by students or shut down. The movement spread to the country's high schools and, in the last couple of weeks, to the decaying minority ghettos (*banlieues*) on the outskirts of France's cities. More importantly, the trade unions have played an active role in the protests. The massive and growing response against the CPE has led to divisions within the bourgeoisie, including opposition to de Villepin in his own party.

Today, some three million people were out on the streets throughout France. There were strikes by railroad, air transport and city transport workers in more than 70 cities. Teachers were heavily mobilized, with over 50 percent of high school teachers on strike. This was the widest strike mobilization since the beginning of the struggle against the CPE, affecting not only the public sector but also the private sector, including auto and other metal industries, with their heavily minority workforces. At the same time, the strikes were partial, with the Paris public transport system, for example, largely continuing to function. The government responded to the mobilizations with a heavy hand, with cops firing tear gas at protesters and carrying out at least 400 arrests. While union and student leaders threaten further protests against the CPE, the de Villepin government shows no sign of backing down.

Poujoulat/AFP/Getty

March 28: Workers and youth across France came out for mass protests against government's "First Employment Contract" plan. Above: Marseille. Below: Rennes.

No to a New Popular Front!

For a Multiethnic Revolutionary Party to Fight for Workers Rule!

AP

In an attempt to divide and derail the protest and strike movement by pitting workers and student youth against oppressed minority youth, the government and the press have whipped up hysteria against "violence" by "*casseurs*" (hooligans), a racist code word for ghetto youth. The anger of the ghetto youth in the face of ceaseless police repression and rampant discrimination exploded in mass upheaval throughout France's ghettos last November. The racist hysteria against ghetto youth is being wielded by the authorities and their mouthpieces to try to disappear the bloody violence of the police. Cyril Ferez, a member of the SUD-PTT postal union, lies in a coma after being beaten by riot police during union demonstrations on March 18. Another demonstrator has also suffered head trauma at the hands of the cops. At the March 28 demonstration in Paris, the SUD trade-union federation carried a banner, in honor of Cyril Ferez, against repression and led the union contingents in the march.

There is an "air of manipulation," as the French expression goes, to the anti-*casseur* hysteria. One of the worst rampages supposedly carried out by "*casseurs*" took place in St. Denis at the same time that representatives of the left were planning a referendum to extend the vote in municipal elections to immigrants. The police admit to using plainclothes cops to infiltrate student protests, supposedly to evict "violent" elements. Meanwhile, on March 14, fascists of the National Front and other outfits, armed with metal bars, attacked student protesters near the Sorbonne under the protective eyes of the CRS riot police.

From the start of the anti-CPE protests, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France have intervened at demonstrations, student assemblies and trade-union mobilizations to stress the urgent need for the workers movement and the student protesters to embrace as their own the cause of the ghetto poor. However, the trade-union misleaders, the reformist Communist (PC) and Socialist (PS) parties and their tails on the "far left" have aided and abetted the racist assault. In fact, as a 15 March supplement to *Le Bolchévik* pointed out (see "French Trotskyists Say: Down With Racist 'First Employment' Law! Defend Ghetto Youth!" page 6), "*It was their support to the government against the ghetto youth revolt that emboldened de Villepin to launch his CPE and 'unequal opportunities' law in January.*" Now the reformists have joined in railing against "*casseur* violence," and some protest organizers have even criminally called on the racist cops to throw ghetto youth out of the demonstrations.

At today's march in Paris, many contingents were surrounded by daisy chains aimed at keeping out youth from the *banlieues*. There were incidents of plainclothes cops stopping youth on the sidewalks from getting closer to the demonstrators in the streets. The SP-affiliated CFDT union federation announced from their loudspeakers their opposition to violence and their intention to fight against "hooligans" who might try to disrupt the demonstration. The LTF intervened in Paris and Rouen at today's demonstrations in opposition to the campaign against ghetto youth, selling over 150 copies of *Le Bolchévik* and distributing thousands of our 15 March supplement.

The government's First Employment Contract law creates a national two-tier system in which newly hired youth would become second-class citizens with no protections against layoffs for two years. The CPE is an attack on the entire workers movement as the bourgeoisie tries to use youth who are anxious about their future—unemployment in France tops 20 percent for 18- to 25-year-olds—to drive down wages and working conditions for all workers.

In particular, the CPE is directed against minority youth in the *banlieues* who are victims of cop terror, discrimination and massive unemployment (48 percent in the most recent census). The CPE is an amendment to the so-called "equal opportunity law" that was passed as a direct response to the rebellion of ghetto youth last fall (see "Down With Racist Cop Terror! Ghetto Youth Upheavals Sweep France," *WV* No. 858, 11 November 2005). That law legalizes night work for 15-year-olds and allows apprenticeships starting at 14 years of age, making France the only European country other than Serbia where schooling is not mandatory up to the age of 15. While the racist capitalist media insists on referring to them as "immigrants," France's minority youth are mostly French citizens, born and/or raised in France. They are the children and grandchildren of immigrant workers who

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

10¢

Bilingual reprint from *WV* No. 867 | C-701 | 10 April 2006

Down With Racist U.S. Imperialism!
For Socialist Revolution on Both Sides of the Border!

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Joint Declaration of the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Grupo Espartaquista de México

As millions of impoverished Mexican and Central American immigrants risk their lives to find some means of livelihood in the U.S., the racist U.S. imperialist rulers are proposing a spate of new anti-immigrant measures. Each in its own way, the various proposed "reforms" would further strengthen the stranglehold of repression and regimentation implemented in the name of a bipartisan "war on terror." The HR 4437 bill passed in the House of Representatives in December calls for building 700 miles of wall at the border and for making it a felony to even be an undocumented immigrant, or to assist one in any way. Two alternative proposals in the Senate would also tighten border control, albeit without a new wall, while creating massive "guest worker" programs that amount to indentured servitude.

The racist border wall proposal has provoked widespread outrage in Mexico. In the U.S., opposition runs the gamut from Latino organizations and the trade unions to the Catholic church hierarchy, Democratic Party liberals and even a section of the Republican Party. In Chicago this month, some 100,000 demonstrators marched against these measures. Further protests against HR 4437 are planned in other cities. As proletarian internationalist opponents of U.S. imperialism, the Spartacist League/U.S. opposes both the criminalization of immigrant workers and the legalization of indentured servitude. The SL/U.S. and the Grupo Espartaquista de México, sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), join in calling for the unity in struggle of the U.S. and Mexican proletariat. We demand: Down with racist anti-immigrant repression! No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

We start from the standpoint that only socialist revolution internationally can put an end to the growing immiseration of the toiling masses—both in dependent capitalist countries like Mexico and in the imperialist centers. Under capitalist imperialism, a handful of wealthy industrial powers strive to divide and redivide the rest of the world for their own aggrandizement, leading to neocolonial exploitation and imperialist war. As we explain in the ICL Declaration of Principles (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

> "Modern capitalism, i.e., imperialism, reaching into all areas of the planet, in the course of the class struggle and as economic need demands, brings into the proletariat at its bottom new sources of cheaper labor, principally immigrants from poorer and less-developed regions of the world—workers with few rights who are deemed more disposable in times of economic contraction. Thus capitalism in ongoing fashion creates different strata among the workers, while simultaneously amalgamating the workers of many different lands. Everywhere, the capitalists, abetted by aristocracy-of-labor opportunists, try to poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. The struggle for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism is thus a vital task for the proletarian vanguard."

Marcus

March 25: Some one million people demonstrated in downtown Los Angeles against racist immigration bill.

The massive increase in immigration from Mexico over the past period is a direct result of the imposition of the NAFTA "free trade" agreement in 1994, which forced millions of Mexican peasants out of the countryside and led to a huge increase in urban poverty. Close to 10 percent of the Mexican population now lives in the U.S., and the money they send home—some $20 billion annually—is Mexico's third-largest source of income. A 1991 joint statement of the Mexican, Canadian and U.S. sections of the ICL called to "Stop U.S. 'Free Trade' Rape of Mexico" and declared: "There is a burning need for an *internationalist* proletarian opposition which stands with the working class and impoverished peasantry of Mexico against the imperialist assault" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 530, 5 July 1991).

The fundamental divide in all capitalist countries is the divide between the working class, whose labor makes society run, and the capitalist class, which reaps enormous wealth from exploiting that labor. The Mexican rulers' crocodile tears over the plight of Mexican immigrants is used to enhance the nationalist lie that exploiter and exploited share the same interests because "we are all Mexicans." This is only a smokescreen to cover exploitation and oppression by the parasitic Mexican bourgeoisie, which serves as the local enforcer of imperialist domination. In 2004, the Mexican government arrested almost four times as many Central Americans—over 200,000—seeking transit to the U.S. as were arrested by the U.S. border authorities (*La Jornada*, 13 November 2005). The GEM opposes such attacks and calls for full right of transit as well as full citizenship rights for all those who want to stay in Mexico.

In the U.S., the most powerful and dangerous of the imperialist countries, the multiracial proletariat has a particular obligation to oppose the wars and depredations of the U.S. capitalist class. Defense of immigrant rights is necessary not only to fight the exploitation of the most vulnerable layers of the population. It is also crucial to reversing the decades-long decline of the trade unions, by enlisting immigrant workers, many of whom have a history of militant struggle, in the front ranks of the labor movement. Mexican immigrant workers can serve as a human bridge linking the struggles of the North American and Latin American proletariat.

Opposition to anti-immigrant racism in the U.S. is directly intertwined with the struggle against black oppression. It is particularly important to combat anti-immigrant chauvinism among U.S.-born black and white workers, while immigrant workers must grasp that anti-black racism remains the touchstone of social reaction in the U.S. Black oppression is the cornerstone of American capitalism. It was the Southern slavocracy's desire to extend slavery that partly motivated the 1846 invasion of Mexico, which resulted in the U.S. stealing half of Mexico's territory. A workers government in the U.S. would return to Mexico certain predominantly Spanish-speaking areas along the border.

As expressed in the two Senate "guest worker" bills, the bourgeois opposition to the nativist racist mindset expressed in HR 4437 reflects the interests of employers reliant on low-wage, non-union labor, like Wal-Mart. The bill being fashioned by Republican Arlen Specter with the tacit support of the Bush White House includes criminalization of undocumented immigrants and their supporters. Unlike the Specter proposal, the bill co-authored by

continued on page 2

AP

Mexico City, March 7: Mass rally in solidarity with National Mining and Metallurgical Workers Union after government attack on union leader. ICL fights for class-struggle unity of U.S. and Mexican proletariat.

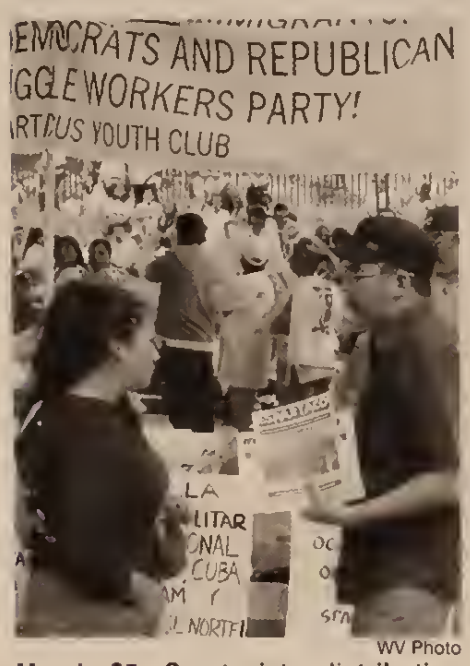
Immigrants...

(continued from page 1)

Republican John McCain and liberal Democrat Ted Kennedy holds out the promise of eventual permanent residency or citizenship for some "guest workers."

Even without the proposed new criminalization provisions, in 2004 more than a million Mexicans were detained trying to enter the U.S. Intensified border repression, whether carried out by the hated *la migra* or vigilante terror gangs like the Minutemen, simply forces desperate immigrants to seek more dangerous and deadly routes. In 2005, at least 279 bodies were found near the Sonora-Arizona border alone. U.S. college students Daniel Strauss and Shanti Sellz were recently arrested in Arizona for attempting to transport several severely dehydrated immigrants to a hospital and face up to 15 years in jail and fines of $250,000 for "conspiring to traffic" immigrants (*Proceso*, 12 March). Drop all charges against Strauss and Sellz!

"Use 'em, abuse 'em and send 'em back" has long been the motto of U.S. capitalists, who have seen Mexico and other countries as a vast reservoir of cheap labor to be tapped in order to drive down wages in the U.S. The current "guest worker" legislation is reminiscent of the notorious *bracero* program of 1942-64, under which thousands of "temporary" Mexican workers, denied the most elementary rights, were brought in to



WV Photo

March 25: Spartacists distributing revolutionary Marxist literature at massive Los Angeles demonstration for immigrant rights.

slave in agribusiness. Former *braceros* and their families are still trying to get wages never paid them.

What is needed is a class-struggle mobilization to *organize the unorganized* into the unions with full rights and protections. The potential for this was seen in the widely popular strike by Southern California supermarket workers—black, Latino and white—in 2003-2004. Had the union tops made a concerted effort to extend the strike nationally and to enlist Teamsters truck drivers in halting shipments to the supermarkets and warehouses, that strike could have ended in a resounding victory and paved the way for an organizing drive against Wal-Mart. A successful drive to organize Wal-Mart would have an immediate impact in Mexico, where the corporation is the largest private employer.

But instead of mobilizing union power in defense of immigrants, the union tops embrace one or another of the capitalists' anti-immigrant "reforms," particularly favoring their so-called "friends" in the capitalist Democratic Party. This policy of class collaboration, sacrificing labor's interests on the altar of capitalist profitability, flows from the labor bureaucracy's support for the capitalist system and its identification with the "national interests" of U.S. imperialism. This program has led to defeat after defeat, leaving the U.S. labor movement weaker today than at any time since the early 1900s.

When NAFTA was first proposed in the early 1990s, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy denounced it from the standpoint of chauvinist protectionism, railing against Mexicans "stealing American jobs." The Teamsters bureaucracy, today a component of the "Change to Win" breakaway from the AFL-CIO, is notorious for its chauvinist campaigns against Mexican truckers on U.S. roads. The leaders of two other leading "Change to Win" unions—the heavily immigrant SEIU service employees union and UNITE HERE hotel, restaurant and garment workers union—support the McCain-Kennedy plan for a new *bracero* program.

For its part, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy has waffled on McCain-Kennedy. Rejecting guest worker programs, AFL-CIO executive vice president Linda Chavez-Thompson declared in a March 1 statement: "We propose that if employers can demonstrate a real need for outside workers, these workers should be allowed into our country with the SAME RIGHTS AND LABOR PROTECTIONS as any U.S. citizen." This leaves it to the capitalists to determine who will be let in and under what conditions they will remain. Opposed to a program of class struggle, the labor tops look to the capitalist state to defend the rights of workers and immigrants. The unions should use their power to fight for full citizenship rights for *everyone* who makes it into this country.

A class-struggle perspective requires an uncompromising fight for the class *independence* of the proletariat from all wings of the capitalist exploiters. In the U.S., that chiefly means breaking the ties that bind labor to the Democratic Party, which occasionally postures as "friends" of labor, immigrants and black people to better hoodwink the exploited and oppressed. The Democratic Party avidly embraced Bush's "war on terror" and now proclaims itself the party most capable of prosecuting this "war," which was never more than a pretext for imperialist adventures abroad and ripping up democratic rights at home. Indeed, it was Democratic president Clinton who enacted the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, which calls for deporting even longtime permanent residents for trivial offenses committed years earlier. Under Clinton's "Operation Gatekeeper," a border wall was built to seal off San Diego. Break with the Democrats! For a workers party that fights for a workers government!

Neuman/San Diego Union-Tribune

Peattie/San Diego Union-Tribune

Above: Mexicans gather at border fence to cross into San Ysidro, California. Right: Demonstrators from Southern California at border fence protesting racist Minutemen vigilantes,. October 2005.

In Mexico, bourgeois nationalism is the chief means binding the exploited to their exploiters. It was the nationalist PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party), not the clerical reactionary PAN (National Action Party) of "free market" exponent Vicente Fox, that pushed through the NAFTA agreement in the early '90s. And the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), which is today the chief exponent of populist nationalism, does not even oppose NAFTA.

While the PRD has not yet gotten its chance to devastate living standards as have the PRI and the PAN, its populist nationalism is but another means of administering capitalist/imperialist exploitation. In the context of the tragic death of 65 miners in an explosion caused by the bosses' criminal thirst for profits, PRD presidential hopeful López Obrador joined Fox in denouncing the miners union, accusing its leaders of being "contract dealers." Break with all the bourgeois parties—PAN, PRI, PRD! For a workers party that fights for socialist revolution!

Our model is the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, which replaced the rule of the capitalists and landlords with that of the working class and raised high the banner of world socialist revolution. Despite the Stalinist degeneration that ultimately opened the door to capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, the Soviet Union demonstrated the power of a planned, collectivized economy in providing employment, education, health care and decent living conditions. When put to the service of all humanity, the enormous wealth and productive resources extracted by the U.S. bourgeoisie from the sweat and blood of working people in the U.S. and around the world would provide an enormous impetus for the advance of all mankind. But that requires the smashing of the capitalist state and the expropriation of the rapacious U.S. bourgeoisie through proletarian revolution.

The counterpart to the nationalist myth of "we are all Mexicans" is the idea that there is no class struggle in the U.S. The December strike by largely black and immigrant transit workers in New York, which crippled the world center of finance capital, refuted that notion. The multiracial U.S. working class is potentially the most powerful ally of Mexican workers. The SL/U.S. and the GEM are dedicated to forging revolutionary workers parties on both sides of the border as part of the fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.

24 March 2006

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
National Office . . . . . (212) 732-7860
vanguard@tiac.net
Boston . . . . . (617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com
Chicago . . . . . (312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Los Angeles . . . . . (213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
New York . . . . . (212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Oakland . . . . . (510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

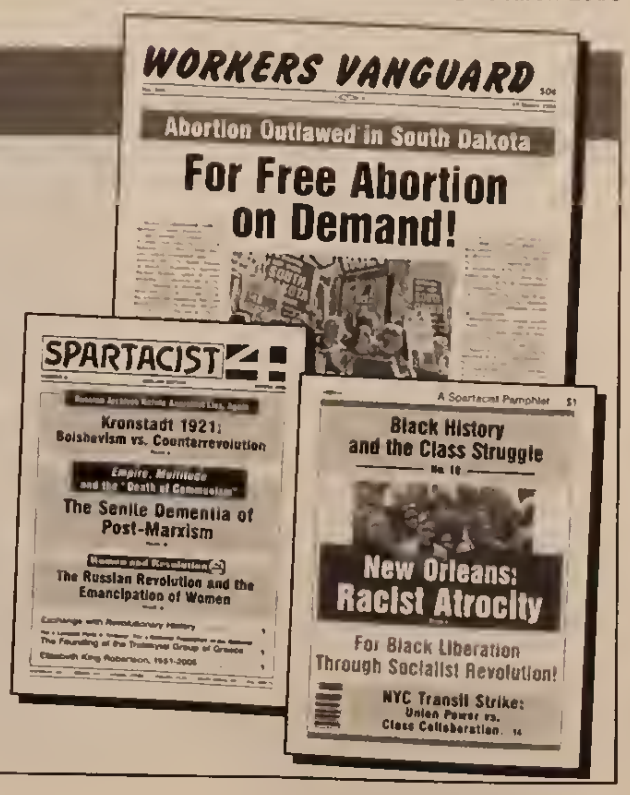
TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/ LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA
Toronto . . . . . (416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com
Vancouver . . . . . (604) 687-0353
tllt@look.ca

SUBSCRIBE!

Workers Vanguard
Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League (includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
❑ $10 for 21 issues ❑ $2 for 6 introductory issues
❑ International rates: $25 airmail/$10 seamail

Name_____
Address_____
Apt.#_____
City_____ State____ Zip_____
E-mail_____
bilingual reprint
Phone (____) _____

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



Inmigrantes...

(viene de la página 4)

por parte de la parásita burguesía mexicana, que hace cumplir la dominación imperialista localmente. En 2004, el gobierno mexicano arrestó casi cuatro veces más centroamericanos —más de 200 mil— que buscaban transitar a EE.UU. que las autoridades fronterizas estadounidenses (*La Jornada*, 13 de noviembre de 2005). El GEM se opone a esos ataques y llama por el pleno derecho de tránsito así como por plenos derechos de ciudadanía para todos los que quieran establecerse en México.

En Estados Unidos, el más poderoso y peligroso de los países imperialistas, el proletariado multirracial tiene una obligación particular de oponerse a las guerras y depredaciones de la clase capitalista estadounidense. La defensa de los derechos de los inmigrantes es necesaria no sólo para luchar contra la explotación de las capas más vulnerables de la población. También es crucial para revertir el declive que los sindicatos han sufrido durante décadas, enlistando a trabajadores inmigrantes, muchos de los cuales tienen una historia de lucha combativa, en las primeras filas del movimiento obrero. Los obreros mexicanos inmigrantes pueden servir como un puente humano que vincule las luchas del proletariado norteamericano y latinoamericano.

La oposición al racismo antiinmigrante en EE.UU. está directamente ligada a la lucha contra la opresión de los negros. Es particularmente importante combatir el chovinismo antiinmigrante entre los obreros negros y blancos nacidos en EE.UU., al tiempo que los obreros inmigrantes deben entender que el racismo antinegro sigue siendo la piedra de toque de la reacción social en EE.UU. La opresión de los negros es la piedra angular del capitalismo estadounidense. Fue el deseo de los esclavistas sureños por extender el sistema de esclavitud lo que en parte motivó la invasión de México en 1846, lo cual resultó en el robo por parte de EE.UU. de la mitad del territorio de México. Un gobierno obrero en EE.UU. devolvería a México ciertas áreas predominantemente hispanoparlantes a lo largo de la frontera.

Como se expresó en las dos legislaciones sobre "trabajadores invitados" en el Senado, la oposición burguesa a la mentalidad racista nativista expresada en la HR 4437 refleja los intereses de los patrones que dependen de bajos salarios y trabajo no sindicalizado, como Wal-Mart. La legislación que está siendo diseñada por el Republicano Arlen Specter con el apoyo tácito de la Casa Blanca de Bush incluye la criminalización de inmigrantes indocumentados y quienes los apoyen. A diferencia de la propuesta de Specter, la legislación corredactada por Republicano John McCain y el Demócrata liberal Ted Kennedy sostiene la promesa de la eventual residencia permanente o ciudadanía para algunos "obreros invitados".

Incluso sin las nuevas provisiones de criminalización propuestas, en 2004 más de un millón de mexicanos fueron detenidos tratando de entrar a EE.UU. La represión fronteriza intensificada, llevada a cabo ya sea por la odiada *migra* o por las bandas de terror paramilitar como los Minutemen, simplemente obliga a inmigrantes desesperados a buscar rutas más peligrosas y mortíferas. En 2005, por lo menos 279 cuerpos fueron encontrados cerca de la frontera de Sonora y Arizona solamente. Los estudiantes universitarios Daniel Strauss y Shanti Sellz fueron recientemente arrestados en Arizona por intentar transportar a varios inmigrantes severamente deshidratados a un hospital y ahora enfrentan hasta 15 años de cárcel y multas por 250 mil dólares por "conspiración para traficar" inmigrantes (*Proceso*, 12 de marzo). ¡Abajo los cargos contra Strauss y Sellz!

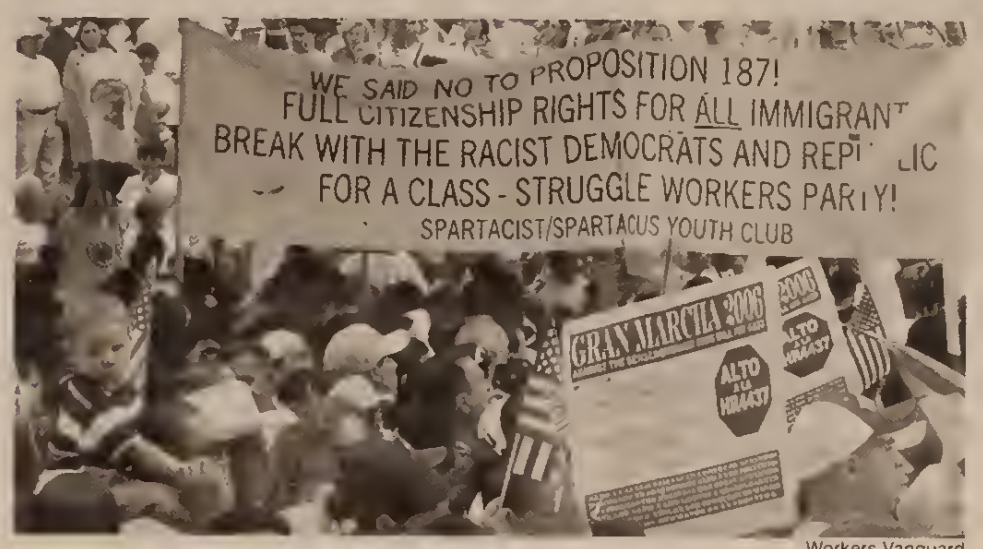
"Úsenlos, abusen de ellos y envíenlos de regreso" ha sido por mucho tiempo el lema de los capitalistas estadounidenses, quienes han visto a México y otros países como una vasta reserva de mano de obra barata para ser aprovechada con el fin de bajar los salarios en EE.UU. Las leyes actuales sobre los "trabajadores invitados" hacen recordar el tristemente célebre programa bracero de 1942-64, bajo el cual miles de trabajadores mexicanos "temporales", desprovistos de los derechos más elementales, fueron a EE.UU. a realizar un trabajo esclavizante en los *agribusiness*. Los antiguos braceros y sus familias siguen tratando de obtener salarios que nunca se les pagaron.

Lo que es necesario es una movilización de lucha de clases para ***sindicalizar a los no sindicalizados*** con plenos derechos y protecciones. El potencial para esto se hizo evidente en la ampliamente popular huelga de los trabajadores negros, latinos y blancos de los supermercados del sur de California en 2003-04. Si la dirigencia sindical hubiera hecho un esfuerzo concertado por extender la huelga al nivel nacional y por enlistar a los camioneros Teamsters para detener los cargamentos a los supermercados y bodegas, esa huelga podría haber terminado en una victoria contundente y pavimentado el camino para una campaña de sindicalización contra Wal-Mart. Una campaña exitosa para sindicalizar Wal-Mart tendría un impacto inmediato en México, donde la corporación es el empleador privado más grande.

Pero, en vez de movilizar el poder de los sindicatos en defensa de los inmigrantes, la dirección sindical acogió una u otra de las "reformas" antiinmigrantes de los capitalistas, favoreciendo particularmente a sus supuestos "amigos" en el Partido Demócrata capitalista. Esta política de colaboración de clases, que sacrifica los intereses del proletariado en el altar de la rentabilidad capitalista, fluye del apoyo de la burocracia sindical al sistema capitalista y su identificación con los "intereses nacionales" del imperialismo estadounidense. Este programa ha conducido a una derrota tras otra, dejando hoy al movimiento obrero estadounidense más débil que en cualquier periodo desde el inicio del siglo anterior.

Cuando el TLCAN fue propuesto por primera vez a principios de los años 90, la burocracia de la AFL-CIO lo denunció desde el punto de vista del proteccionismo chovinista, despotricando contra los mexicanos por "robar trabajos estadounidenses". La burocracia de los Teamsters, que hoy es un componente de la escisión "Cambiar para Ganar" de la AFL-CIO, es notoria por sus campañas chovinistas en contra de camioneros mexicanos en caminos estadounidenses. Los líderes de otros dos sindicatos de "Cambiar para Ganar" —el sindicato de los empleados de servicios SEIU y el sindicato de trabajadores de hoteles, restaurantes y textiles UNITE HERE, los cuales cuentan con un gran componente inmigrante— apoyan el plan de McCain y Kennedy para un nuevo programa bracero.

Por su parte, la burocracia de la AFL-CIO ha cantinfleado sobre la propuesta de McCain y Kennedy. En rechazo a los programas de trabajadores invitados, la vicepresidenta ejecutiva de la AFL-CIO, Linda Chavez-Thompson, afirmó en una declaración del 1° de marzo: "Proponemos que si los patrones pueden demostrar una necesidad real de trabajadores extranjeros, se les debe permitir a estos trabajadores entrar a nuestro país con los MISMOS DERECHOS Y PROTECCIONES LABORALES que cualquier ciudadano estadounidense." Esto defiere a los capitalistas determinar a quién se le va a dejar entrar y bajo qué condiciones permanecerá. Opuestos a un programa de lucha de clases, los líderes sindicales le piden al estado capitalista que defienda los derechos de los trabajadores e inmigrantes. Los sindicatos deben usar su poder para luchar por plenos derechos de ciudadanía para ***todo aquél*** que logre llegar a este país.



Workers Vanguard

Los Ángeles, 25 de marzo: manta espartaquista en la masiva manifestación por los derechos de los inmigrantes.

Una perspectiva de lucha de clases requiere una lucha irreconciliable por la ***independencia*** de clase del proletariado de todas las alas de los explotadores capitalistas. En EE.UU., esto significa principalmente romper los lazos que atan al proletariado al Partido Demócrata, el cual posa de manera ocasional como "amigo" de los obreros, inmigrantes y negros para así engañar mejor a los explotados y oprimidos. El Partido Demócrata ávidamente abrazó la "guerra contra el terrorismo" de Bush y ahora se proclama el partido más capaz de proseguir esta "guerra", que nunca fue más que un pretexto para aventuras imperialistas en el extranjero y para deshacer los derechos democráticos en casa. En efecto, fue el presidente Demócrata Clinton quien promulgó la Ley de Reforma sobre Inmigración Ilegal y Responsabilidad del Inmigrante de 1996, que llama por la deportación incluso de quienes han sido residentes permanentes durante mucho tiempo por ofensas triviales cometidas años antes. Bajo la "Operación Portero" de Clinton se construyó un muro fronterizo para sellar San Diego. ¡Romper con los Demócratas! ¡Por un partido obrero que luche por un gobierno obrero!

En México, el nacionalismo burgués es el principal instrumento para atar a los explotados a sus explotadores. Fue el nacionalista PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional), no el clerical reaccionario PAN (Partido Acción Nacional) del exponente del "libre mercado" Vicente Fox, el que aseguró que se aprobara el TLCAN a principios de los años 90. Y el Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD), que hoy es el principal exponente del nacionalismo populista, ni siquiera se opone al TLCAN.

Aunque el PRD aún no ha tenido su oportunidad de devastar los estándares de vida como lo han hecho el PRI y el PAN, su nacionalismo populista es simplemente otra forma de administrar la explotación capitalista-imperialista. En el contexto de la trágica muerte de 65 mineros en una explosión ocasionada por la criminal sed de ganancias de los patrones, el aspirante presidencial del PRD, López Obrador, se unió a Fox en su denuncia del sindicato minero, acusando a sus dirigentes de ser "traficantes de contratos". ¡Romper con todos los partidos burgueses: PAN, PRI, PRD! ¡Por un partido obrero que luche por la revolución socialista!

Nuestro modelo es la Revolución Bolchevique de 1917, que remplazó el dominio de los capitalistas y terratenientes con el de la clase obrera y alzó el estandarte de la revolución socialista mundial. A pesar de la degeneración estalinista que a fin de cuentas abrió la puerta a la contrarrevolución capitalista en 1991-92, la Unión Soviética demostró el poder de una economía planificada y colectivizada al proporcionar empleo, educación, asistencia médica y condiciones de vida decentes. Si se pusieran al servicio de la humanidad entera, la enorme riqueza y los recursos productivos extraídos por la burguesía estadounidense del sudor y la sangre de los trabajadores en EE.UU. y alrededor del mundo proporcionarían un enorme ímpetu al avance de toda la humanidad. Pero ello requiere la destrucción del estado capitalista y la expropiación de la rapaz burguesía estadounidense mediante la revolución proletaria.

La contraparte del mito nacionalista de que "todos somos mexicanos" es la idea de que no hay lucha de clases en EE.UU. La huelga de diciembre por parte de los trabajadores del transporte de Nueva York, mayoritariamente negros e inmigrantes, que paralizó al centro mundial del capital financiero, refutó esa noción. La clase obrera multirracial estadounidense es potencialmente el aliado más poderoso de los obreros mexicanos. La SL/U.S. y el GEM están dedicados a forjar partidos obreros revolucionarios en ambos lados de la frontera como parte de la lucha por reforjar la IV Internacional de Trotsky, partido mundial de la revolución socialista.

24 de marzo de 2006

Grupo Espartaquista de México

E-mail:
je_contacto@yahoo.com.mx

Ciudad de México
Escriba sólo: Roberto García
Apdo. Postal 1251
Admón. Palacio Postal 1
CP 06002, México, D.F.

Monterrey
Escriba sólo: Ana Ruiz
Apdo. Postal 262
Admón. Palacio Postal No. 1
CP 64001, Monterrey, N.L.

SUSCRÍBETE

La suscripción a *Espartaco* incluye *Spartacist* (edición en español)

México:
❑ $15/4 números (por correo)

Otros países:
❑ US $4/4 números (vía aérea)
❑ US $2/4 números (vía terrestre o marítima)

Nombre _____

Dirección _____

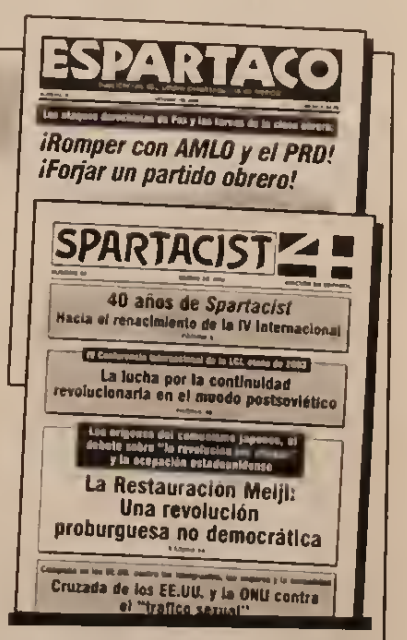
_____ Colonia _____

CP _____ Ciudad _____ Estado _____

País _____ Teléfono _____

reimpresión bilingüe

Giros/cheques a
Roberto García, Apdo. Postal 1251, Admón. Palacio Postal 1, CP 06002, México D.F., México; o a Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10116, EE.UU.



WORKERS VANGUARD

10¢

Reimpresión bilingüe de *WV* No. 867 — C-701 — 10 de abril de 2006

¡Abajo el racista imperialismo estadounidense!
¡Por la revolución socialista en ambos lados de la frontera!

¡Plenos derechos de ciudadanía para todos los inmigrantes!

Declaración conjunta de la Spartacist League/U.S. y el Grupo Espartaquista de México

Mientras que millones de inmigrantes empobrecidos de México y Centroamérica arriesgan su vida para encontrar algún medio para ganarse la vida en EE.UU., los racistas gobernantes imperialistas estadounidenses están proponiendo un torrente de nuevas medidas antiinmigrantes. Cada una a su manera, las varias "reformas" propuestas ceñirían aùn más el grillete de represión y regimentación implementado en el nombre de una "guerra contra el terrorismo" bipartita. La legislación HR 4437 aprobada en la cámara baja en diciembre llama a construir 700 millas de un muro en la frontera y por considerar un delito mayor incluso el sòlo ser un inmigrante indocumentado o ayudar a uno en cualquier forma. Dos propuestas alternativas en el Senado también fortalecerían el control fronterizo, aunque sin un muro nuevo, al tiempo que crearían programas masivos de "trabajadores invitados", lo cual asciende a la servidumbre por contrato.

Malcus

25 de marzo: alrededor de un millón de personas se manifestaron en el centro de Los Ángeles contra la racista iniciativa de ley de migraciòn.

La racista propuesta de un muro fronterizo ha provocado indignación generalizada en México. En EE.UU., la oposición va desde organizaciones latinas y los sindicatos hasta la jerarquía de la iglesia católica, liberales del Partido Demócrata e incluso una sección del Partido Republicano. En Chicago, este mes, unos 100 mil manifestantes marcharon contra estas medidas. Más protestas en contra de la HR 4437 están planeadas en otras ciudades. Como opositores internacionalistas proletarios del imperialismo estadounidense, la Spartacist League/U.S. se opone tanto a la criminalización de trabajadores inmigrantes como a la legalización de la servidumbre por contrato. La SL/U.S. y el Grupo Espartaquista de México, secciones de la Liga Comunista Internacional (Cuartainternacionalista), se unen para llamar a la unidad en la lucha del proletariado estadounidense y mexicano. Demandamos: ¡Abajo la represión racista antiinmigrante! ¡Abajo las deportaciones! ¡Plenos derechos de ciudadanía para todos los inmigrantes!

Partimos de la perspectiva de que sólo la revolución socialista internacional puede acabar con la creciente pauperización de las masas trabajadoras —tanto en países capitalistas dependientes como México como en los centros imperialistas—. Bajo el imperialismo capitalista, un puñado de potencias industriales ricas busca dividir y redividir el resto del mundo para su propio engrandecimiento, conduciendo a la explotación neocolonial y la guerra imperialista. Como explicamos en la Declaración de Principios de la LCI (*Spartacist* [edición en español] No. 29, primavera de 1998):

> "El capitalismo moderno, es decir, el imperialismo, que alcanza todas las regiones del planeta, en el curso de la lucha de clases y conforme la necesidad económica lo exige, introduce al proletariado por sus estratos más bajos nuevas fuentes de mano de obra más barata, principalmente inmigrantes de otras regiones del mundo, más pobres y menos desarrolladas; trabajadores con pocos derechos que son considerados más desechables en tiempos de contracción económica. Así, el capitalismo, en forma continua crea estratos diferentes entre los obreros; mientras, simultáneamente, amalgama obreros de muchas tierras diferentes. Por todos lados, los capitalistas, apoyados por oportunistas de la aristocracia obrera, intentan envenenar la conciencia de clase y la solidaridad entre los obreros, fomentando las divisiones religiosas, étnicas y nacionales. La lucha por la unidad y la integridad de la clase trabajadora en contra del chovinismo y el racismo es por lo tanto una tarea vital para la vanguardia del proletariado."

AP

Ciudad de México, 7 de marzo: manifestación masiva en solidaridad con el sindicato minero-metalúrgico tras el ataque gubernamental contra su dirigente. La LCI lucha por la unidad clasista del proletariado estadounidense y mexicano.

El masivo incremento de la inmigración desde México en el último periodo es un resultado directo de la imposición del tratado de "libre comercio" (TLCAN) en 1994, el cual expulsò a millones de campesinos mexicanos del campo y condujo a un incremento enorme de la pobreza urbana. Cerca del 10 por ciento de la población mexicana vive actualmente en EE.UU., y el dinero que envían de vuelta —unos 20 mil millones de dólares anuales— es la tercera fuente de ingreso más grande de México. Una declaración conjunta de las secciones mexicana, canadiense y estadounidense de la LCI llamó por poner "Alto al TLC, rapiña a México por el imperialismo EE.UU." y declaró: "Existe la necesidad candente de una oposición proletaria *internacionalista* que luche al lado de la clase obrera y el empobrecido campesinado de México contra el asalto imperialista" (*Espartaco* No. 2, verano-otoño de 1991).

La división fundamental en todos los países capitalistas es la división entre la clase obrera, cuyo trabajo hace funcionar a la sociedad, y la clase capitalista, que arrebata incontable riqueza de la explotación de ese trabajo. Las lágrimas de cocodrilo de los gobernantes mexicanos sobre la situación de los inmigrantes mexicanos son usadas para reforzar la mentira nacionalista de que explotador y explotado comparten los mismos intereses porque "todos somos mexicanos". Esto no es más que una cortina de humo para encubrir la explotación y opresión

sigue en la página 3

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 868 | GCU C-701 | 14 April 2006

Report from New Orleans

Seven Months After Katrina: Racist Atrocity Continues

A Workers Vanguard *reporter recently spent a week in New Orleans. This article is based on his reports and interviews.*

Seven months after Hurricane Katrina, when multiple levee breaks flooded 80 percent of New Orleans, vast swaths of the city are still in darkness and as many as 300,000 people remain displaced. Aside from the veneer of the French Quarter and the well-heeled affectation of the Garden District, New Orleans feels like a Third World country, as black longshoremen and Avondale shipyard workers told *Workers Vanguard*. The U.S. rulers—the true looters and

continued on page 5

WV Photo

April 4: Demonstrators push past security guards to reclaim their homes at St. Bernard public housing project.

France: Workers, Students Beat Back Government Attack

APRIL 10—After more than two months of mass protests, campus occupations and widespread strikes, French president Jacques Chirac announced today that the government will scrap the First Employment Contract (CPE), which he had signed into law on March 31. The CPE stipulated that workers under 26 years of age he subject to a two-year prohationary period during which they could be fired without cause, threatening joh security and hard-won union gains for all workers, especially minorities.

The scrapping of the CPE is a victory. The government is coming out extremely weakened, and this may open the road to more class struggle against the capitalists' attacks in France. Many students want to continue the struggle until the whole racist "Equal Opportunities Act," of which the CPE was a component, is scrapped, as well as a similar law applicable to workers of any age in companies with a workforce of fewer than 20.

But the union bureaucrats are happy to let the struggle stop here and have planned no further strikes to support the students' demands, which virtually assures that the bulk of the law will be implemented. Even without the CPE, two-thirds of youth have insecure work contracts one year after they leave school, and the present "welfare state" in France means that on average you don't get into the stable employment market until you reach the age of 28.

Reuters

April 4: Mass demonstration in Paris, part of latest nationwide day of protest by students and workers against "First Employment Contract" law.

No to a New Popular Front! For a Socialist United States of Europe!

The leadership of the opposition Socialist Party (PS) and Communist Party (PCF), which is tailed by Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), is seeking to use the crisis of the rightist government of Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin in order to put together a new popular front—a class-collaborationist alliance with capitalist parties—in view of next year's presidential and legislative elections. In contrast, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League, have intervened with a proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist program pointing to the need to fight for socialist revolution.

We reprint below the edited translation of an April 5 presentation given in Paris by Herminio Sanchez, editor of the LTF's newspaper, *Le Bolchévik*.

* * *

Yesterday's mobilization against the CPE was a huge success. The trade unions announced that there were again some three million demonstrators. [Interior Minister Nicolas] Sarkozy and the rest of the government are maneuvering to sidetrack the movement through parliamentary tricks in an attempt to save what can still be saved of the CPE. The union bureaucrats appear ready to play this game. It is nonetheless possihle that the anti-CPE mobilization will signal the end of the CPE, as well as of de Villepin and Chirac and maybe even Sarkozy.

During two months of anti-CPE struggles, the campuses have heen blockaded and the revolt extended into the *banlieues* [suburhan ghettos], hut the government's reaction has been to send in the CRS riot police. When the working class entered the scene, it changed the entire situation. This showed the power of the working class. It is this class that makes profits flow into the pockets of the capitalists; it is also the one capable of stopping this flow and blocking the whole economy.

There is a constant class struggle, a conflict between the two fundamental social classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. We of course support all of the workers' economic struggles aimed at improving their conditions. At the same time, the constant struggle of workers under capitalism can at best only marginally improve workers' conditions. We

continued on page 7

7 25274 81030 7 15

For the Right of Independence for Puerto Rico!

Down With FBI Repression Against Puerto Rican Militants!

The U.S. government is stepping up its campaign of repression and terror against the Puerto Rican guerrilla nationalist group Ejército Popular Boricua, known as Los Macheteros. On February 10, heavily armed units of the FBI raided homes and offices of six independence activists who it claimed were associated with Los Macheteros. As Homeland Security helicopters hovered overhead, the FBI arrived in caravans, terrorizing whole neighborhoods. The Feds carted off computers, mailing lists and personal property, and abused the activists' family members. As protesters and news media gathered outside the apartment of Liliana Lahoy, a sociologist and trade-union activist, FBI thugs knocked people to the ground and pepper-sprayed reporters' faces, causing several reporters to be hospitalized.

In claiming that the raids were "aimed at preventing a potential domestic terrorist attack," the FBI invoked the U.S. rulers' "war on terror"—an all-purpose rationale for imperialist war and occupation abroad and repression at home against immigrants, black people, labor and opponents of imperialist depredation. In fact, the raids were aimed at terrorizing all who support independence for Puerto Rico, the principal remaining colony of the U.S., or defend Puerto Rico's working people. On 20 October 2004, the FBI raided the headquarters of the Independent Authentic Union of water workers, which was on strike in defense of health care benefits. Two weeks earlier, the FBI had accused the union of planning to "sabotage" Puerto Rico's water supply.

Now the FBI has arrested Antonio Camacho Negrón, a 60-year-old veteran Machetero who was seized on March 28 after the opening day of a conference for decolonization that he had organized at the University of Puerto Rico. Camacho Negrón is an old comrade of Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, the 72-year-old independence fighter and cofounder of Los Macheteros who was assassinated by FBI agents last year in his rural Puerto Rico home (see "Protest FBI Killing of Filiberto Ojeda Ríos!" *WV* No. 856, 14 October 2005).

Los Macheteros has carried out attacks against the U.S. imperialist government apparatus, such as a 1981 bombing that destroyed nine airplanes at the Puerto Rican Air National Guard base, at a time when Puerto Rico was a staging ground for counterrevolutionary operations in Central America. We stood in defense of Los Macheteros in 1985, when the group was the target of an earlier FBI "anti-terrorist" dragnet (see "Free the Macheteros!" *WV* No. 388, 4 October 1985). Like Ojeda Ríos, Camacho Negrón was convicted in connection with a 1983 robbery of a Wells Fargo depot in Hartford, Connecticut, which was carried out to help fund pro-independence activities. In 1989, Camacho Negrón was sentenced to 15 years in prison. He has been rearrested three times for refusing to accept parole conditions that restrict his political activity and associations.

The FBI's brutal crackdown has sparked angry protests and aroused nationalist sentiment throughout Puerto Rico. On February 26, some 8,000 students, trade unionists, independence activists and others marched in San Juan behind a banner reading, "Respect Puerto Rico—FBI Get Out!" Protesters also demonstrated against the FBI outside the World Baseball Classic games recently held in San Juan. With outrage mounting over the repression, the Puerto Rican Department of Justice has sued the FBI in U.S. federal court on the grounds that the FBI has refused to release any documents to Puerto Rican authorities investigating the killing of Ojeda Ríos and the attack on the reporters or to name the agents involved. In fact, the assassination of Ojeda Ríos was carried out with the help of Puerto Rican cops, who closed off the roads as the FBI launched its assault.

Even many Puerto Ricans who oppose independence and advocate statehood for the island rightly see that the FBI's repression against independence activists is a calculated blow to Puerto Rican national pride. The people of Puerto Rico have deeply contradictory feelings in regard to the island's status. On the one hand, the outrage over the recent attacks as well as the massive protests that forced the Navy to stop its bombing exercises in Vieques in 2003 show that the Puerto Rican people have a strong

continued on page 6

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Industrial Proletariat and the Fight for Socialism

In his seminal work developing the theory of permanent revolution out of a Marxist examination of tsarist Russia, Leon Trotsky argued that capitalist development had created an industrial proletariat with the historic interest and social power to overturn the capitalist system through socialist revolution. Trotsky's perspective was verified in practice by the Bolshevik-led October Revolution of 1917.

In order to realize socialism it is necessary that among the antagonistic classes of capitalist society there should be a social force which is interested, by virtue of its objective position, in the realization of socialism, and which is powerful enough to be able to overcome hostile interests and resistances in order to realize it.

One of the fundamental services rendered by scientific socialism consists in that it theoretically discovered such a social force in the proletariat, and showed that this class, inevitably growing along with capitalism, can find its salvation only in socialism, that the entire position of the proletariat drives it towards socialism and that the doctrine of socialism cannot but become in the long run the ideology of the proletariat....

The importance of the proletariat depends entirely on the role it plays in large-scale production. The bourgeoisie relies, in its struggle for political domination, upon its economic power. Before it manages to secure political power, it concentrates the country's means of production in its own hands. This is what determines its specific weight in society. The proletariat, however, in spite of all co-operative phantasmagoria, will be deprived of the means of production right up to the actual socialist revolution. Its social power comes from the fact that the means of production which are in the hands of the bourgeoisie can be set in motion only by the proletariat. From the point of view of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat is also one of the means of production, constituting, in conjunction with the others, a single unified mechanism. The proletariat, however, is the only non-automatic part of this mechanism, and in spite of all efforts it cannot be reduced to the condition of an automaton. This position gives the proletariat the power to hold up at will, partially or wholly, the proper functioning of the economy of society, through partial or general strikes. From this it is clear that the importance of a proletariat—given identical numbers—increases in proportion to the amount of productive forces which it sets in motion. That is to say, a proletarian in a large factory is, all other things being equal, a greater social magnitude than a handicraft worker, and an urban worker a greater magnitude than a country worker. In other words, the political role of the proletariat is the more important in proportion as large-scale production dominates small production, industry dominates agriculture and the town dominates the country....

All this leads us to the conclusion that economic evolution—the growth of industry, the growth of large enterprises, the growth of the towns, and the growth of the proletariat in general and the industrial proletariat in particular—has already prepared the arena not only for the ***struggle*** of the proletariat for political power but for the ***conquest*** of this power.

—Leon Trotsky, *Results and Prospects* (1906); Pathfinder Press (1969)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co , 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 E-mail address vanguard@tiac.net Domestic subscriptions: $10 00/21 issues Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is 11 April.

No. 868 **14 April 2006**

Labor: Protest Jail Sentence for TWU President Roger Toussaint!

NEW YORK CITY, April 11—State Supreme Court judge Theodore T. Jones yesterday sentenced Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president Roger Toussaint to ten days in jail, starting within 30 days. Toussaint was charged with refusing to obey a court injunction and order TWU members back to work when they struck for three days in December, defying the state Taylor Law that bans public employee strikes. Jones also levied fines against Toussaint and two other Local 100 officials. Transit workers have already given up six days' pay under Taylor Law guidelines.

The jail sentence is retribution for a strike that crippled the financial capital of American capitalism and drew widespread support from working people and minorities, in New York City and elsewhere. It is also a clear threat to all city and state labor. The court may also fine Local 100 $3 million and eliminate its dues checkoff system and is as well threatening financial penalties against Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) locals 726 and 1056, which joined the TWU on strike. The *New York Times* (11 April) reports that Jones "acknowledged yesterday that the financial penalties could put the union out of business." The threat against the dues checkoff system underlines that union members should fight to replace this system, by which the bosses control dues collection through paycheck deductions, with collection by elected union officers.

The court ruling highlights what we noted in "NYC Transit Strike: Union Power vs. Class Collaboration" (*WV* No. 861, 6 January; available as a special supplement): "The role of the courts and government officials during the strike starkly demonstrated that the 'democratic' trappings of the capitalist state are but a facade for the dictatorship of the exploiting class." The entire labor movement must rise to the occasion and mobilize in defense of the TWU and its officials against government union-busting. Following the strike, the Partisan Defense Committee issued a call to the labor movement urging solidarity with TWU Local 100 and ATU locals 726 and 1056. Our appeal generated letters and statements from unions in the U.S. and internationally protesting the threat of legal reprisals.

Defense of those victimized for using labor's strike weapon should be the starting point for united action by city and state unions to smash the Taylor Law. It will take hard class struggle, not looking to phony "friends of labor" in the capitalist Democratic Party, to defend the unions and uphold their right to strike. ■

PDC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Court Suppresses Evidence of Frame-Up

Ben Corbett

Locked Up for Thirty Years

Free Leonard Peltier!

Thirty years ago, on 6 February 1976, American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Leonard Peltier was seized by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in western Canada. Peltier had fled there after a massive U.S. government attack the previous June—by FBI and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) agents, SWAT cops and white vigilantes—on South Dakota's Pine Ridge reservation during which two FBI agents were killed. After Canadian authorities held Peltier for ten months in solitary confinement in Oakalla Prison, he was extradited to the U.S. on the basis of fabricated FBI testimony. In 1977, Peltier, a member of the Anishinabe and Lakota Nations, was convicted and sentenced to two consecutive life sentences on frame-up murder charges stemming from the shooting of the two FBI agents.

While Peltier had sought refuge in Canada, two others charged in the agents' killings were acquitted in a federal court in Iowa. Jurors stated that they did not believe the government witnesses and that it seemed "pretty much a clear-cut case of self-defense" against the FBI invasion. In Peltier's trial the prosecution concealed ballistics tests showing that his gun could not have been used in the shooting, while the trial judge ruled out any chance of another acquittal on self-defense grounds by barring any evidence of government terror against the Pine Ridge activists. At a 1985 appeal hearing, a government attorney admitted, "We can't prove who shot those agents."

AIM had been in the Feds' gun sights because of its efforts to fight the enforced poverty of Native Americans and the continued theft of their lands by the government and energy companies, which were intent on grabbing rich uranium deposits under Sioux land in South Dakota. The Leonard Peltier Defense Committee stated in 2004: "Virtually every known AIM leader in the United States was incarcerated in either state or federal prisons since (or even before) the organization's formal emergence in 1968, some repeatedly." Between 1973 and 1976, thugs of the Guardians of the Oglala Nation (GOON), armed and trained by the hated BIA and FBI, carried out more than 300 attacks in and around Pine Ridge, killing at least 69 people.

As we wrote during the fight against Peltier's threatened deportation, "The U.S. case against Peltier is political persecution, part of a broader attempt by the FBI to smash AIM through piling up criminal charges against its leaders, just as was done against the Black Panthers" (*WV* No. 112, 4 June 1976). AIM and Peltier were targeted by the FBI's deadly Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) of disruption, frame-up and murder of the left, black militants and others. Under COINTELPRO, 38 Black Panthers were killed by the FBI and local cops. Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) spent 27 years in prison for a crime the FBI knew he could not have committed before finally winning release in 1997. Mumia Abu-Jamal—also an innocent man—remains on Pennsylvania's death row today.

In November 2003, a federal appeals court ruled, "Much of the government's behavior at the Pine Ridge Reservation and in its prosecution of Mr. Peltier is to be condemned. The government withheld evidence. It intimidated witnesses. These facts are not disputed." But the court still refused to open the prison doors for Peltier. Last year, U.S. District Court judge William Skretny turned down Peltier's request for documents suppressed by the government, even while acknowledging that he could have been acquitted had the government not improperly withheld them. Peltier attorney Michael Kuzma stated that the evidence withheld by the government amounts to a staggering 142,579 pages!

On February 24, Skretny again ruled that the FBI can keep part of its records secret in the name of "national security." Peltier noted in a message to the March 18 protests against the Iraq occupation, "Our government uses the words 'national security' and fighting the war on transnational terrorism as a smoke screen to cover up further crimes and misconduct by the FBI." Also this February, defense attorney Barry Bachrach argued in St. Louis federal court that the federal government had no jurisdiction in Peltier's case, since the shootings occurred on a reservation.

Millions of people have signed petitions for Peltier over the years, including by 1986 some 17 million people in the former Soviet Union. His frame-up, like that of Geronimo ji Jaga and Mumia Abu-Jamal, demonstrates that there is no justice in the capitalist courts of America. While supporting all possible legal proceedings on behalf of the class-war prisoners, we place no faith whatever in the "justice" of the courts and rely solely on the power of mass protest centered on the integrated labor movement.

After Peltier's third appeal for a new trial was denied in 1993, thousands of prominent liberals, celebrities and others—ranging from Willie Nelson to Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Mother Teresa—called for a presidential pardon. In a recent column titled "Free Leonard Peltier!" (5 February), Mumia Abu-Jamal wrote: "Many Peltier supporters put their trust in a politician named Bill Clinton, who told them that when he got elected he 'wouldn't forget' about the popular Native American leader. Their trust (like that of so many others) was betrayed once Clinton gained his office, and the FBI protested. In the waning days of his presidency, he issued pardons to folks like Marc Rich, and other wealthy campaign contributors. Leonard Peltier was left in his chains!"

Peltier is one of 16 class-war prisoners to whom the Partisan Defense Committee sends monthly stipends. For more information on his case, or to contribute to Peltier's legal defense, write to: Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, 2626 North Mesa #132, El Paso, TX 79902. ***Free Leonard Peltier and all class-war prisoners!*** ■

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Ongoing War Against Workers: The TWU Strike

It only lasted for three days, but it lasted long enough to betray the scuffles and scars of war.

It was a spark for the eternal war between labor and capital. It was a war between those who work and those who hire.

When the New York Transport Workers Union (TWU) went out on strike, their action sent shock waves across the nation and rattled the rulers. Immediately, like a slave driver who claims he was "betrayed" by "his" "people," New York's mega-billionaire mayor, Michael Bloomberg, unleashed an ugly verbal missile at those who demanded a fair contract under which to work.

In the minds and mouths of the Bloombergers, TWU strikers were: "Thugs!"

The corporate press joined the slander, with one well-known fishwrapper blaring, with a banner headline: "JAIL 'EM!"

Them's fightin' words. And they reflect, with a richness and clarity rarely revealed, the true nature of this war: a class war.

Local 100 of the TWU is a predominantly Black, Latino and immigrant union, and the ugly war of words, spun by the masters of the nation's media machines, were as raw as they were racist.

When an unruly mob of cops converged on City Hall, to lambaste the city's first Black mayor (David Dinkins) as a "washroom attendant," and sprinkled other racist references to local Black leaders, one needed to search far and wide to find references to the behavior of the cops as "thuggish."

The city and the MTA (Metropolitan Transportation Authority) used the Taylor Law, which disallows such strikes, to demand that local courts return crippling fines against any striker.

But some leading TWU members pointed to the history of the early civil rights movement, specifically the experience of the late Rosa Parks, who broke unjust laws to spark a mass movement. Can the Taylor Law be just when it leaves workers at the mercy of management, when it forces them to accept substandard contracts, when it virtually requires ruinous givebacks?

While the corporate press channeled the negativity of their bosses, strikers reported that average, working-class and poor folks supported their efforts, for many understood that this was a stand which would strengthen workers generally, and beat back the hands of greed that has been choking unions all across the country.

As for the Taylor Law, why would anyone even try to pass such a law, which clearly disadvantages labor? The very fact of its existence proves the political betrayal by politicians who supported, lobbied and voted for it.

The Taylor Law is a weapon of the rulers, and a whipping for the workers. It strips them of their only real instrument of social power—the ability to refuse their labor. Since when is that a crime?

Well, to the rich, it is! Karl Marx said that the law "is but the will of one class made into a law for all."

It is a machine, just like it made segregation legal, and criminalized Black freedom and dignity. The same law demanded that Blacks take the back of the bus. The same law outlaws the right of those who labor to withhold their labor, to better their condition, and those who follow them.

Such a law must itself be outlawed! But it won't be, if the people rely on the politicians to do it.

That law can be unmade only by the concerted actions of the people, by workers power, supported by others, in every area of work and life.

Even though a recent contract was approved by TWU leadership, the proposed pact was reportedly rejected by a majority of union members.

These front-line workers want to put an end to givebacks, and compromises, and labor bowing to capital, and their puppet politicians.

Labor wishes to fight for their class, and for their many and varied communities, who are supported by their efforts.

To make a change, Labor must fight for it!

1 March 2006

©2006 Mumia Abu-Jamal

Send urgently needed contributions for Jamal's legal defense, made payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" and earmarked for "Mumia," to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 130 Morningside Drive, Suite 6C, New York, NY 10027.

If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Library of Congress photos

Left: April 1927 dynamiting of levee 13 miles below New Orleans flooded thousands of residents out of their homes. Right: Denied shelter and aid, many black flood victims had to live on levees.

Black Oppression and the Great Mississippi Flood of 1927

Black people crying for help from rooftops; left to drown, starve or die of dehydration or from lack of medical care—the whole world saw the U.S. capitalist government's murderous racist neglect in the social disaster that was Hurricane Katrina. Tens of thousands of people, most of them black, lost the little they had. The National Guard came not to provide relief but to criminalize the victims. At all levels, the government covered up the death toll and other evidence of its culpability.

And it had all happened before. John M. Barry's *Rising Tide: The Great Mississippi Flood of 1927 and How It Changed America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997) tells the story of another historic natural disaster and the government's cover-up, lies and neglect. Then as now, racist ruling-class callousness and violence sustained the U.S. capitalist order. The Great Mississippi Flood—actually a series of floods lasting several months—deluged 27,000 square miles in seven states. After months of torrential rain, levees burst from Illinois to Louisiana. An unknown number died—certainly in the thousands. Many were buried beneath tons of river mud or washed out into the Gulf of Mexico. Hundreds of thousands lost their homes; more than 325,000 people, most of them black, lived in Red Cross camps for as long as four months.

The unique race and class nexus of the United States spawned the 1927 flood disaster. The Civil War—the second American Revolution—had broken the chains of chattel slavery. But with the defeat of Reconstruction, the most egalitarian period in American history, the old planter aristocracy regained power. The black freedmen were politically disenfranchised, and a social order based on debt servitude—sharecropping—was established. In the Deep South of the 1920s, the machine age had scarcely touched cotton production. Jim Crow segregation, buttressed by the terror of lynch law and the Ku Klux Klan nightriders, enforced sharecropping peonage under the wealthy Bourbon planters. The spirit of white supremacy infected the whole country. The degradation of Southern black labor served to drive down wages for all workers, while the poison of race-hate retarded the development of working-class consciousness North and South.

Control of the wild waters of the Mississippi is key to the Gulf ports of Louisiana and to commercial river traffic. The river and its tributaries reach into more than 40 percent of the continental United States. As Barry documents in his book, the interests of the banks and planters determined "flood control" policies along the Mississippi. Barry also describes engineering decisions that led to the levee system, which only worsened the inevitable natural catastrophe.

The black people who built the hundreds of miles of levees were at first slaves, then mainly sharecroppers and convicts. The levee work camps were isolated, barbaric places where the pay was even less than for picking cotton and where white foremen could literally get away with murder. During a flood in 1912, a Mississippi engineer who ran out of sandbags ordered several hundred black convicts to lie down on top of a levee while the water splashed over them. The local press suppressed the story, but the *New York Times* reported this horror as "brilliant."

Black Lives Sacrificed to Flood Control

In 1927 as the rivers spilled over, black work gangs were rounded up to toil in dangerous and ultimately pointless attempts to stay the water. In Mounds Landing, Mississippi, north of the main Delta town of Greenville, over 2,000 black men were forced at gunpoint to fill and throw sandbags onto the levee. On April 21, the levee was breached, releasing water with a force greater than Niagara Falls. Many in the work gangs who were reinforcing the levee were swept into the torrent. The official account, by a National Guard officer at the site, stated, "No lives were lost among the Guardsmen."

Richard Wright's powerful story, "Down by the Riverside," captures the nightmare of the 1927 flood. The protagonist watches men wearily toiling on the levees and unloading boats while "behind them stood soldiers with rifles." When the levee breaks, he sees "the long lines of men merged into one whirling black mass." Wright's story describes the desperation and powerlessness of a black flood victim trying to save his family in a hostile world where whites are far more ominous than the awful forces of nature.

The deluge swept away everything in its path. To prevent his tenants from fleeing the desolation, one planter locked them in barns and cotton gin houses. Black people who found shelter in public buildings were driven back into the waters at gunpoint. Thousands of flood victims fled to or were forcibly driven to the narrow crowns of the levees, bringing with them nothing but their debts to the planters. The Percy family, the main planters in Greenville, prevented blacks from boarding barges brought to evacuate the homeless masses for fear of losing their cheap labor force. In the Greenville area alone, 5,000 black people were forced to take shelter in warehouses, stores and similar facilities, while up to 13,000 more lived on an eight-mile-long levee.

In New Orleans, with its crucial banks and port facilities, newspapers refused to print flood warnings even as the waters mounted for fear of touching off panic among investors. The state and city ruling-class elite ordered the dynamiting of the levee protecting St. Bernard and Plaquemines parishes to the south of the city to create the illusion that they were doing something to save the city and its port. Some 10,000 impoverished people—mainly trappers, fishermen and bootleggers—were displaced, and few ever got more than a few dollars of compensation.

The federal government didn't contribute a dime of direct aid to the thousands of flood victims, despite a record budget surplus. The Red Cross established racially segregated camps in the flood zones. Black families lived in floorless tents in the mud without cots, chairs or utensils, eating inferior rationed food. Sometimes forced to work on the levees without pay, black men had to wear tags identifying that they were laborers in order to receive rations, and to show which plantation they "belonged to." Women with no working husband did not get supplies unless they had a letter from a white man.

Policing the camps, the National Guard supervised the workers, whipping and beating the men. At least one black woman was gang-raped and killed by Guardsmen. Typhoid, measles, mumps, malaria and venereal diseases ran rampant among destitute tenant farmers and mill workers already weakened from illnesses endemic to poverty, such as tuberculosis and pellagra. The *Chicago Defender* (4 June 1927) even reported that "those who die are cut open, filled with sand then tossed into the Mississippi River." Such horrors were stark proof that the poisonous legacy of chattel slavery still infected the land some 60 years after the Civil War.

1920s America: Klan-Infested, Anti-Labor

The 1920s in the United States was a period of untrammeled capitalist greed,

continued on page 6

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BAY AREA

Thursday, April 20, 5 p.m.
Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
SF State University, Rosa Parks F
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

BOSTON

Saturday, April 22, 3 p.m.
The Russian Revolution and the Emancipation of Women
Boston University, College of Arts and Sciences, Room 320
725 Commonwealth Ave.
(BU Central Stop on Green Line B)
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

CHICAGO

Tuesday, April 18, 7 p.m.
For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!
University of Chicago, 106 Cobb Hall
5811 S. Ellis Avenue
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, April 29, 2 p.m.
Defend China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam Against Imperialist Attack and Capitalist Counterrevolution!
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(near Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

Wednesday, April 19, 7:30 p.m.
—Organizing Meeting—
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Video Showing: *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*
Also: Eyewitness Report from France—Solidarity with Student/Worker Protests

Wednesday, April 26, 7:30 p.m.
The Working Class, the Revolutionary Party and the Fight for New October Revolutions
Columbia University, 703 Hamilton Hall
116th Street and Broadway
(take 1 train to 116th St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

Black Longshoreman on Katrina Disaster:

"We All Gave, but We Received Nothing"

Our New Orleans reporter spoke with a black member of International Longshoremen's Association Local 3000, who along with a friend made his way back into the flooded city and rescued some 150 people in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. Below are excerpts from his story.

We had to fight our way through checkpoints, stopped over at the Wal-Mart, bought a big generator, fought our way through the police barricades, military barricades. Working for the Port of New Orleans, I had my port pass, I had my work vest. I put a work vest on my friend to make it look official, with a generator on the back of the truck, to get in through the military, to sneak back into the city.

Me and about 35 other guys began to commandeer some boats. We started a convoy, rescuing people. I brought a bullhorn with me to call out names. There were men in the outer borders of New Orleans, but no one is inside of the city trying to help the people. Yes, you heard reports of people shooting at helicopters. The reason why was because they were passing over the poor, black people that they left stranded on rooftops, in attics, on streets. There was no police department with boats. There was no sheriff's department. There was no Wildlife and Fishery. They had nobody out there. There were no military out there in boats. It was common citizens who did the right thing. They commandeered some boats, went out there and started gallantly and frantically rescuing people.

We're going out there getting everybody we can. There was an elderly lady we went to rescue, 80-years plus, on a rooftop with five Wal-Mart bags in her hands. I said, Miss, we came to get you. I said, Come on, but you can't bring your bags. She said this is all I own. I turned away, looked away. She says if this means it's going to make room for someone else to sit, I don't need nothing. She threw them out into the water and they floated off. What do you do, man?

There was an old lady we went to rescue at Lafayette School. She was in a wheelchair, with no legs. The helicopter can't pick her up, she's dead weight. We had to put her on the boat, bring the boat to a Shell gas station where the Coast Guard could pick her up. While we try to load someone else up, the boat tips over with the lady. She's under the water. We had to go under to retrieve her, to keep her from drowning. At least she survived. I mean, what do you do?

AP

Abandoned by racist rulers, some Hurricane Katrina survivors were rescued through heroic efforts of individuals.

At that point racism is alive and well. There's three white guys walking along on the neutral ground in water. I cried out to them: Man, give us a hand, help us out. Guys looked over at us and kept walking. At the time of a tragedy, there was segregation. Can you believe that? But yet this is America. Where is that "We're one"? "All for one and one for all"? That didn't exist here. It was an experience you could never possibly imagine.

There was a group of guys that we got together—winos that had manned boats to *save* people. The people that you pass by, sitting on a street corner drinking wine, were the heroes. Those were the people that came out, that stood up. Common everyday citizens. It wasn't a policeman, it wasn't a fireman, it was the people, your neighbor. People in the neighborhoods, the same neighborhoods that they're not letting repopulate.

But yet it's "Tourism, that's what supports the city." That's a lie. The Port of New Orleans is what carries the city. Yet we have to deal with "right to work"—non-union companies. Ask me, what did the PNO [Port of New Orleans] do for the men? Nothing. We didn't receive any financial aid. Ask me: What did the city do for the workers, the port workers? Nothing. We didn't receive anything to come back. We left our families. Some families are still out there. Some of these guys don't have places to live. But yet you tell me we are all for one.

The looting? The looting, it was going on. But it was the instinct of survival. If the helicopters are passing people over, not dropping common provisions, the instinct of survival is going to kick in on you. You're going to let a loaf of bread sit on the shelf, and you go hungry? Would you do it? We have to have a better plan. If not we shall perish as a people. The media portrayed poor, black, destitute people—we're "*refugees*." How in the hell can we be refugees in the country that we fought and died for? I earned my money and my keep by the sweat of my brow.

The port is as good as the people that work there. The port is nothing without the workers. The port cannot function without the workers, but the workers' families are elsewhere, they're homeless. What is the port doing for the family members? The guys work six days, seven days a week, five days a week, around the clock, some guys. But some guys only work four days a week because they have to go up there three days a week to try to secure their family. Some guys don't have a place to live. Some guys lost everything. We all gave, but we received nothing.■

Katrina...

(continued from page 1)

criminals—express their contempt for the black and working-class residents, who infuse this storied city with its lifeblood, by throwing up massive obstacles to their return home.

On April 1, upwards of 5,000 people joined a New Orleans protest called by Jesse Jackson's Rainbow/PUSH Coalition for the "right to return, a protected vote, and reconstruction." They marched over the Mississippi River bridge where last September black people fleeing the floodwaters were stopped at gunpoint by racist Jefferson Parish and Gretna police authorities. The protesters demanded that the thousands of still-displaced New Orleanians be able to vote (in satellite locations) in the April 22 municipal elections. White racist candidates have crawled out of the woodwork, sensing that their time has come to "take back" the city.

The black people of New Orleans rightly perceive an attack on their democratic right to vote. The poll tax and literacy tests of Jim Crow-era elections find their present-day equivalents in the abandonment and dispersal of the black population. The spectre of Florida in 2000, when Bush stole the presidency in part by disenfranchising black voters, was invoked at the protest. One marcher expressed the concerns of many: "They want to return. Some just don't have the means to do so. I pay taxes, I work, I raised children, I'm not a criminal" (New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 2 April).

The protest was meant to bolster Democratic Party candidates, with speakers including former black Democratic mayor and National Urban League president Marc Morial, Al Sharpton and Bill Cosby. NAACP signs sarcastically read: "Iraq Has Fairer Elections." Many wore T-shirts for black mayor Ray Nagin, who recently acceded to demands by the largely white community in the Algiers section that no FEMA trailer parks be placed near their sanctuary. Hailed from the podium was Mitch Landrieu, lieutenant governor of Louisiana and brother of U.S. Senator Mary Landrieu, a proponent of the mainly white charter schools that have mushroomed here as public education is abandoned.

While the callous indifference of the Bush gang is obvious to all, the pathetic state of the levees and the flood control system, which contributed to the Gulf Coast disaster, is a ***bipartisan*** responsibility. The more than two decades of neglect of this vital infrastructure included the eight years of the Democratic Clinton administration. The Democrats and Republicans both uphold the capitalist system in which the ruling class gorges on profits while workers' jobs and pensions disappear, necessary social programs are starved for funds, and ghetto residents are considered a "surplus" population. This same profit-driven system leads to imperialist depredations abroad, such as the murderous occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan. As we wrote shortly after

continued on page 6

WV Photo

Virtually all of New Orleans' Lower Ninth Ward remains uninhabitable.

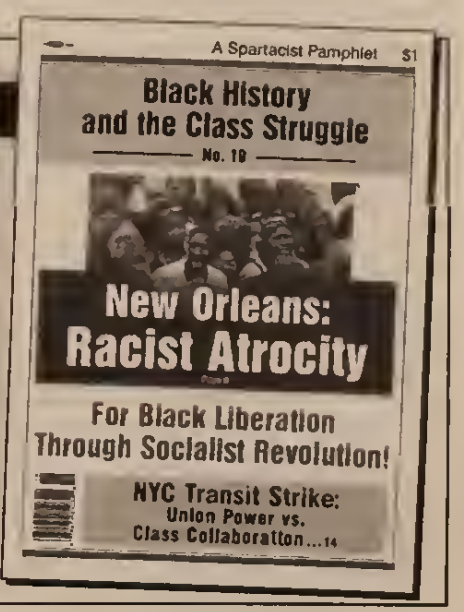
Just Out!

Black History and the Class Struggle
No. 19

Black History is sent to all *Workers Vanguard* subscribers.

$1 (48 pages)

Order from:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



Katrina...

(continued from page 5)

Hurricane Katrina in "New Orleans: Racist Atrocity" (*WV* No. 854, 16 September 2005; reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 19, March 2006):

> "The situation cries out for a socialist planned economy, in which natural resources and the technological and productive forces of society would be marshaled *on behalf of human needs*, not profit. What is urgently required is to build a workers party that can lead a workers revolution to rip power from the hands of the capitalist class and its political agents, right-wing Republican and liberal Democrat alike."

The Legacy of Slavery

The pristine condition of the Robert E. Lee monument in New Orleans stands in stark contrast to the devastation of the black communities. The legacy of slavery is inescapable here—it's impossible to describe the city without reference to the Civil War and the defeat of Reconstruction. In capitalist America, built on a foundation of black oppression rooted in chattel slavery, the ruling class and its political front men, white and black, are determining how many black people can return to New Orleans.

The abandonment and belated evacuation of the majority of the black population last year was a racist atrocity. The *continuing* racist atrocity is the enforced dispersal of the population. The black population of New Orleans has been branded criminals, looters and lazy people who watch soap operas all day. There are new code words, like the call for a city with a "smaller footprint." Hardcore racists are preening in the streets, shouting racist epithets at black workers from their cars. And in the continuing cop rampage against the black population, on April 4 a black woman was assaulted and pepper-sprayed by a group of mainly white cops after they stopped her car.

When Bush visited the Garden District's wealthy enclave in January, he hyped the return of infrastructure. This was but the continuation of his depraved indifference to the disaster, as revealed in Congressional hearings and on videotape. There *is no infrastructure* across whole stretches of the city. Up to 120,000 homes remain as they were when the water receded. There are precious few FEMA trailers in Orleans Parish and fewer still with utility hookups. The public school system is largely shut down, with the concomitant destruction of some 7,000 union jobs. Health care for the working poor is virtually nonexistent, with the utterly callous and gratuitous closing down of Charity Hospital and the layoff of its staff just one example. The U.S. postal system has only begun a modicum of mail delivery.

As hurricane season approaches, the levee system has not been restored. There is simply no commitment to build levees to withstand Category Five storms. Recently, the Army Corps of Engineers acknowledged a major design flaw in the construction of existing levees that could lead to their failure. No one trusts the government on this score, as this is the land of the drive-by levee inspection.

Getty

September 2005: Cops arrest New Orleans flood survivor.

A high percentage of displaced blacks have no means to return and nothing to return to. The "Bring New Orleans Back" commission supported by Mayor Nagin requires neighborhoods to reach a critical population mass; otherwise former residents will be forced to sell their property. In this capitalist society, where property rights are supposedly sacred, black New Orleanians have no rights the government is bound to respect. This is surely heaven for the real estate speculators, to hell with the rest.

On April 4, 80 residents of the St. Bernard Housing Development project had had enough and marched back into their homes, pushing aside Housing Authority and city cops. Two months ago, a tall steel fence was put around the project, whose first floor units had been damaged by the flood. One long-term resident told *WV*: "We want to come home. This is our home. They're not going to pretend to us that they are concerned about us. HUD is not concerned about us. I think they want to tear it down and make it private sector. Whatever they want to do with it, it don't include black poor people."

Immigrants and Labor

In the lead-up to the April 1 protest, Jesse Jackson complained about immigrant workers rebuilding New Orleans: "Why must people here look at people coming in from out of the country to do the work? That is humiliating" (Associated Press, 30 January). However, this kind of rhetoric was toned down on April 1, as Democratic politicians were prominently featured in nationwide protests against a Republican bill that would further criminalize immigrants. While Democrats as well as Republicans are supporting various "guest worker" bills, we oppose this new form of indentured servitude (see "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!" *WV* No. 867, 31 March).

There is more than a little anti-immigrant chauvinism along the Gulf Coast. One bricklayers' union official complained that "they" don't join unions. On one level this is simply false, since immigrant workers have become key components of a number of union organizing drives and labor battles. It is the labor tops who have failed to aggressively undertake the unionization of foreign-born workers and to organize in the face of "right-to-work" laws in the South.

In our article following Hurricane Katrina we outlined what the labor movement should fight for: "The masses of displaced people must be provided with jobs—***union jobs*** at union wage scales, with health care, housing, clothing and all other necessities.... What is needed at the minimum is a massive program of federally funded public works to rebuild New Orleans and the rest of the devastated Gulf Coast." Racism and anti-immigrant chauvinism undermine the unity in struggle necessary to fight for what's needed against the capitalist rulers. The labor movement must defend immigrant workers, demanding full citizenship rights for all those who have made it to the U.S. At the same time, the immigrant-derived proletariat must grasp that anti-black racism remains the touchstone of social reaction in this country.

The Gulf Coast Latin American Association reports that 30,000 Latinos have moved into the area since the storm. For the most part, they live in tents or abandoned buildings or in the very buildings they are gutting. Many have left their families behind. They are brutally exploited and very vulnerable to disease, with little access to medical care. As part of Homeland Security's "Operation Community Shield," there are recurrent raids on immigrant workers. They are even pounced on when they emerge from the only mobile clinic in New Orleans that treats them.

Meanwhile, the Port of New Orleans has returned to almost 100 percent operating capacity. It's just not an option for the capitalists to allow this port to be closed for any extended period. Even Gulf Coast oil production isn't as significant as this port, which in terms of tonnage moved is the largest in the U.S. and the fifth-largest in the world. In a 1 September 2005 article on the Stratfor Web site titled "New Orleans: A Geopolitical Prize," George Friedman noted that the New Orleans port complex is where "bulk commodities of agriculture go out to the world and the bulk commodities of industrialism come in."

This gives port workers like longshoremen enormous potential social power. To unleash labor's power, there must be a fight to replace the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy with a leadership committed to the independence of the working class from the capitalist state and its political parties. We need a workers party to lead all the exploited and the oppressed in the struggle for a workers government.■

Flood...

(continued from page 4)

when anti-black racism and anti-immigrant bigotry reigned and a weak, craft-based labor movement meant that few workers were organized into unions. Government repression was fueled in part by fear that the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution would inspire U.S. workers. Sacco and Vanzetti, immigrant anarchists framed up for bank robbery and murder in Massachusetts, were executed in August 1927 despite massive, worldwide protests. In the South, the KKK-infested Democratic Party ran the government. In the North, the Klan had hundreds of thousands of members from Portland, Maine to Portland, Oregon, running state and city governments.

In the midst of the 1927 floods, a wave of lynchings hit the South. In Little Rock, a black man was hung from a tree and riddled with bullets. His corpse was then tied to the back of a car, dragged through the town and burned. In Mississippi, two black men were burned at the stake.

But black people fought back after the murder of James Gooden in Greenville that July. A cop had ordered Gooden to join yet another work gang after he had worked all night. When he refused, the cop killed him. Blacks, seething with anger, stopped work on the levees. They began carrying firearms along with their shovels, hoes and knives. Like virtually every white man since Reconstruction who had killed a black man in Mississippi, the cop was never indicted. The county prosecutor was the Exalted Cyclops of the Klan.

The scale of the Great Flood was such that it contributed to the breakdown of the Southern sharecropping plantation system, as those fleeing the ravaged Delta accelerated the "Great Migration" of Southern blacks to Northern industrial cities like Chicago. During World War II, black migration from the South was boosted yet again, as labor was needed for defense industries. The "Great Migration" changed the composition of the U.S. working class and the labor movement, particularly as black workers joined the new industrial unions in the 1930s and '40s.

Over time, as industry increased in the South, poor agrarian whites as well as blacks were proletarianized, creating an identity of interest between them. Such changes in the South created the conditions for the re-emergence of the struggle for black freedom. The mass civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s finally resulted in the clearing away of the legal framework of segregation in the South. But while Jim Crow was the most blatant form of institutionalized racism in this society, the root of black oppression remains in the structural workings of the U.S. capitalist profit system, as the 2005 Gulf Coast disaster so dramatically exposed.

The sharecropping system may be gone, but by every measure of social conditions—the huge prison population, unemployment, non-existent health care and prison-like schools—black people remain an oppressed race-color caste segregated at the bottom of U.S. society. At the same time, black workers continue to be integrated into strategic sectors of the industrial proletariat, which alone has the power to shatter this racist capitalist system. Won to a revolutionary program, black workers will be the living link fusing the anger of the dispossessed ghetto masses with the social power of the multiracial proletariat under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party.■

Puerto Rico...

(continued from page 2)

sense of nationhood. On the other hand, there is a fear that independence for Puerto Rico, which already has a per capita income 25 percent below that of the poorest U.S. state, would mean sinking to the level of poverty of its Caribbean neighbors. There is as well a desire to hold on to the ability to live and work on the U.S. mainland, where almost three million Puerto Ricans reside.

The Spartacist League/U.S. defends the right of self-determination for Puerto Rico and demands: FBI, CIA, U.S. military out of Puerto Rico! We support political freedom for advocates of independence to organize, and we demand the release of all imprisoned independence fighters. But our Marxist perspective is counterposed to the nationalist strategy of the Machcteros, which is premised on the unity of Puerto Ricans of all classes around the call for independence. The only road to ending imperialist domination is through socialist revolution—in Puerto Rico and on the mainland. This perspective necessarily entails political struggle to break the Puerto Rican proletariat from nationalist "unity" with the local bourgeoisie. In the U.S., it means mobilizing the proletariat in opposition to the imperialist rulers and their Democratic and Republican parties.

As we wrote in our article protesting the assassination of Filiberto Ojeda Rios:

> "We seek to unite Puerto Rican workers and the multiracial working class in the U.S. in common struggle against U.S. imperialism, from Central America to the Caribbean and the U.S. We fight to forge Trotskyist parties to lead the workers to power both on the mainland and in Puerto Rico. A victorious workers revolution in the U.S. would immediately free Puerto Rico and all other nations subjugated by U.S. imperialism and establish relations with them on the basis of their freedom to exercise their national self-determination."■

France...

(continued from page 1)

say that what is needed is a struggle of the working class to overthrow the entire capitalist system. Capitalism is based on the exploitation of the workers hy the capitalists. It is impossible to make it work in the interests of the workers; it can't he reformed.

We have mobilized all our forces over the last several weeks in order to intervene into this struggle and have received many reinforcements from our international, as you can see in this room today. We intervened to outline a revolutionary perspective. We said in our March 29 leaflet:

> "We warn against the betrayal being prepared hy the union bureaucrats and reformists. In this struggle, their real aim is to win the 2007 elections hy forming a new hourgeois alliance hetween the reformist workers parties (PS, PCF and maybe LCR) and small bourgeois parties such as the Chevènementistes, the Left Radicals and the Greens—a new popular front like [former PS prime minister Lionel] Jospin's 'Plural Left,' with a new look."

This is the main danger now looming on the horizon. In France, the classic mechanism by which reformist workers parties subordinate the working class to the hourgeoisie is the popular front. This is how they strangled the possibility of workers revolution in June 1936. They present the popular front as an alliance of progressive forces to defeat the right wing. In reality, it is a parliamentary alliance with hourgeois parties, which is necessarily based on a hourgeois program of managing capitalism. The bourgeoisie and the workers have fundamentally counterposed and antagonistic interests. We struggle for a socialist revolution and fight to build a party of the Bolshevik type capahle of leading the workers to victory.

This is what fundamentally differentiates us from all of our opponents such as the LCR or LO [Lutte Ouvrière], which on occasion claim to be revolutionary or Trotskyist. Their whole strategy is limited to trying to pressure the hourgeoisie into making a few concessions, which can he granted today but taken away tomorrow.

The CPE and the Trade-Union Bureaucracy

Listening carefully to the union bureaucrats' reaction to Chirac's recent speech, you may have noticed that their biggest regret regarding what he said about the CPE was that he rejected negotiations with them. They define themselves as "social partners," i.e., partners of the bourgeoisie. In our last leaflet, we noted that [CGT union federation leader] Bernard Thibault signed a servile declaration of loyalty to Chirac last week, recalling that the CGT had called to vote for him four years ago (as did the SUD union federation, the PS, the PCF and the LCR).

The attitude of these bureaucrats reflects their ambition to manage capitalism, which can only he done on the backs of the workers and the oppressed. In our leaflet against the Bolkestein Directive [an anti-worker measure to "liberalize" internal markets that was adopted by the European Union parliament] reprinted in *Le Bolchévik* [No.175, March 2006], we said:

> "The trade-union hureaucrats rest on a relatively privileged layer of workers, in large part men of French or European descent. They henefit from a few crumbs thrown at them by the capitalists and, hased on these privileges, spread the illusion that workers have common interests with their 'own' capitalists, and that they must therefore work in partnership to strengthen 'their' capitalism against its foreign competitors. In reality, capitalist society is everywhere hased on the same fundamental antagonism hetween workers and capitalists: the capitalists exploit the workers to extract their profits. When the bureaucrats promote collahoration between the working class and the bourgeoisie, they work to maintain the capitalist system and are an obstacle to the struggle for liberation from wage slavery through workers revolution."

The Struggle Against Unemployment

In this framework, social democrats such as the PS scarcely even promise reforms anymore, hut simply present themselves as a lesser evil than the unhridled attacks of the right. They may promise to get rid of the CPE and other repressive measures, but when they run the capitalist government, they necessarily go after the working class—in collaboration with the union bureaucrats. The maximum program of the "far left" is to maintain the status quo. They propose to maintain the welfare state, in its current sorry state, and that's about it.

To sound a radical note, the LCR demands "banning layoffs." With such a demand, which is also one of LO's favorites, they only spread the illusion that capitalism could function in the workers' interest. Layoffs are inherent to capitalism. The capitalists maintain a reserve army of unemployed workers to exert a downward pressure on wages and working conditions. The Jospin government talked about an "irreducible unemployment rate" of 8 percent, below which there would be labor shortages and demands for wage increases from the workers. Jospin introduced the five-year CDDs [fixed-length work contracts] as "youth jobs" and the Aubry Law on the 35-hour workweek that served to freeze wages as well as hiring through a massive increase in labor flexibility and thus productivity.

Supposedly, the CPE is aimed at combatting unemployment. In reality, what it means is not that the bosses can more easily hire, but that they can more easily fire. The goal of the CPE is to raise the workers' rate of exploitation by forcing them to accept worse working conditions for fear of losing their jobs. "Banning layoffs" solves nothing for the 4.5 million people registered today with the ANPE [employment bureau], not to mention those, notably women, who aren't even registered. In the face of the unemployment that today bedevils this society, affecting in particular women and youth, particularly those of the suhurban ghettos, here's what Trotsky wrote in his 1938 Transitional Program:

> "The ***right to employment*** is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right today is being shorn from him at every step. Against unemployment, 'structural' as well as 'conjunctural,' the time is ripe to advance, along with the slogan of public works, the slogan of ***a sliding scale of working hours***. Trade unions and other mass organizations should bind the workers and the unemployed together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility. On this basis all the work on hand would then be divided among all existing workers in accordance with how the extent of the working week is defined. The average wage of every worker remains the same as it was under the old working week. Wages, with a strictly guaranteed ***minimum***, would follow the movement of prices. It is impossible to accept any other program for the present catastrophic period....
>
> "If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. 'Realizability' or 'unrealizability' is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may he, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

This gives you the basic framework for our approach. The current strikes and demonstrations graphically demonstrated the power of the working class, even though the unions in France are the weakest in Europe, with a rate of union membership of only 5 percent among private-sector workers. Moreover, the unions are divided at each work site among several union organizations, all of which depend more on the good graces of the bosses and of the state for their financing than on their own membership. Suhcontracting support services, such as cafeterias, cleaning or maintenance—where there is a higher proportion of women, immigrant workers or youth of North and Sub-Saharan African origin—is also a way for the bosses to weaken the trade unions. We fight for strong, ***industrial unions*** that draw all the workers of a given industry into a single union. We fight to ***organize the unorganized***. We fight for ***full citizenship rights for all immigrants***.

The goal of the CPE is to create such a climate of fear of layoffs that young workers dare not join the unions, nor even seek out union delegates at work to defend them. Students and unions went into revolt against the CPE, which is indeed targeted at them. But for once, de Villepin told the truth when he said that the CPE is aimed first and foremost at the *banlieue* youth. There is an unemployment rate of up to 50 percent among youth in those projects. But this also means that more than 50 percent are employed, one-third of whom are in industrial jobs. Far from being just victims of racist oppression, *banlieue* youth are also workers and future workers. They are at the core of the only class with the power and the historic mission to overthrow capitalism, the working class. Over the last year, there have heen a series of strikes, such as at the Citroën auto plant in Aulnay-sous-Bois, where youth of North African and Sub-Saharan African origins played a key role. The implementation of the CPE would particularly weaken this layer of youth. As we wrote in our 15 March supplement against the CPE [see *WV* No. 867, 31 March]:

> "The CPE is all about undermining the integrity of the working class by reinforcing the divisions between young and old and between dark-skinned youth of non-European origin and those of European origin. It's an attempt to manipulate youth, especially those from the ghettos, against the trade unions themselves. To repel this attack, the workers movement must overcome the narrow limits of trade unionism and confront head-on the special oppression of immigrants and of French-born youth of North African and African origin. The workers movement must fight racist segregation in housing, education and hiring."

The Anti-"Casseurs" Popular Front

Class collaboration by the union bureaucrats and reformists with the capitalists was reflected last week in their support to the government's racist campaign against the *banlieue* youth, who

continued on page 8

François Préneau

AP

Above: Members of SUD union federation in Nantes demand revoking of youth jobs law, April 4. Below: Protesting students occupy Gare de Lyon train yard in Paris, March 30.

Reuters

Paris, March 28: Plainclothes cops beat youth at end of protest by student groups and trade unions.

France...

(continued from page 7)

are labeled with the racist code word "*casseurs*" [hooligans]. These youth are the first targets of the CPE. Instead of mobilizing the unions' power in defense of these youth against police terror, the union bureaucrats went to the point of handing them over to the cops.

At the time of the November [*banlieue*] revolt, the left didn't defend these youth. This betrayal encouraged de Villepin to launch the CPE. At the time, the PS supported the state of emergency, the PCF called for re-establishing order and the LCR tailed the PCF. LO also signed an appeal to re-establish order, which it later called an "idiocy, but a minor one." It was minor for LO, but not for the hundreds of youth who received hard-time jail sentences.

We were practically the only ones last week to denounce the union bureaucrats' collaboration with the police. During the May 1968 general strike, demonstrators chanted "CRS—SS." But on March 28 you could almost hear the union bureaucrats saying "CRS—SOS," calling on the cops to intervene—against the Arabs and blacks from the *banlieues*, of course. Sarkozy even proposed in talks with student and union leaders that they jointly organize "security," pen in the demonstrators, etc. That such talks even took place was especially obscene considering that they were held only a few days after [SUD union member] Cyril Ferez, victim of a CRS assault on the March 18 demonstration, had gone into a coma.

The bureaucrats backed off from Sarkozy's most extreme measures, but at bottom they nonetheless consider that the cops can be allies of the workers against the "*casseurs*." More generally, they see the cops as "workers in uniform"; all unions, including the SUD, agree it's OK to organize cops. This form of class collaboration is within the unions themselves. We say: ***Cops, security guards and prison guards out of the unions and the workers movement!***

The core of the state consists of detachments of armed men, including the police, prison guards and the military. The state is not above classes. On the contrary, it is an organ of repression at the service of the ruling class to maintain the social order, racist capitalism. This is why the bourgeois state cannot be reformed, but must be destroyed and replaced by a proletarian state power established through a proletarian socialist revolution.

In the midst of the revolt in the *banlieues* in early November, we demanded that the imprisoned youths be immediately released and that all charges against them be dropped. We are very well known for our opposition to Vigipirate, a racist scheme that includes the occupation of the transit system by cops and the military.

Since the end of the revolt last fall, certain left groups, like the PCF and LCR, have occasionally called for amnesty for the youth. That's a good thing and a demand that we share. But it contradicts the fact that these same reformists voted for Chirac in 2002, and that today they are working for a new popular front. On the one hand, the LCR and PCF call for amnesty; on the other, they run from meeting to meeting to forge unity with, among others, the Chevènementistes, even though Jean-Pierre Chevènement himself, as minister of police in the government of Jospin and PCF leader Buffet, reinforced the cop presence in the ghettos and deported thousands of undocumented immigrants. Last November Chevènement, now mayor of Belfort, was among the first to decree a curfew against the youth. The reformists like the LCR or PCF thus contribute to polishing the image of these capitalist politicians and prepare the next popular-front government, which will be just as repressive as the de Villepin/Sarkozy government and that of Jospin/Buffet.

The reformists' position for amnesty for the arrested *banlieue* youth is likewise in contradiction to what they do on the ground. They systematically opposed, or prevented from coming to a vote, motions we put forward in student general assemblies at the Paris 8, Jussieu and Rouen campuses in late March that simply demanded freedom for all the youth, including the youth from the November ghetto revolt. In practice, the reformists did not even go as far as the platform adopted at the Student Coordination meeting in Toulouse, which on February 25 (before the anti-"*casseurs*" campaign) demanded an end to repression and amnesty for convicted youth. This referred to all youth arrested during the movement a year ago against the Fillon Law [instituting cutbacks in high school education], the ghetto revolt last fall, up through the anti-CPE movement.

On the Rouen campus, only a few people voted for our motion on March 24, which called for immediate freedom for all the imprisoned students and ghetto youth. In the aftermath, some anarchists confided to us that they regretted their vote against our motion. But their vote wasn't solely because they let themselves be manipulated like innocents by the social democrats. These anarchists refused to talk about the ghetto youth for fear of "stigmatizing" them. For anarchists, there are only "human beings," all part of the same species, so one has the duty to convince everyone to act in "mutual aid," as the anarchist Kropotkin said in the 19th century. As a result, they disappear all forms of special oppression—sexual, sexual orientation, racial, etc. Anarchism is at bottom an ideology of class collaboration, disappearing the fact that society is divided into irreconcilable social classes and that the working class must take power in its own name and exercise a dictatorship against the capitalist class. The capitalist class will fight relentlessly to save its bloody system of racist exploitation, as occurred during the Civil War that followed the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

A final note on this racist anti-"*casseurs*" campaign. LO is continuing it. Yesterday in Paris they distributed a special supplement, which is very rare for them, in order to denounce the "hooligans." But the rest of the left, except to my knowledge the PS, has distanced itself from this campaign, starting with the Student Coordination which last weekend, as I heard, chanted, "We are all *casseurs*." If you read the PCF's *l'Humanité* today, you would have to be struck by the tone, which was totally anti-repression, denouncing the arbitrariness and the police violence, etc. One could almost ask oneself whether this is the same newspaper that one week ago was denouncing the cops for not being severe enough against the "real *casseurs*."

The fact that the anti-"*casseurs*" campaign has petered out is a good thing. But what this also shows is the complete lack of principles on the part of the reformists. They are ready to act as a cover for a racist campaign by the government and to collaborate with the cops when things are really hot, and the next week they disappear all trace of their crimes. The only constant thing is their opportunism.

Olympia/Action Press

"Fortress Europe": Italian police seize refugee ship in Sicilian port of Catania.

Imperialist Provocation Against Iran

For all the strength of the mobilization against de Villepin over the question of the CPE, in the demonstrations we have run into implicit support to the same Chirac/de Villepin government over the question of Iran. We have encountered not a few hostile remarks against our placard stating that Iran needs nuclear weapons if it is to be able to defend itself against the imperialist threat. In reality, the nuclear blackmail comes from the imperialists. It is Chirac, not Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who has threatened to use nuclear weapons; it is French imperialism, not the regime of the Iranian mullahs, that has extensively used chemical weapons.

Those with doubts on this score should recall that Chirac nominated de Villepin [for prime minister] after the government's defeat last year in the referendum on the European Constitution because de Villepin had benefited from enthusiastic, widespread support, including from the PCF and the LCR, over his UN speech against the U.S. war on Iraq. It's there that one sees that the support of the left for the *foreign* policies of French imperialism allows the latter to attack the workers *at home*. That said, if the PCF has not appreciated de Villepin's policies on Iran, this is solely due to bourgeois French chauvinism, because the PCF thinks that French imperialism should have independent policies instead of being waterboys for the Americans on the question of Iran.

Many militants on the left are worried about the reactionary Iranian mullahs getting nuclear weapons, and they place their trust in French imperialism on this question. These militants are often members or supporters of organizations like the LCR, which in 1978-79 supported the "Iranian revolution" of Ayatollah Khomeini. At the time, they claimed this was an "anti-imperialist revolution," and some leftists even called the veil a symbol of resistance to the pro-American regime of the Shah of Iran. We uniquely said at the time, "Down with the Shah! Don't bow to Khomeini!" and fought for a workers revolution in Iran.

The principal danger facing humanity is not the theocratic anti-woman regime in Tehran, which we continue to oppose, but imperialists like the U.S. and France —this handful of capitalist powers that established domination over the whole world a century ago and has fought ever since to divide and redivide the rest of the world through neocolonial exploitation and imperialist war. These powers possess hundreds, even thousands, of nuclear weapons, or in the case of Germany and Japan, the technological and industrial capacity to produce them in record time.

Possessing these armaments or having the capacity to produce them is not optional for these powers. They need them, and other types of weapons, to impose their interests on other peoples of the world, to assure the security of their foreign investments. If they disarmed, what country would honor its debts? Wouldn't their rivals immediately seize the opportunity to appropriate their share of the pillage of the "Third World" and more generally of the profits to be realized on the international market? What are termed "property rights"—whether in the form of loans, direct investments or trade agreements—are only pieces of paper if there is not an armed force to enforce them. Every Mafia loan shark knows that if he does not have at his command someone who can break the neck of his debtors, he will have a much lower rate of return.

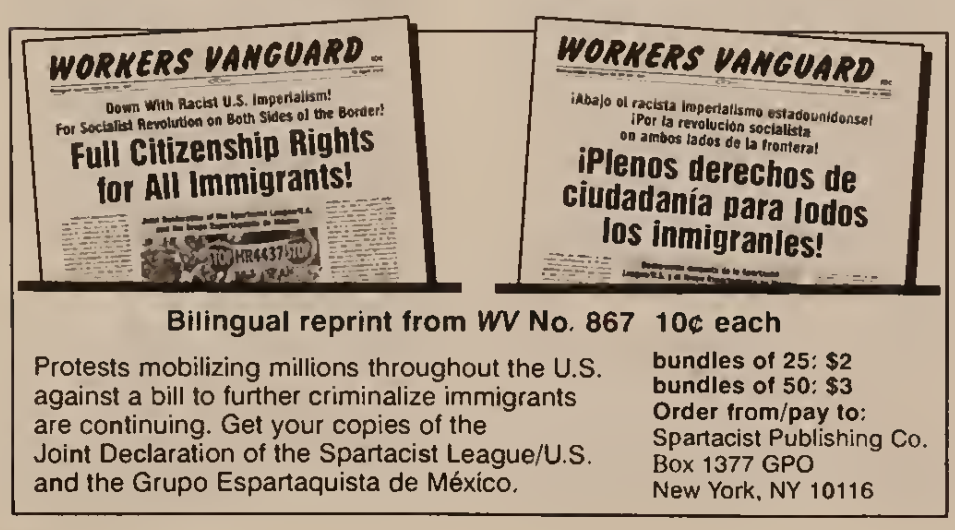
The imperialists use their guns not only to keep oppressed peoples enslaved, but also to keep their rivals in check. The U.S./British invasion of Iraq aimed not only to seize Iraqi oil, but also—even especially—to remind Washington's rivals that there is only one superpower, ready to do anything to defend its interests.

For all these reasons, pacifists are merely petty bourgeois who lull themselves and breed illusions that an end to imperialist war can be achieved without workers revolution to overthrow the capitalist system. Having a maximum program of "peace," "democracy" and "the Republic" comes down to supporting one's own "democratic" imperialism. On the left, one often comes across opposition to French troops in the Ivory Coast. Of course we are for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all French troops from the Ivory Coast. But also, and this is a less popular position, we demand their withdrawal from the Balkans, where French soldiers are supposedly "peacekeepers," and Afghanistan, where they are supposedly fighting the "war on terror."

One need only recall the bloody history of the French bourgeoisie, which during the Indochina War called on the U.S. to launch atomic bombs against North Vietnam, at a time when France did not yet have these weapons. The existence of Soviet nuclear arms deterred the U.S. from this course at that time.

For a Socialist United States of Europe

To understand the current capitalist offensive and working-class resistance to the CPE and other government attacks, it is necessary to understand the historic conjuncture in which we are situated, fundamentally marked by the destruction



Bilingual reprint from *WV* No. 867 10¢ each

Protests mobilizing millions throughout the U.S. against a bill to further criminalize immigrants are continuing. Get your copies of the Joint Declaration of the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Grupo Espartaquista de México.

bundles of 25: $2
bundles of 50: $3
Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

of the Soviet Union. The Cold War, which lasted more than 40 years between the Second World War and the counterrevolution in the USSR, created significant economic costs for the bourgeoisie. In the U.S., it led to a disproportionate military budget. In West Europe, the overhead was quite different. It consisted of social welfare programs considered necessary to win support, or at least passive acceptance, by the workers for the political and military mobilization against the USSR.

Immediately after the collapse of the USSR, the U.S. considerably and rather easily reduced its military budget. But for the bourgeoisies of West Europe, the drive to liquidate the welfare state was accompanied by working-class resistance and a series of defensive battles. Wage costs remain relatively high in West Europe: thus profits are relatively low, and the growth rates of the French and German economies for the last 15 years have remained markedly weaker than in the U.S. This has prevented the European imperialist powers from amassing the necessary surplus to close the military gap vis-à-vis U.S. imperialism. You have seen Chirac's efforts in recent years to rearm: they have been very modest and have run up against a substantial budgetary deficit.

Despite the resentment of the French and German bourgeoisies toward Bush's adventurist policy in Iraq, they are now collaborating more closely than they did three years ago with the U.S. and the British on the question of Iran. This has nothing to do with any supposed anti-nuclear-proliferation pacifism on the part of the French imperialist bourgeoisie that carried out over a hundred nuclear tests in [the South Pacific island] Mururoa.

The dismantling of the welfare state is an iron necessity for French imperialism, which is much weaker than the U.S. and even Germany. In the closing years of Chancellor Gerhard Schröder's Social Democratic-led government, Germany succeeded in significantly reducing wages while lengthening the workday. Then Schröder campaigned against the economic "ultra-liberalism" of Christian Democrat Angela Merkel—to end up forming a coalition government with her. This government is based on a program that includes a German version of the CPE—except that the Social Democrats agreed that their CPE should target not only those under 26 but everyone.

The social crisis in France is deep-going. But throughout Europe there are very important class struggles going on. In Germany there have been public sector strikes for two months now, opposing among other things the return of the 40-hour week; a metal workers strike looms. In Britain on March 28, the day of the strike here, there were 1.5 million municipal public service workers on strike against the dismantling of their pensions.

Today in France the social democrats of the PS and the PCF are in the opposition, so they make fine speeches. But at bottom they collaborate with the European bourgeoisies, which are driving to destroy working-class gains. They recently opposed the Bolkestein Directive, but in fact the French social democrat Pascal Lamy, who had been previously named by Jospin as a European commissioner, had signed a version of the directive much worse than the one that was adopted. The aim of the Bolkestein Directive is to pit French workers against East European workers. Following the destruction of the Polish and East European deformed workers states, these workers have been thrown on the unemployment heap. Now, they are being used by the bourgeoisie to do away with social gains in the West. Our slogan, ***full citizenship rights for all immigrants***, is particularly important to undercut the chauvinist poison that serves to divide the working class.

The reformists call for a capitalist "social Europe." We, on the other hand, oppose the European Union from a proletarian, internationalist and revolutionary perspective. Only the taking of state power by the working class and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in at least several advanced capitalist countries will allow the setting up of a rationally planned economy placing the productive capacity of Europe at the service of the peoples of the whole world. Only on this basis can one speak of the *socialist* united states of Europe.

EMA

French armored vehicle moves through Kosovo as part of imperialist occupation force, 2000.

Our Struggle to Defend the Workers States

There is a link between the CPE and the destruction of the USSR, which has encouraged the capitalists' attempts to destroy the gains of the working class in West Europe. Likewise, the position of the left groups on the question of the CPE is not unrelated to the position that they had with respect to the Soviet Union. For example, the LCR backed President François Mitterrand (for whom they had voted) in order to support Solidarność's capitalist-restorationist bid for power in Poland in December 1981. Just like Mitterrand, Lutte Ouvrière in 1989 supported the drive for the capitalist reunification of Germany.

The Soviet Union issued out of the Russian Revolution of October 1917, when the Russian workers took power in their own hands, destroying the bourgeois state and establishing a workers state. Capitalism is a system based on the nation-state because the bourgeoisie is a nationally based class. We fight for international socialist revolution—for the collectivization of the means of production and international planning of this collectivized economy.

The failure of the German Revolution in 1923 delayed the perspective of the extension of Soviet proletarian power to industrialized West Europe. The Soviet Union was then largely a backward agricultural country, with an industrial base that was highly concentrated in particular cities but also very limited. The failed German revolution left the USSR isolated, which was a crucial factor for the usurpation of political power by a parasitic bureaucracy. The Stalinist bureaucracy claimed that it was possible to build socialism in a single country. In practice, that meant strangling revolution elsewhere in the name of peaceful coexistence with imperialism.

In spite of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union, it remained a workers state. We Trotskyists fought to defend and extend the gains of the Russian Revolution. We were for the unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism and counterrevolution. We fought for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy that undermined the workers state from within. We waged this fight to the end. In particular, when the Berlin Wall fell in November 1989, we threw all our forces into the fight for proletarian political revolution in East Germany against the collapsing Stalinist bureaucracy. We fought for a Red Germany of workers councils, that is, the revolutionary reunification of Germany on a socialist basis. We lost. Gorbachev gave up East Germany to German imperialism, and less than two years later Yeltsin took power in Moscow and led the counterrevolution that destroyed the workers state and re-established a capitalist state. Once more we sought to mobilize the working class in defense of the workers state, to sweep away Yelstin's and Bush Sr.'s barricades in August 1991.

The counterrevolution in the USSR marked a turning point in history. Our banner remains unstained. In contrast, in the name of the struggle for "democracy," the LCR openly took the side of Yeltsin. At the time, they produced a national leaflet declaring "full solidarity with all those men and women who stood on the barricades, facing the threat of tanks."

This is not merely a historical question. Today, in contrast to our pseudo-Trotskyist opponents, we stand for the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states—China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea—while fighting for workers political revolution to establish regimes based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism. A victory for capitalist counterrevolution in China would be a terrible defeat not only for the workers in China, but indeed in the entire world.

The Need for a Bolshevik Party

Today, parties and groups on the left claim to seek to lead struggles against attacks like the CPE, which are in fact indirect results of the counterrevolution. They have learned nothing from their betrayal regarding the USSR. In April 1940, Trotsky wrote in "Balance Sheet of the Finnish Events" (*In Defense of Marxism*): "It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones."

Today we continue to be reproached for our defense of the USSR. In the protests against the CPE, many people tell us that they really like the headlines of our paper, but they dislike its name. They dislike it because they understand that the name "*Le Bolchévik*" lays claim to the Russian Revolution, and they have partly or wholly absorbed the lying campaign of the social democrats, the anarchists and the bourgeoisie about the "80 million dead" allegedly as a result of Bolshevism.

We said in our first leaflet on the CPE that this isn't 1968. In saying that, we don't mean that a social explosion is impossible. On the contrary, the situation is favorable to class struggle because the government has been substantially weakened since the defeat of the referendum on the European Constitution. The bourgeoisie is divided and the working class has suffered so many attacks over the last three years that all the ingredients have come together for a deepgoing struggle.

The most important difference with respect to May '68 concerns the political outlook of the working class. Forty years ago the great mass of workers supported the Stalinist PCF, and many advanced workers thought that socialism was something achievable. Even if there were problems in the USSR, its very existence proved that a system where the capitalists were expropriated could function, and moreover in the interests of the workers. Even a liberal at that time might have called himself a "Marxist-Leninist," Bolshevik, etc.

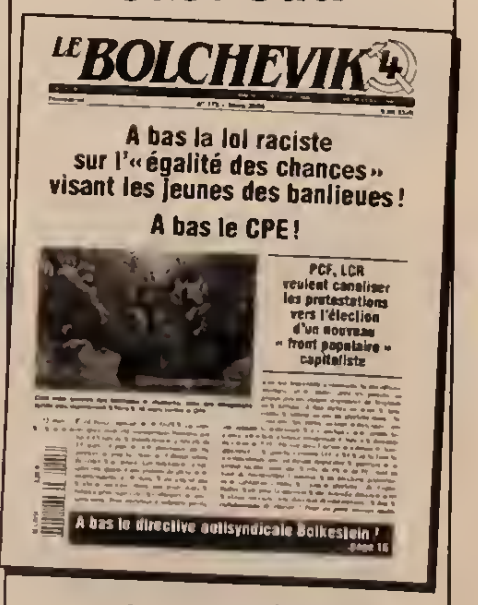
In May '68 the French bourgeoisie feared revolution. So it offered a compromise that the PCF seized upon, thus snuffing out the possibility of revolution. Today, apart from ourselves, hardly anyone thinks it is reasonable to want to overthrow the capitalist system. The bourgeoisie understands this well, and that is why it has so brutally (and stupidly) launched the current attacks. The stock exchange has even risen by 10 percent since the beginning of the year. Among workers there is political demoralization, which must be overcome to break the vicious circle of "left-" and right-wing capitalist governments and fight for socialist revolution to destroy the capitalist system.

We saw the power of the working class in the strikes yesterday, last week, and in October in Marseille, in the strikes by dockers, the seamen of the SNCM ferry line and the transit workers. The workers still have the social power to overturn the capitalist system. What they lack to take the struggle to the end is consciousness of their own strength and historic responsibility to be the gravediggers of the capitalist order. They also lack the revolutionary leadership to lead them to the victory that the Russian workers had in October 1917. Our task is to build a party to win the majority of the working class to our revolutionary perspective. Our political opponents are an obstacle to this because, continually telling workers that all they can hope for is slowing down the pace of the attacks, they set up the proletariat for big defeats. The building of revolutionary parties—national sections of a reforged Fourth International—is the central task confronting us, a task we will accomplish. We call on you to make our battle yours and to join us! ■

CORRECTION

In "Mass Protests Shake France" (*WV* No. 867, 31 March), we wrote, referring to a 1998 government attack on minority youth and the current racist attacks, "Then as now, the LTF was unique on the French left" in coming to the defense of the arrested youth. But as the accompanying article explains, while other left groups initially refused to defend the youth arrested during last fall's ghetto revolt, several have since raised the call for amnesty for those arrested.

Just Out!



Le Bolchévik
Publication of
the Ligue Trotskyste de France
Subscribe! $5 for 4 issues
Includes *Spartacist* (French edition)
Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Bolivia...

(continued from page 12)

perspective of spreading elsewhere in Latin America and, crucially, to the advanced capitalist countries, particularly the United States. But what has been missing since the inception of the protests in Bolivia has been participation by an organized proletariat. This in turn reflects not only the petty-bourgeois nationalist outlook of the protest leaders but the material devastation and atomization of the working class itself since the 1980s. Indeed, one of the bourgeoisie's reasons for shutting down the state tin mines was to get rid of thousands of the miners, who had been some of the most class-conscious workers in Latin America.

The changed social composition of the recent protests has been noted by numerous individuals, including some who hail Bolivia's "social movements." Thus, in an article posted on the reformist Left Turn organization's Web site, "El Alto: Epicenter of the New Bolivian Resistance" (19 January 2005), Jim Straub wrote:

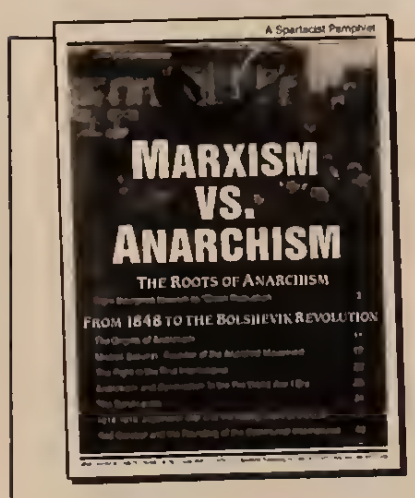
> "The IMF and World Bank's economic 'reforms' wiped out entire sectors of the Bolivian economy—mining, manufacturing, and the public sector—that employed mass numbers of organized revolutionaries....
>
> "Denied a livelihood in sectors like mining or public service, unemployed Bolivians gravitated to the few industries where there was any economic opportunity, the informal sector—which basically means the massive black market and street-level retail that dominates Latin America now—and coca growing....
>
> "Whereas once armed miners and factory workers brought down governments, this past year it was indigenous associations of informal market workers and militant coca growers who forced corrupt President Sanchez Lozada to resign and flee the country."

Permanent Revolution and Bolivia

In countries of combined and uneven development, the national bourgeoisie's weakness and dependence on imperialism makes it incapable of achieving the gains realized by the French Revolution and other classic bourgeois revolutions, which laid the basis for economic modernization and the creation of an industrial society. As Trotsky wrote in *The Permanent Revolution* (1931):

> "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving ***democracy and national emancipation*** is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses."

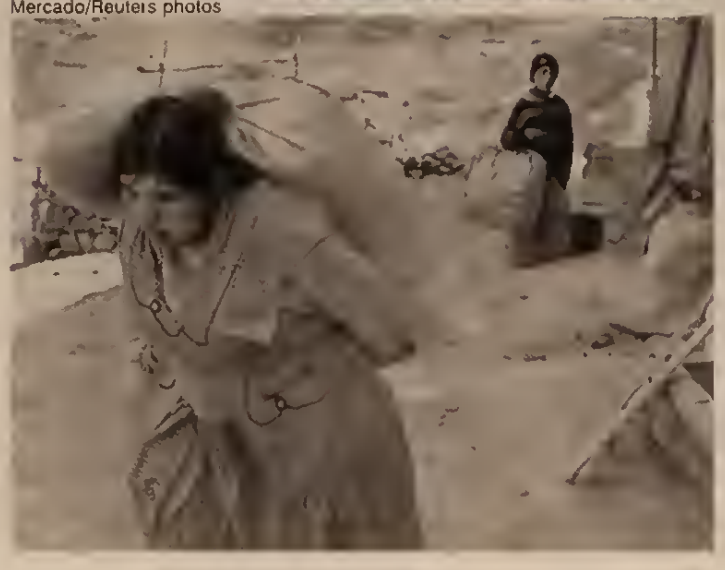
In explaining the perspective of permanent revolution, Trotsky stressed that "the conquest of power by the proletariat does not complete the revolution, but only opens it. Socialist construction is conceivable only on the foundation of the class struggle, on a national and international scale." The 1917 Russian Revolution broke imperialism at its "weakest link," a backward, mainly peasant country. Generalizing from this experience, Trotsky insisted that a socialist order, which would provide material abundance for all, could not be constructed within the confines of one state. Ultimately the capitalist system had to be destroyed at its strongest points, the advanced industrial states. The proletarians of the more backward countries had to be linked to its class brothers and sisters in the West through an international revolutionary party.



Spartacist Pamphlet
$2 (56 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, NY, NY 10116

Mercado/Reuters photos



June 2004: Soldier (above) closes gate at Caracoles tin mine occupied by unemployed miners demanding work at nearby mines. Woman carrying her goods outside mine.

The struggle of the working masses in Bolivia has been a negative confirmation of the perspective of permanent revolution. In 1952, in 1970-71 and again in 1985 the proletariat, with the tin miners in the lead, engaged in powerful actions, up to and including outright insurrection. But these struggles were betrayed by the workers' misleaders, who tied the proletariat to the class enemy by preaching the need to ally with a supposedly "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie. The coalition governments (popular fronts) that the workers' misleaders entered into with the bourgeois nationalists strengthened the forces of capitalist reaction, leading time and again to military coups and bonapartist rule.

While past struggles were defeated by the betrayals of the workers' leadership, the material devastation of Bolivia—in particular the shutting down of the tin mines and much of industry—raises another issue. The proletarian instrumentality for overturning capitalism has been qualitatively diminished. If one looks at only the relationship of forces within Bolivia itself, this period does not augur well for the struggle against imperialism and its domestic bourgeois agents. As Trotsky stressed in *The Permanent Revolution*:

> "Under the conditions of the imperialist epoch the national democratic revolution can be carried through to a victorious end only when the social and political relationships of the country are mature for putting the proletariat in power as the leader of the masses of the people. And if this is not yet the case? Then the struggle for national liberation will produce only very partial results, results directed entirely against the working masses."

Militants radicalized by the depredations of imperialism and capitalism in Bolivia must grasp the necessity of linking the struggles of the Bolivian masses to those in adjoining countries such as Brazil, Chile and Argentina, where there are more viable concentrations of the proletariat, as well as to the struggles of the North American working class. This proletarian-internationalist perspective is sorely lacking among the pseudo-Marxists who have enthused over the recent protests and their petty-bourgeois and bourgeois-nationalist leadership.

A case in point in the U.S. is the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO), which cheered Mesa's resignation with a *Socialist Worker* (17 June 2005) article, headlined "Victory in Bolivia!" that exclaimed: "Although the fight for nationalization of gas and oil is not yet resolved, the social movements have delivered a stunning blow to the Bolivian oligarchy and U.S. imperialism."

Also fatuously enthusing over the 2005 upheaval is the Internationalist Group (IG), whose founding members found their way out of the International Communist League in the mid 1990s due to their irrepressible appetites to cheer for forces remote from the working class. The IG turned an accusing finger on us in their *Internationalist* (December 2005). They pontificate:

> "For its part, the now centrist Spartacist tendency has reached a new low as its Mexican comrades now denounce us for calling for soviets in the May-June Bolivian events, claiming this is impossible since according to them there is 'no working class in Bolivia today' (never mind the thousands of factories in the city of El Alto alone). In other words, these fake-Trotskyists believe socialist revolution is impossible in Bolivia."

Although the IG evokes "thousands of factories in the city of El Alto alone," these are, for the most part, not "factories" in the usual meaning of the word but small, often family-run and -owned textile shops and sweatshops. As Straub puts it, they are "people without regular work, union representation, or even the proverbial Boss to struggle against." This is on top of the extensive unemployment in El Alto.

Writing in *CounterPunch* (14 October 2005), Raúl Zibechi notes:

> "With regard to jobs, El Alto is characterized by self-employment. Seventy percent of the employed population works in family-run businesses (50%), or semi-business sectors (20%). These jobs are mostly in sales and the restaurant business (95% of the employed population), followed by construction and manufacturing."

What often pass as "trade unions" are in fact groupings of artisans and the self-employed. A case in point is the Regional Workers Center (COR), which was a leading component of the El Alto protests. Noting the emergence in the 1970s of labor federations for merchants and artisans with "a strong territorial worker identity," Zibechi wrote: "Thus emerged trade unions and organizations of artisans and vendors, bakers and butchers, who in 1988 created the COR; now joined by local bars, guesthouses, and municipal employees. These groups are mostly made up of small businesses owners and self-employed workers, a social sector that in other countries is not usually organized."

Reading the IG's breathless accounts of Bolivian events (gathered on its Web site under the grandiloquent title of "Bolivia: Class Battles in the Andes"), one would never know that anything had changed in the world over the past 20 years, whether in Bolivia or elsewhere. The IG denies the magnitude of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the retrogression of proletarian consciousness worldwide accompanying this defeat. The purpose of this is to prettify existing reality in the hope of passing off as "revolutionary" the alien class forces they accommodate—whether it be burnt-out Stalinist sellouts from the DDR East German deformed workers state, trade-union opportunists in Brazil, or the like (see "Norden's 'Group': Shamefaced Detectors from Trotskyism," *International Bulletin* No. 38, June 1996, which can be ordered from the Spartacist Publishing Company).

The IG is a past master at denying reality. It can conjure up a fraternal section in Ukraine made up of total counterfeits (see "IG's Potemkin Village Idiocy *Ad Absurdum*," *WV* No. 828, 11 June 2004). The IG can conjure up a proletariat where it barely, if at all, exists, while it ignores powerful concentrations of the working class. Thus it's notable that while the IG has written scads of articles on Bolivia (literally seven in the Summer 2005 issue of their press alone), it has mainly ignored East Asia—China, Japan and Korea—which has become an industrial heartland of the world.

The 1952 Revolution

In 1952 the Bolivian working class, led by tin miners organized in the FSTMB miners union, spearheaded a promising

AP

August 2003: 12,000 Brazilian auto workers protested threatened job cuts at Volkswagen plant near São Paulo.

MNR

Reuters

Left: Armed Bolivian miners, 1952. Workers revolution was derailed by popular front led by Víctor Paz Estenssoro. Right: Miners raise up Paz Estenssoro during visit to Catavi mine, 1959.

opportunity for workers revolution. In April of that year an attempted coup sparked an insurrection in which armed workers defeated the army. A powerful labor federation, the Central Obrera Boliviana (COB), was formed and became the primary authority not only for organized labor but for much of the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie. As miners demanded workers control of the newly nationalized tin mines and peasants anticipated the promised land reform by seizing some large estates, COB top Juan Lechín joined the bourgeois government of Víctor Paz Estenssoro's Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR). Thus Lechín and other "workers ministers" became the bourgeoisie's instrument to subordinate the aroused masses to the capitalist regime.

At the time, the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party), an ostensibly Trotskyist organization, enjoyed real influence in the COB executive. The POR was led by Guillermo Lora, who became known for his national Menshevism and contempt for anything outside the borders of Bolivia, boasting that "Bolivia is the richest experience of world Trotskyism." Lora demonstrated his disdain for the lessons of the Russian Revolution, not least the need for the political independence of the working class. The POR supported Lechín's entry into the bourgeois government, asserting that it "supports the left wing faction of the new cabinet," and called on Paz Estenssoro to "realize the hopes of the workers by organizing a cabinet composed exclusively of men of the left of his [bourgeois!] party." In counterposition, the Bolsheviks in 1917 refused any support to the bourgeois Kerensky government, exposed the reformist Menshevik and Social Revolutionary class traitors who joined the government, and led the working masses to shatter bourgeois rule through proletarian revolution (see "Revolution and Counterrevolution in Bolivia," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 40, Summer 1987).

The nationalization of the tin mines as well as a modest agrarian reform were among the concessions granted by the Bolivian bourgeoisie in 1952 as a means of staving off revolution. However, as subsequent events proved, such reforms are eminently reversible. Indeed, as the threat of social revolution receded, the capitalists began to move against the workers. The army was rebuilt with U.S. dollars and advisers, on the basis of a decree cosigned by Lechín. This army became notorious for its bloody massacres of the combative miners. By 1957 the MNR felt sufficiently secure to invite the U.S. to take over the Bolivian economy under the "Triangular Plan" of austerity and union-busting.

When the IG today gushes over the FSTMB miners' participation in protests, it is trying to dupe the uninformed reader into believing the FSTMB is still the spearhead of the militant proletariat. This is sheer chicanery. Between 1985 and 1987 the state tin mining company reduced its workforce from 30,000 to 7,000; subsequently the operations were privatized. The Library of Congress, in its country study on Bolivia, notes, "The restructuring of the nationalized mining sector, especially the mass layoffs, had decimated the FSTMB." The bulk of the people working in the industry today are in fact engaged, along with their families, in sifting through the remains of closed mines or straining minerals out of rivers, selling what they find on the black market or on the street. Their atomized position makes them more akin to petty-bourgeois prospectors rather than proletarians.

The COB, the historic union federation of 1952, has also changed radically. As Herbert S. Klein notes in *A Concise History of Bolivia* (2003): "The base of the radical left has been transformed with the decline of the old labor central, the COB, and the miner's FSTMB and the rise of new peasant organizations.... Soon the CSUTCB [peasant confederation] held a major stake in the COB and would eventually take over its leadership and reorient its demands toward these new themes."

It is a logical consequence of the recent protests that Bolivia's new leader is a farmer. His crop, and that of his social base, is coca, which after the collapse of the tin market became a key export. In fact, the coca farmers "union" has supplanted the FSTMB as the strongest component of the COB!

U.S.-imposed drug eradication programs—carried out under both Democratic and Republican administrations—brought financial ruin to Bolivia's coca farmers. Morales seeks to cooperate with the U.S. in eradicating cocaine production while hoping that Washington will allow him to "depenalize" the coca leaf. Coca has many traditional uses. Many chew it to alleviate hunger pains—a powerful inducement in the second-poorest country of the Western Hemisphere. The Bush administration, however, is predictably hostile to anything having to do with coca. This puts Morales in a tight spot between his social base and the imperialists he is seeking to placate. As Marxists, we oppose the U.S. rulers' "war on drugs" and call for decriminalizing drug use.

For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

Numerous commentators have predicted that if Morales doesn't carry out his campaign pledges, he will fall as did the previous two presidents. This may be true. Then again, Bolivia has had almost 200 governments since gaining independence from Spain in 1825, and each has administered economic exploitation and misery. It points to the weakness of Bolivia's bourgeoisie that a president can be toppled largely through activities as simple as blocking its main roads. In the context of tremendous backwardness, Bolivia's instability recalls what Trotsky, addressing Spain's chronic turmoil, called "the chronic convulsions expressing the intractable disease of a nation thrown backward" ("The Revolution in Spain," 24 January 1931).

Confined to the borders of Bolivia and with the proletariat absent as an organized force, the social upheavals that grow out of the country's instability can only result in some variant of capitalist rule. What is crucially necessary is to build an international revolutionary workers party that can link the struggles of Bolivia's impoverished masses—particularly of those proletarians that exist—to the powerful working class that exists in other Latin American countries, the U.S. and elsewhere. Such a party will be built in Latin America in sharp opposition to bourgeois nationalists and reformist politicians of all stripes.

It will also be built in opposition to the national chauvinism that has long characterized even "leftist" politics in Bolivia. Guillermo Lora's POR largely focused its opposition to the dictatorship of Hugo Banzer in the 1970s on accusations that the latter had sold out the "fatherland" to Chile and Peru. The POR also accused Banzer of betraying the "great national task" of regaining access to the sea—an implicit call for war to reverse Bolivia's defeat by Chile in the late 19th century. The last time landlocked Bolivia attempted to win a "road to the sea," the result was the bloody Chaco War of 1932-35, in which Bolivia battled Paraguay over the potentially oil-rich Chaco region and access to the Paraguay River outlet to the Atlantic. With Standard Oil backing Bolivia and Shell Oil on Paraguay's side, the war ended in defeat for Bolivia and intensified Bolivian nationalism. How deep this nationalist sentiment runs was shown in the recent "gas wars" protests, when chauvinist denunciations of Chile for "stealing" Bolivia's natural gas were rampant.

The task of tearing South and Central America out of backwardness and subjugation to imperialism falls to the proletariat of the region. As Trotsky stressed in "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" (May 1940):

> "The slogan in the struggle against violence and intrigues of world imperialism and against the bloody work of native comprador cliques is therefore: the ***Soviet United States of South and Central America***....
>
> "Only under its own revolutionary direction is the proletariat of the colonies and the semicolonies capable of achieving invincible collaboration with the proletariat of the metropolitan centers, and with the world working class as a whole. Only this collaboration can lead the oppressed peoples to complete and final emancipation, through the overthrow of imperialism the world over."■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net
National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
tllt@look.ca

WORKERS VANGUARD
Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
international rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail
❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)
❑ I would like to contribute $_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____
Address _____
_____ Apt. # _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____
868

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

WORKERS VANGUARD

Bolivia

Trotskyism vs. Bourgeois Nationalism

The election of Evo Morales as president of Bolivia in December was hailed by a range of liberal "anti-globalization" activists and social democrats internationally as a blow to U.S. imperialism, largely based on Morales' pledge to nationalize oil and gas reserves. Heading the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS—Movement Toward Socialism), Morales won an outright majority of the vote in the biggest landslide victory since the end of military rule in 1982. Much of Morales' support stemmed from the fact that he is an Aymara Indian, the son of a shepherd, in a country marked by deep anti-Indian racism. Reporting on Morales' inauguration, the *New York Times* (22 January) commented that his election may represent "the hardest turn yet in South America's persistent left-leaning tilt, with the potential for big reverberations far beyond the borders of this landlocked Andean nation."

The Bush administration, which has chastised Morales for his base among Bolivia's coca farmers, has responded cautiously to his election. The *Washington Post* (21 February) remarked in an article titled "U.S. Officials Soften Stance Toward Bolivia's New Leftist President" that "for now, at least, the Bush administration is hoping that Evo Morales, who once threatened to become 'America's worst nightmare,' is a man with whom it can do business." The imperialists are also aware that Bolivia is a very poor country and that Morales has fewer resources at his disposal than Hugo Chávez in oil-rich Venezuela.

A bourgeois nationalist, Morales is committed to "Andean capitalism" and "free trade." Immediately after his election, he traveled to Santa Cruz in eastern Bolivia, a center of the country's business elite, where he expressed sympathy for their demand for autonomy from the impoverished western region. He also agreed to privatize El Mutún, one of the biggest iron mines in the world, and has sought to cement the bourgeoisie's allegiance by appointing to his cabinet a veritable rogues' gallery of shady businessmen and supporters of his "neoliberal" predecessors. Thus Morales handed the Ministry of Mines to one Walter Villarroel, who in a previous stint in the government played a pivotal role in dismantling the state-owned Bolivian Mining Corporation (COMIBOL) and privatizing mining operations. Just last month, workers at Lloyd Aereo Boliviano, the country's main airline, who were on strike demanding that the company be nationalized, clashed with police after Morales ordered military and police forces to seize control of the country's airports in order to break the strike.

In calling to "nationalize" Bolivia's natural resources, Morales echoes a long-standing program in Latin America. The main demand of the protesters in Bolivia last year for nationalization of oil and gas is supportable as a measure of national self-defense by a semicolonial country against the imperialists, albeit hardly socialist in character. In regard to the expropriation of the oil industry by the bourgeois-nationalist Cárdenas regime in Mexico in 1938, revolutionary Marxist leader Leon Trotsky wrote:

> "Semicolonial Mexico is fighting for its national independence, political and economic. This is the basic meaning of the Mexican revolution at ***this*** stage. The oil magnates are not rank-and-file capitalists, not ordinary bourgeoisie. Having seized the richest natural resources of a foreign country, standing on their billions and supported by the military and diplomatic forces of their metropolis, they strive to establish in the subjugated country a regime of imperialistic feudalism, subordinating to themselves legislation, jurisprudence, and administration....
>
> "The expropriation of oil is neither socialism nor communism. But it is a highly progressive measure of national self-defense."
>
> —"Mexico and British Imperialism," 5 June 1938

Bolivia is itself no stranger to nationalizations, including in the petroleum industry. The military government of David Toro (1936-37) nationalized Standard Oil Company of Bolivia without compensation, setting up a state oil company. This company took over Gulf Oil Company of Bolivia in 1969. Only in 1996 were significant portions of the oil and natural gas operations privatized. Today the Brazilian company Petrobras controls some 51 percent of Bolivia's extensive natural gas reserves and 95 percent of its refining capacity. However, most of the natural gas reserves are not being exploited. The Association of Organizations of Ecological Producers of Bolivia noted in a 2005 report that "Bolivia has eight sectors that generate more employment than gas" and that "the entire petroleum sector gives work to some 600 people, most of them foreigners."

Morales' call for "nationalizations" today most likely connotes merely increased taxation. He told the social-democratic *In These Times* (January 2006): "We want to tax the transnationals in a fair way, and redistribute the money to the small- and medium-size enterprises." In the December presidential election, not only Morales but every candidate raised some form of the call to nationalize the natural gas industry. A savvy politician, Morales sought to sound more militant than his competitors, while simultaneously seeking not to irreparably alienate either the Bolivian hourgeoisie or the imperialists.

Friedman-Rudovsky/NY Times

Bolivian president Evo Morales (above) campaigned on pledge to nationalize oil and gas reserves. Below: Mainly Indian residents of El Alto march to La Paz during wave of mass protests, June 2005.

AP

The Bolivian "Revolution" of 2005

The immediate precursor to Morales' election was a series of popular upheavals last May through June. Demonstrators protested against "neoliberalism"; the widespread privatizations of state-owned facilities and IMF-dictated austerity measures. Made possible by the defeat of a 1985 general strike, those measures resulted in the privatization of Bolivian mines and other natural resources, as well as telecommunications and transport. Laid-off miners and peasants were forced to eke out a living in small family businesses or other forms of self-employment. Many of these moved to El Alto, originally a suburb of the capital city of La Paz, but now an independent entity comprising some 800,000 people.

The 2005 upheaval was the latest in a series of desperate struggles by Bolivia's impoverished masses. In 2000, large plebeian protests broke out in Bolivia's third-largest city, Cochabamba, after the Hugo Banzer government acceded to World Bank demands and sold off the city's water system to Bechtel and other corporations from imperialist countries, leading to water-rate increases of at least 200 percent. This "water war" led to Bechtel abandoning its stake and subsequently suing Bolivia for lost revenue in U.S. courts. Another revolt broke out in September 2003 upon the announcement that recently discovered natural gas reserves would be piped through Chile, a historic target of Bolivian nationalism since Chile's victory in the 1879-83 "War of the Pacific," which resulted in Bolivia losing its coastline. The 2003 "gas war" came to an end with the installation of Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada's vice president, Carlos Mesa, as president—a move that Morales was instrumental in bringing about.

The May-June 2005 protests and strikes erupted in El Alto after Congress passed a hydrocarbon bill proposed by Mesa that would favor the imperialists. Protesters raised numerous demands, including to nationalize gas and other resources, to oppose the autonomy of the wealthier Santa Cruz province, and to put Sánchez de Lozada on trial for killing protesters in the "gas war." Mesa resigned on June 6, and elections were called for December.

The El Alto protests reflected the determination of the downtrodden masses to resist imperialist exploitation. However, to smash the chains of imperialist oppression requires a proletarian revolution led by a programmatically sufficient, i.e., a Leninist-Trotskyist, party to smash capitalist rule and establish a workers state. Such a revolution must have the

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 869 | GCU C-701 | 28 April 2006

U.S. Hands Off Iran! Out of Iraq Now!

Imperialists Threaten Iran

"All options are on the table." That was the response of George W. Bush, head of the most blood-drenched, massively armed imperialist power in history, on April 18 when asked whether his administration is considering nuclear strikes against Iran under the pretext that Iran is developing nuclear weapons. The whistle was first blown hy the *New Yorker*'s Seymour Hersh, who argued in a thoroughly documented article, "The Iran Plans" (*New Yorker* Web site, 8 April), that even as the Bush administration goes through the motions of pursuing "diplomacy" to stop Iran from developing a nuclear weapon, it has stepped up covert activities aimed at overthrowing the Iranian government and escalated plans for a major air attack. As Hersh revealed and as a series of *Washington Post* articles described in further chilling detail, such an attack may or may not involve deploying part of the U.S.'s own massive stockpile of "tactical" nuclear weapons against Iran's underground nuclear sites.

There is clear agreement across the U.S. bourgeois political spectrum, from the religious fanatics in the White House to the Democratic Party, that Iran has to be "dealt with." If anything, the Democrats have been more belligerent over Iran, with a common criticism of Bush being that the occupation of Iraq has been a distraction from dealing more forcibly with Iran, as well as with the North Korean deformed workers state.

As the bipartisan threats demonstrate, the greatest menace to the workers and oppressed of the world is the U.S. imperialist rulers—who have not only acquired the means to destroy the world several times over, but who have actually carried out nuclear holocaust, incinerating some 200,000 Japanese people in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The Iranian regime says that its nuclear energy program does not include plans to develop the bomb. The fact of the matter is that in the context of threats by the nuclear-armed imperialists, Iran clearly ***needs*** nukes to defend itself and deter a U.S. attack. In today's world, possession of nuclear arms has become the only real measure of national sovereignty. As a Pentagon "war on terror" adviser quoted by Hersh observed, "The Iranians realize that only by ***becoming*** a nuclear state can they defend themselves against the U.S." Recall that in 2003—notwithstanding the Bush administration's lies that Saddam Hussein had amassed "weapons of mass destruction"—it was precisely Iraq's obvious vulnerability, after more than a decade of U.S.-dictated United Nations sanctions and disarmament programs had stripped it of the means to defend itself, that paved the way for the second Persian Gulf War and Iraq occupation.

Getty

AP

Nuclear madmen in Washington target Iran. Right: Iranian women form human chain at Isfahan Uranium Conversion Facility in support of Iran's nuclear program, January 22.

With its military currently overstretched, the U.S. cannot launch an all-out invasion and occupation of Iran without reinstating the draft, an option seen by most bourgeois politicians as likely political suicide. This underlines that the threats of military strikes against Iran, including a nuclear attack, are very real as they do not require the mass mobilization of troops.

With the exception of the U.S., all other members of the United Nations Security Council today formally oppose military action against Iran. At the same time, they have all ordered Iran, which announced on April 11 that it had succeeded in enriching uranium, to stop its atomic activities, hinting that the country will be subject to sanctions if it does not obey. The UN is historically little more than a fig leaf for the dominant imperialist power.

In "U.S. Hands Off Iran!" (*WV* No. 863, 3 February) we urged:

> "In the event of military attack against Iran by U.S. imperialism or by Israel, or by any other force operating on behalf of the imperialists, we Marxists declare: ***The international proletariat must stand for the military defense of Iran against imperialist attack.*** At the same time, we give not one iota of political support to the reactionary Tehran regime. Our defense of capitalist Iran is conditional: In military conflicts between an imperialist power and a dependent semicolonial country, our policy is revolutionary defensism. We defend the oppressed country against the oppressor country and promote class struggle in the imperialist centers, as well as in the oppressed country. Every victory for the imperialists in their military adventures encourages more predatory wars; every setback serves to assist the struggles of working people and the oppressed."

In the lead-up to the U.S. invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, we called for the military defense of both countries against attack without giving any political support to the reactionary Taliban or the bloody capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein. Today, we call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops from Afghanistan, Iraq and Central Asia.

We fight for class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers at home. The same ruling class that is hutchering the people of Iraq, that is threatening Iran, is also carrying out a war against the working people of the U.S.—shredding democratic rights through the reactionary "war on terror," gutting pensions and health care, crushing unions. It is the same ruling class that abandoned the black and poor of the Gulf Coast to Hurricane Katrina. Its interests and the interests of the working people of the U.S. are polar opposites. Our perspective for class struggle demands a political fight against the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, which chains the U.S. proletariat to its class enemy, most often through the capitalist Democratic Party, under the rubric of the "national interest."

The "national interest" is the class interest of the bourgeoisie. We fought for the military defense of Iraq and Afghanistan—and would stand for the military defense of Iran against U.S. attack—not least because these positions express the vital interests of the multiracial U.S. proletariat. We fight to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party in the U.S. to lead the American proletariat in struggle for socialist revolution and the establishment of working-class rule.

The International Communist League's struggle is to forge workers parties throughout the world to fight for international socialist revolution, including in backward countries such as Iran. While the bulk of the left internationally cheered on the victory of the mullahs against the CIA-hacked Shah in Iran in 1979 as "anti-imperialist," we said, "Down with the Shah! No to the mullahs! Workers to power!"

Iran is ruled by a reactionary mullah regime that has enslaved women under the veil, slaughtered thousands of leftists and trade unionists and intensified repression against Kurds and other minorities. A recent bus workers strike in Tehran, one of an increasing number of strikes in the country, has been met by fierce government repression, including the jailing of strikers and their leaders. It is the task of the working class in Iran, leading all the oppressed behind it, to overthrow the Persian-chauvinist Islamic regime. Key to this perspective is the forging of a Marxist workers party. The fight to forge Marxist workers parties in the Near East is essential to break the proletariat of the region from fundamentalism and all forms of nationalism in the struggle for a

continued on page 8

7 25274 81030 7 17

On Anti-Muslim Cartoons and Fundamentalist Reaction

17 March 2006

Dear *Workers Vanguard*:

Re: your article "Racist Anti-Muslim Cartoons Spark Fundamentalist Frenzy" ([*WV* No. 864] February 17):

Much of your analysis and critique of religious foolishness in this piece was excellent, as was your critique of "imperialist domination" and "anti-immigrant nationalist demagoguery." But your discussion of the cartoons published by *Jyllands-Posten* (and subsequently by a number of papers in Arab and Muslim countries as well) raises questions you did not address.

You nowhere describe the cartoons—let alone reprint them. To my knowledge, no leftist papers in the United States, and very few bourgeois papers, have published them. One wonders if you actually saw them. Certainly, your readers who have not would have a distorted impression of them based on your article.

You say the cartoons are "racist" and that "several...depicted the Muslim prophet Muhammad as a bomb-wielding or Satanic terrorist." But where's the racism? They are in fact quite anodyne, far tamer than most cartoons in any Western paper. Not one of them, so far as I could tell, depicts Muhammad as "Satanic." A few are actually progressive. Two critique women's oppression. One is hilarious: it shows the prophet turning away smoking suicide bombers from paradise, saying, "Stop. Stop. We have run out of virgins!"

Most commentators, including you, describe the cartoons as "blasphemous." That seems a bit of a stretch, based solely on the Muslim proscription against any visual depiction of the prophet (though huge photos of present-day quasi-fascist imams are paraded by fanatical Muslims in demonstrations). But what gives Muslims a right to think this proscription applies to non-Muslims? Furthermore, what gives any religion a right to impose a ban on blasphemy on nonbelievers? That is unrealistic and the height of arrogance.

I would argue that without blasphemy there would be no freedom of speech in the West. We would still be subject to burning at the stake and torture at the hands of the pope and his henchmen. Blasphemy may he offensive to believers in religious superstitions, but so what? Let them live with it. In this, Islam is centuries behind the West, though even in the United States fundi fanatics and some Roman Catholics would like to recriminalize blasphemy. Now Muslims are demanding that the European Union pass a law banning speech that they find offensive on religious grounds. This shows only the difficulty some religions have in coexisting with the post-Enlightenment modern world.

The Danish cartoons may have been offensive to some people, but again, so what? Those Arabic newspapers and Web sites that have published them are to be commended.

David Thorstad

***WV* replies:**

David Thorstad thinks we may not have even bothered to look at the cartoons. We did. But, in all seriousness, we wonder if he read the *WV* article. That many Muslims perceive such pictorial representations as blasphemous is simply a statement of fact, not a pledge to fast during Ramadan. Our opposition to all attempts to ban blasphemy and to all and any religion in general is made crystal clear. As we state: "Anti-blasphemy constraints must be opposed by the international proletariat. Religious 'impieties' should be of no concern to the working class."

It is not, as Thorstad implies, that only blasphemous non-Muslims and "unbelievers" are besieged by Islamic religious righteousness. Again, from the article:

> "One does not have to be a Marxist to view with contempt and revulsion the hundreds of millions of lives forfeited in the names of the various prophets and their fictional deities—whether they be of the Christian, Jewish, Muslim or any other faith—in wars and communal bloodbaths. Those who pursue religious violence are often driven by the hope for such ecstasies in the afterlife as are typically promised to 'holy' warriors, martyrs and saints. Nor does one need to be a Marxist to appreciate the miserable existence, the forfeiture of human potential of the many, particularly women, bound by religious superstitious constraints."

Most of these victims were and are believers who not infrequently worshiped the same god as their persecutors. Their slaughter, the myriad miseries they have and continue to endure are of great concern to us. This is because it is our task to mobilize and educate the vast majority of the working class and oppressed, through the leadership of a necessarily atheist revolutionary proletarian party, to overthrow the capitalist order through socialist revolution and begin the process of destroying for all time the exploitation and oppression of man by man. In this, we look to the example of the Bolshevik Party, which convinced the masses that their bigotries should be vacated in the service of a working-class revolution in tsarist Russia. And if there is no socialist revolution, then religious persecution and religion, which derives its "right" from its role in history as a major prop for class society, will remain.

For the most part we share Thorstad's fondness for blasphemy. For years we have appreciated his letters to *WV* and, more frequently than not, have concurred with many of the points he has made. His contempt for religion is superior to the utter silence on the dangers of religious reaction that is manifest in the articles on the cartoons promulgated by the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Workers World Party. And Thorstad at least commends the Arab editors imprisoned in the Near East for publishing the cartoons. But in the pages of the ISO's *Socialist Worker* and *Workers World*, these editors, whose very lives could be at risk, go unmentioned and undefended.

AFP

Lebanon: Muslim students protest racist cartoons, February 2.

But the differences Thorstad raises with our article are serious matters both in the particular, i.e., his denial of the racist nature of the publication of the cartoons, and in general, i.e., his contrast of the "post-Enlightenment modern world" (the West) with the Muslim East. Thus, while he commends the Arab editors, Thorstad maintains silence on the European papers that spread the cartoons in the service of what they proclaim as a campaign for democracy. Thorstad does not assert that this campaign should not be protested, but it seems fair to assume that that is his position.

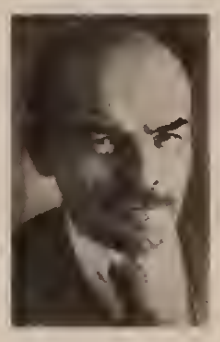
What Thorstad ignores is the racist dynamite contained in the admixing of the anti-immigrant frenzy in Europe—where the focus is almost solely on the Arab/Muslim "intruders"—and U.S. imperialism's "war on terror," where even American citizens with Arab/Muslim affiliations can be snatched off the streets and held without legal recourse. The cartoons were a racist provocation. To illustrate: Muhammad's turban in one of the cartoons is a terrorist bomb. Is this really much different from, say, a cartoon of a hooknosed rabbi poised with a supposedly ritual knife over a Christian baby? And are Satan's horns on the prophet's head different, in intent, from the forked tail peaking out from under the rabbinical robes that was and is the stock-in-trade caricature for those animated by the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*? The current situation in Europe was eloquently delineated in *Al-Ahram Weekly* (9 February):

> "The debate on the cartoons tells us less about fanatic Muslims than about how Europe is choosing to deal with its 'Muslim question' and its growing anxieties about Muslim demographics. The recent riots in the poorest slums of France and the violent anti-immigrant policies of right-wing political parties across Western Europe speak volumes about the sordid reality of repression, racism, and poverty that most European Muslims contend with. The hysterical tone of some free speech defenders comparing official apologies for the cartoons to a dangerous form of appeasement thus betrays a fantastic sense of delusion. Wake up, Europe! This is not Munich in 1938. The real siege is in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other sites of the U.S.-led war on terror, not in the editorial offices of European capitals. Indeed, if a comparison must be made to that era of impending fascism, then recalling the anti-Semitic cartoons of the 1930s and 1940s would be more appropriate."

On one level it is simply preposterous to assert the moral superiority of Western civilization since the rise of imperialist capitalism over a century ago. Two world wars, hundreds of millions of corpses, fascism, genocide and nuclear incineration are the most outstanding accomplishments of this social order to which is occasionally added mostly cosmetic dollops of free speech and the right to franchise—rights that can be tolerated so long as they are not "inappropriately" exercised. In the immediate aftermath of the September 11 attack, the Indian-born novelist Salman Rushdie, who was targeted for assassination by Muslim fundamentalists for his sacrilegious and quite funny

continued on page 4

TROTSKY



LENIN

Proletarian Revolution and the Fight Against War

Writing in 1936 for the Workers Party of the United States, as interimperiolist World Wor II loomed on the horizon, then-Trotskyist Jomes Burnhom (John West) exploined why the struggle against imperialist war is inseparable from the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system.

The most common mistake made in the attempted struggle against war comes from the belief that this struggle is somehow "independent" of the class struggle in general, that a broad union of all sorts of persons from every social class and group can be formed around the issue of fighting war, since—so the reasoning goes—these persons may be all equally opposed to war whatever their differences on other points. In this way, war is lifted from its social base, considered apart from its causes and conditions, as if it were a mystic abstraction instead of a concrete historical institution. Acting on this belief, attempts are made to build up all kinds of permanent Peace Societies, Anti-War Organizations, Leagues Against War, etc....

There is no "separate" or "special" struggle against war. The struggle against war cannot be divorced from the day-to-day struggles of the workers so far as, in their historical implications, these lead toward workers' power. No one can uphold capitalism—whether directly, as an open adherent of the capitalists, or indirectly, from any shade of liberal or reformist position—and fight against war, because capitalism means war. Only a revolutionist can fight against war, because only a revolutionist takes the road to the overthrow of capitalism.

To suppose, therefore, that revolutionists can work out a common "program against war" with non-revolutionists is a fatal illusion. Any organization based upon such a program is not merely powerless to prevent war; in practice it acts to promote war, both because it serves in its own way to uphold the system that breeds war, and because it diverts the attention of its members from the real fight against war. There is only *one* program against war: the program *for* revolution—the program of the revolutionary party of the workers.

—John West, "War and the Workers" (1936)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co , 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 25 April.

No. 869 **28 April 2006**

Protest Cop Killing of Steel Workers

Mexico

The following statement, translated from Spanish, was issued by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

APRIL 20—This morning, state and federal authorities stepped up their anti-union, anti-worker campaign, launching a murderous attack to break the strike at the Sicartsa steel plant in Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán. At least two workers, members of SNTMMSRM Local 271 [miners and steel workers union affiliated with the former ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)], were killed and dozens were wounded during the siege by 800 federal and state police. As we write, workers still hold the plant at Lázaro Cárdenas, having beaten back the police attack, and the union local has vowed to continue the strike begun on April 2 in opposition to the government's replacement of the national union leader [Napoleón Gómez Urrutia].

Attacks by the bosses and the state on the union have been steadily mounting; the siege takes place just one day after the strikes carried out by the miners union in five locations were declared illegal by the Federal Council of Conciliation and Arbitration. A week ago, a special delegate of the union's National Executive Committee, Indalecio Pérez Morones, was jailed on trumped-up charges in transparent retaliation for leading a strike at the La Caridad mine in Nacozari de García, Sonora, that has gone on since March 24. He could be sentenced to 45 years in prison, and there is an order for the capture of 22 members of the strike committee. As we wrote in an 11 March statement (printed below), "The target of this attack is the labor movement as a whole. ***An injury to ane is an injury ta all!*** We call on all working people and opponents of capitalist exploitation to oppose this attack."

Carlos Torres Oseguera/La Jornada Michoacán

April 20: Brutal cop siege killed at least two striking workers in Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán.

Many striking workers *Espartaco* recently talked with in Lázaro Cárdenas expressed their hope that a PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] federal government would represent a change for the better. But the PRD, a bourgeois party, has joined forces with the federal PAN [National Action Party] government in carrying out this attack on the union through the state government of Michoacán that it heads. After the death of 65 miners in Coahuila in February, AMLO [PRD leader López Obrador] expressed his anti-union position, stating that union leaders are merely "contract traffickers" (*La Jornada*, 24 February). During a campaign stop in Lázaro Cárdenas on April 7, López Obrador claimed that he would respect trade-union autonomy—there you have the PRD's notion of union autonomy! As we warned in *Espartaco* No. 25 (Spring 2006), the PRD "is an ***enemy*** of the working class. As it has already done in Mexico City, in the event of winning the presidency it will administer brutal capitalist exploitation on a national level and will not hesitate for a second to unleash the repressive force of the state against those who support it today." The PRD, like the other parties of capital, defends only the interests of the capitalist class and its state, seeing workers' lives as worthless in its attempts to put an end to a strike that has already cost the company some $80 million. ***Mabilize the pawer af the working class ta defeat this deadly anti-unian offensive! Break with all the baurgeais parties: PRI, PAN, PRD! Warkers to pawer!***

* * *

Government Hands Off the Miners Union!

The Grupo Espartaquista de México, a revolutionary Marxist organization, strenuously protests the attack by the government on the miners and steel workers union and fully solidarizes with these workers' struggle. The mining bosses' insatiable drive for profit drove 65 workers to their deaths in the Pasta de Conchos mine in Coahuila, in an explosion on February 19. Faced with the anger and indignation of the miners' families, co-workers, important sectors of the working class and of the population as a whole, the government launched a union-busting attack, removing the national leader of the SNTMMSRM to replace him with a bureaucrat more to their liking, filing charges against the union leader, and freezing the union bank accounts. This is a transparent and calculated move by the government to shift attention away from itself and the Grupo México mining company, who are directly responsible for this atrocity. Not satisfied with having driven the miners to their deaths through their criminal negligence and super-exploitation, now they also want to destroy their union.

The union fired back with a small taste of its social power—rolling strikes on a national scale that lasted 40 hours, that mobilized 270,000 workers protesting the government attack and demanding better working conditions and wages, and that caused losses estimated at over $17 million to the bloodsucking bosses. Already over 30,000 workers from the SME, CROC, CROM and UNT unions mobilized on Tuesday, March 7, in Mexico City with the miners in solidarity. The target of this attack is the labor movement as a whole. ***An injury ta one is an injury ta all!*** We call on all working people and opponents of capitalist exploitation to oppose this attack.

Class-struggle defense of the unions requires a fight for their complete and unconditional independence from the bourgeoisie and its state—the prerequisite to achieving trade-union democracy and to transforming the unions into organs of struggle for the interests of the great exploited masses. This means breaking with all illusions in the bosses' parties—PRI, PRD, PAN. This means a fight to build a revolutionary workers party to smash the profit-driven, murderous system of capitalism and replace it with the rule of the working class through international socialist revolution. That is the purpose of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). ***Baurgeais state, hands aff the SNTMMSRM! Drap the charges against Napaleón Gómez Urrutia! Dawn with the reprisals against striking workers!***

11 March 2006

Down With Slave Labor Taylor Law!

Bosses' Court Slams TWU for Striking

New York City

APRIL 24—There is no justice in the capitalist courts. Witness how in the past week and a half state Supreme Court justice Theodore T. Jones sentenced Roger Toussaint, president of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 in New York City, to ten days in jail, fined the union $2.5 million and revoked its automatic dues checkoff indefinitely, thereby threatening to bankrupt Local 100. The court also fined Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) locals 1056 and 726 and suspended their dues checkoff for 30 days. The unions' crime? Transit workers crippled the financial center of U.S. imperialism by carrying out a powerful two and a half day strike last December in defiance of the state's Taylor Law.

The slave-labor Taylor Law shackles the unions by banning public employee strikes. And without the right to strike, the very purpose of a union is undermined. The retribution meted out to the TWU and ATU, including docking union members two days' pay for each day on strike, sends a clear message: workers have no rights which the capitalists are bound to respect.

Defense of Local 100 and its officials for using labor's strike weapon should be the starting point for united action by the labor movement to smash the Taylor Law. Many Local 100 members are rightly furious with the Toussaint leadership for pulling the rug out from under the strike while it was having a major impact. In protest, some plan to refuse to pay dues. But this would mean giving aid to the class enemy that wants to crush the TWU. Toussaint is not headed to jail for sending workers back to the job without a contract but for representing the striking union. Transit workers should be proud of the power, unity and organization they showed during the strike. All members must pay their dues so the union can engage in its future battles, while fighting for a class-struggle leadership that stands for their interests. A fighting labor movement with a leadership worth its salt would respond to the jail sentence and fines with labor action, not by turning the outpouring of justified anger into hot-air protests such as today's "solidarity" rally organized by the AFL-CIO tops. ***Free Roger Toussaint now! Down with the fines!***

The transit strike was provoked by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) with the goal of imposing drastic cutbacks in workers' benefits. The strike was hugely popular among working people and in the ghettos and barrios, and workers in the U.S. and abroad took notice of the transit workers' defiance. But the capitalist rulers saw the strike by the predominantly black and immigrant Local 100 as a modern-day slave rebellion.

That the people who "Move New York," fed up with years of MTA "plantation justice" and a vicious disciplinary system, had the nerve to demand decent medical care and money to eke out some kind of retirement after working all their lives infuriated the billionaires, Wall Street financiers and real estate barons like MTA chief Peter Kalikow. The stock market just hit a six-year high, the economy has been in a five-year "recovery," new millionaires are being minted at a record rate, and the MTA itself was sitting on a $1.5 billion surplus! Kalikow just bought a brand-new customized Ferrari that cost at least $260,000 to add to his "awe inspiring" car collection, as one Ferrari buff put it. Yet supposedly there's no money for workers, as the banks and corporations look to slash wages and shred benefits won through hard class struggle by earlier generations of working people.

In the TWU's *Local 100 Express* magazine (January 2006), Toussaint wrote: "Strikes are like little wars." That's true—strikes are won or lost on the battlefield. As the December strike showed, Local

continued on page 4

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

novel, *Satanic Verses*, was moved, in a manner not dissimilar to that expressed by Thorstad, to extol a West with its music, godlessness and sex, with its relative freedom for women, to the "vast number of 'believing' Muslim men" who

Texas Book Festival

Salman Rushdie, author of the novel *Satanic Verses*.

fear "the prospect that their own immediate surroundings could be taken over—'Westoxicated'—by the liberal Western-style of life" (see "Salman Rushdie's Verses for Imperialism," *WV* No. 772, 11 January 2002).

While religion is a contributing factor, the backwardness of the East, and in particular the Muslim East, was not and is not fundamentally a product of religious and retrograde social attitudes, but rather a product of the world imperialist economic order. The wealth, and thereby the cultural "superiority," of the mostly Western (but including Japan) order was in no small measure provided through the mechanisms of an unrelenting exploitation of those societies that had not yet experienced bourgeois-democratic revolutions (such as the French Revolution) and by a thoroughgoing military suppression of any forces that sought a modicum of independence from imperialism. In particular in the Muslim world, in the aftermath of World War I, states were created to accommodate the appetites of the existing imperialist powers and, where necessary, these powers installed indigenous forces that could competently repress any aspirations that threatened imperialist dominance.

The fly in the ointment for the imperialists was the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution that ignited the strivings for national liberation and freedom from imperialist domination in the East. Even in the aftermath of the onset of the Stalinist political degeneration of the Soviet workers state in 1923-24, the existence of a world power based fundamentally on working-class property forms—the nationalization of industry, the monopoly of foreign trade, the absence of private ownership in the means of production—provided some leverage for modernizing forces in the Muslim East to mitigate the stringencies of imperialist domination.

Against the Soviet Union, the imperialists logically enough turned to the forces of religious reaction to resist godless communism. This was most notable in Afghanistan where, in response to the Soviet military intervention on the side of a modernizing Afghan regime, U.S. imperialism literally organized and financed the forces of religious reaction, one component of which was later to become the motive force for the attacks on September 11. With a similar logic, not a few of the sham socialist groups, most notably in this country the ISO, which

UPI

Ronald Reagan meeting with Afghan *mujahedin* at White House, 1983. U.S. imperialists armed and financed Islamic fundamentalists against Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

staunchly opposed the defense of the USSR against imperialist and/or internally inspired capitalist counterrevolution, developed a parallel taste for Islamic reaction. And with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92, things are much, much worse.

Thus, with the Soviet Union gone, religious reaction in the Muslim East has gained ground. The norm for the strivings of the oppressed and exploited masses of the Muslim world is no longer a deformed vision of socialism or even the secular nationalism of the type of Egypt's Nasser that one saw in the 1950s and '60s. Instead, there is increasingly a *false* struggle between a return to religion to answer imperialist subjugation and an embrace of Western imperialist "democracy" to answer the growth of stifling religious reaction. And that phenomenon is hardly limited to the Muslim East. One can see it right here in the United States, one can see it in the positions adopted by intellectuals like Salman Rushdie, and, for that matter, one can see it in Thorstad through his letter.

Probably Thorstad would agree that Bush's war against certain selected forces of Islamic religious reaction—certainly not directed at the Saudis or the oil emirates—is not a return to the secularism that fueled the Enlightenment. The world we live in, the epoch of imperialist decay, is only temporally "post-Enlightenment." As we said in our Rushdie article:

> "It is Marxism that is the heir—the only legitimate heir—to the secular humanism of the Enlightenment that was the ideological driving force behind the bourgeois revolutions of the 18th century in the West. Fearful of proletarian revolution, the imperialist bourgeoisies have since supported or embraced all manner of social obscurantism and religious fundamentalism; in the U.S., this prominently includes the bigotry of the Christian right, which is heavily represented in the current White House. The only road to the social, economic and cultural modernization of the countries of the Islamic East lies through proletarian revolution—new October Revolutions—leading to an internationally planned socialist economy extending from the oil fields of the Persian Gulf to the industrial plants of the American Midwest and German Ruhr."■

TWU...

(continued from page 3)

100 has tremendous power. After all, it is impossible to replace 33,700 transit workers en masse and you can't "outsource" transportation. The union should have demanded: No reprisals or fines! By demobilizing an effective strike and pulling down the picket lines, Toussaint & Co. shifted the terrain from one where the union could fight to one where the workers were shackled to arbitration board meetings and court hearings where the bosses call the shots.

Once the workforce was off the streets, the Local 100 tops struck a contract deal with the MTA that included a major concession: open-ended contributions by the current workforce, beginning at 1.5 percent of gross pay, toward some improvements in retiree health care. Saddling transit workers with crushing health care costs is meant to be an opening wedge into smashing hard-won pension and health benefits for all New York City labor. This contract was rightly ***rejected***, albeit narrowly, by defiant transit workers.

So the Toussaint leadership waited, kept the membership dispersed and let scare tactics run their course. The state's Public Employment Relations Board ordered the union into binding arbitration. Union officials used the threat that binding arbitration would enforce an even more onerous contract to get the previously rejected contract

WV Photo

Striking transit workers paralyzed city for three days, showed labor's power. Union leaders' ties to capitalist Democratic Party undermined workers struggle against bosses and state.

passed in a revote. Nonetheless, nearly 30 percent of the over 20,000 who voted still rejected the contract, including a majority of train operators and almost half of conductors. One furious train conductor told a *WV* salesman that Toussaint "should have respected" that initial vote. Another, seeing our paper, yelled out, "They're trying to end all New York unions!" For its part, the MTA has dismissed the new vote as an "empty gesture," insisting the old offer is no longer on the table.

Why was an effective strike demobilized by the union tops? It wasn't just that Toussaint caved in. While on strike, Local 100 was stabbed in the back by the TWU International, which opposed the strike and urged strikers to return to work. The TWU was also left high and dry by the entire New York City labor officialdom, including the Central Labor Council and other key unions. UFT teachers union president Randi Weingarten, SEIU 1199 head Dennis Rivera and other union tops refused to even say that they supported the strike.

The reason the union tops continually sell out their memberships is that, at bottom, it is not possible to serve two masters. There are only two real sides: either the side of the workers or the side of the capitalists who exploit them. The union bureaucrats in this country, while drawing their salaries from the trade unions, support the capitalist system and the politicians who front for it, centrally in the Democratic Party (even though its pose as a "friend of labor" has worn pretty threadbare).

The strategy of the Local 100 tops is the vain hope that the Democratic politicians whom they have supported will come to the union's aid. They have poured millions into the coffers of politicians in recent years, including thousands in donations to Attorney General Eliot Spitzer from 1998-2004. Spitzer's office spearheaded the reprisals against the TWU for striking and has jailed the TWU president. Senator Hillary Clinton, a favorite of the Toussaint leadership, hailed Spitzer's earlier use of the Taylor Law against transit workers during the heated contract negotiations in 1999. Though the union is appealing the fines, Toussaint nonetheless accepts the state's "right" to punish the union. Following the court ruling, he declared, "Two and a half million is excessive, it's too much and it's one-sided. We don't think the judge should have gone that far" (*Amsterdam News*, 20 April).

In court, Toussaint was backed by such union "allies" as Jesse Jackson, black front man for the Democratic Party, and Patrick Lynch, head of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA). The role of Jackson, who said the strike was a "necessary evil," is to defuse struggle and lure workers back into the fold of electoral politics. The PBA and other cop "unions" are not part of the workers movement. The cops are enemies of working people and minorities and are duty bound to safeguard the bosses' profit system, which includes smashing strikes. Cops, security guards out of the unions!

For unions to become instruments of militant struggle against the capitalist exploiters requires fighting against the policies of the union bureaucracy. This includes fighting against any government or court intervention into the union movement. One immediate example of this danger is the revocation of dues checkoff. We oppose the court's penalties against the union. However, as we have pointed out, this shows the danger of letting capitalist employers control dues collection through payroll deduction. Dues collection should be done by elected union officials, which would also make them answerable to the membership.

To unchain the power of labor, a political fight is required to oust the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats and to forge a labor leadership dedicated to *class struggle* against capitalism. The labor movement desperately needs a leadership based on the complete *independence* of the working class from the bosses' state and its political parties. Such a leadership would be forged in class struggle as part of the fight to build a workers party to fight for a workers government, under which industry will be ripped out of the hands of the capitalists and a planned, collectivized economy will be built, based on production for social need and not for profit.■

Ferrara/Newsday

April 24: Cop "union" head Patrick Lynch (right in photo) introduces TWU Local 100 president Roger Toussaint at rally before Toussaint's jailing. Cops, courts are enemies of labor!

Defend Chinese Deformed Workers State! For Workers Political Revolution!

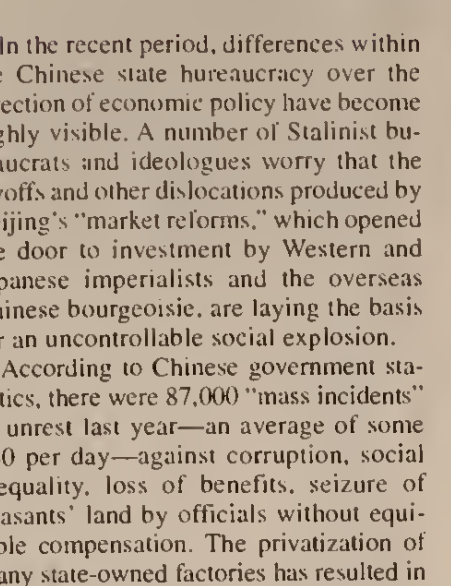
In the recent period, differences within the Chinese state bureaucracy over the direction of economic policy have become highly visible. A number of Stalinist bureaucrats and ideologues worry that the layoffs and other dislocations produced by Beijing's "market reforms," which opened the door to investment by Western and Japanese imperialists and the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie, are laying the basis for an uncontrollable social explosion.

According to Chinese government statistics, there were 87,000 "mass incidents" of unrest last year—an average of some 240 per day—against corruption, social inequality, loss of benefits, seizure of peasants' land by officials without equitable compensation. The privatization of many state-owned factories has resulted in millions being laid off. The unrest has led to debate at a number of meetings and forums sponsored by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) between leading elements of the bureaucracy who want the economic "opening up" to continue unabated, self-styled "neo-Marxists" who want more state intervention to check the ravages of "market reforms," and Maoist "conservatives" who seek a return to a bureaucratically planned economy. A dispute over proposed legislation to protect private property rights at last month's meeting of the legislative body, the National People's Congress, resulted in the shelving of the draft law.

The situation in China highlights the Trotskyist understanding of that country as a deformed workers state, in which a privileged, parasitic bureaucracy sits atop the collectivized property forms created by the 1949 Revolution. Guided by a desire to protect its privileges, the bureaucracy defends state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat. As Marxists, we see a collectivized economy with centralized economic planning based on workers democracy as essential for the development of the productive forces. Marxists seek to liberate the creative powers of humanity, which have been shackled by the capitalist system and earlier forms of class-divided society. This conception of a communist future presupposes a global economic order based on the appropriation of the productive resources of the advanced capitalist countries through international proletarian revolution.

As our 1988 pamphlet *"Market Socialism" in Eastern Europe* explains:

> "There is an *inherent tendency* for Stalinist regimes to abandon central planning in favor of an economic setup with the following major elements: output and prices determined through atomized competition between enterprises; investment, managerial salaries and workers' wages geared to enterprise profitability; unprofitable enterprises are shut down, resulting in unemployment; price subsidies are eliminated, resulting in a higher rate of inflation; the role of petty capitalist entrepreneurs is expanded, especially in the service sector; increased commercial and financial ties to Western and Japanese capitalism, including joint ventures, are encouraged. These measures do not amount to creeping capitalism, as many Western bourgeois commentators and not a few confused leftists contend. But they do strengthen the internal forces for capitalist counterrevolution."



$1 (32 pages)

Order from:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

"Left Forum" Debate on "Market Socialism"

The basic weakness of central planning in China, as under Mao Zedong, was that it was based on bureaucratic commands and arbitrariness, rather than soviet democracy (workers councils). The result, as Leon Trotsky wrote in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937) concerning the Soviet Union under Stalin, is that "Soviet products are as though branded with the gray label of indifference. Under a nationalized economy, quality demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery."

China Labour Bulletin

Over 6,000 workers, mostly women, at Tianwang Textile Factory in China's Shaanxi Province struck for almost seven weeks in 2004 against Hong Kong capitalists who took over their plant.

Many of the dissident bureaucrats and intellectuals—at least those now being granted a public hearing by the CCP regime—have a modest reform program whose ultimate aim is to preserve the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy. They call simply for increased government regulation and intervention—not even necessarily a return to state planning. Representative of this trend is Cheng Enfu, executive director of the Institute of Marxism at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, who declared: "If you accept Marxist economic ideas, you will agree that the government should have some control over the market economy" (Knight Ridder, 22 February).

Cheng was a featured speaker at a session of the "Left Forum" in New York City on March 12 titled "Marxist Views of China's Contemporary Development." Identifying himself as a "neo-Marxist," Cheng declared that in China "the proportion of private ownership is too high" and that "it is impossible to realize harmony in a privatized capitalist society." At the same time, he defended Beijing's policy of "opening up"—that is, to capitalist/imperialist penetration—as "very correct."

A Spartacist speaker from the floor first took aim at those forum participants who argued that capitalism has been restored in China. For the social democrats and others behind the "Left Forum," the idea that China is capitalist is a convenient justification for refusing to defend it against the imperialists. Our comrade pointed out: "China is not capitalist. At the core of the economy is collectivized property.... We stand for unconditional military defense against imperialist attack and counterrevolution of the Chinese deformed workers state." He continued by expressing our opposition to Stalinist misrule, stating:

> "What is necessary is a political revolution to establish workers democracy and, in so doing, strengthen the workers state. Also, another key problem of the economy is that it is built on the anti-Marxist dogma of 'socialism in one country.' The problem of scarcity in China—for that matter, in the entire world—can only be resolved through international socialist revolution."

A regime of workers and peasants councils would re-establish a centrally planned economy and with it a state monopoly of foreign trade. At the same time, it would seek to take advantage of the international division of labor by promoting a high level of exports and imports and would renegotiate economic agreements with U.S. and other capitalists in the workers' favor.

A corollary of "socialism in one country" is the bureaucracy's vain quest for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, a policy that has undermined the defense of the workers states, not least through the betrayal of proletarian revolutions internationally. Chinese president Hu Jintao's glad-handing last week in Washington with George W. Bush served as a reminder of Beijing's embrace of the "war on terror," which is directed against workers, the oppressed and anyone perceived by the U.S. imperialists to stand in their way. Washington has a two-pronged strategy for preparing capitalist counterrevolution in China, combining economic penetration with military pressure. The U.S. and Japan have strengthened their military agreements, including one to defend Taiwan and "counter the Chinese military threat." Bush's encouragement to India's nuclear program aims to further tighten the military noose around China.

It is the historical role of the Chinese working class to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the struggle for proletarian political revolution. As our comrades of the Spartacist Group of Japan wrote in "Why China Is not Capitalist—Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution!" (*WV* No. 850, 10 June 2005):

> "The Chinese workers and peasants have waged many struggles in the past ten years, but they are atomized and without a leadership whose perspective is to overthrow the political rule of the bureaucrats and place power in the hands of the workers, soldiers and peasants soviets. In addition to coordinating and leading the spontaneous and localized workers struggles, an international Trotskyist party would link the fight against the corrupt bureaucracy in China with that of the North Korean and Vietnamese workers against their Stalinist rulers. Such a party would work in concert with their comrades in Japan fighting for a workers revolution, and together with the class struggles of the militant Philippine and South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers."

The fate of the Chinese proletariat—and the fate of working people and the oppressed throughout the world—will be decided in the struggle for international socialist revolution, not least in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net
National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
tllt@look.ca

Young Spartacus

No Administration Reprisals! Cops Off Campus!

Defend San Francisco State Professor Akom!

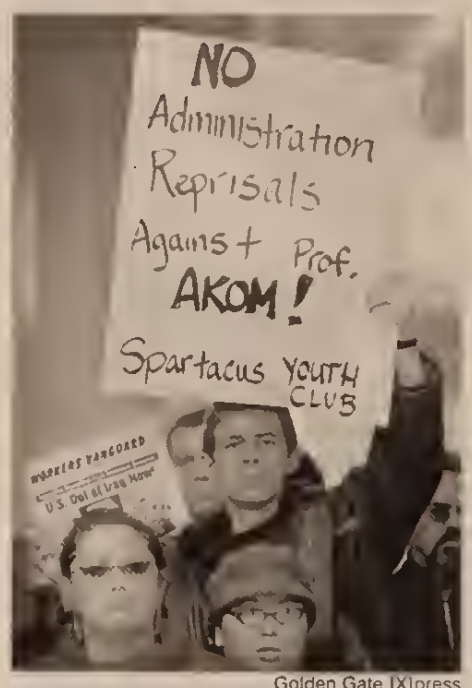
Golden Gate [X]press

Professor Antwi Akom at SFSU defense rally, March 22.

We reprint below, edited for publication, a March 27 statement issued by the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club on the case of San Francisco State University (SFSU) professor Antwi Akom.

The racism endemic to capitalist society, and the role of its repressive state apparatus and its lackeys in the university administration have been revealed yet again with the release of the results of the "independent investigation" into the cop attack on black Ethnic Studies professor Antwi Akom last October. The investigation was organized by President Corrigan in the wake of campus protest following the arrest of Akom. He was charged with resisting arrest and assaulting a police officer after he was stopped by a security guard and campus cops while exiting his *own office*, while his young children waited in the car. As we wrote about the people heading the "investigation" team in November 2005 after Akom's arrest:

> "The Democratic Party figure Willie Brown is a black front man whose job is to make it easier to enforce segregation and oppression through brutal cop terror and economic marginalization in San Francisco's poor black neighborhoods.
>
> Louise H. Renne is a hangman of the capitalist injustice system, the president of the Police Commission that oversees the San Francisco police and its 'Office of Citizen Complaints,' whose purpose is to whitewash the cops' image."
>
> —"Hands Off Antwi Akom! Drop All Charges!" *WV* No. 859. 25 November 2005



Golden Gate [X]press

Spartacus Youth Club joined over 200 students and faculty at March 22 rally.

As we predicted, the investigation commission did just that, denying any racial bias on the part of the cops and actually *accusing Akom* of being the aggressor, manipulating the evidence to support their witchhunt.

On March 17, S.F. District Attorney Kamala Harris dropped the criminal charges against Professor Akom, but the threat against him is far from over. The administration could still fire him or suspend him without pay, or demote him. Campus unions should come out in defense of Akom. The administration and the state's targeting of Akom is a threat against all black students, workers and the faculty on campus. *An injury to one is an injury to all! Hands off Akom!*

The Spartacus Youth Club has a tradition of defense of those targeted by the administration, like when the International Socialist Organization and Students Against War were sanctioned last year for protesting military recruiters. In 2004, when four female students from predominantly Muslim countries who defended themselves against the attacks of campus right-wingers were targeted by the administration and the FBI, we demanded: "No reprisals! Down with the right-wing witchhunt!" The current escalation of racist provocations and witchhunts against leftists and minorities across the country comes in the context of the phony "war on terror." The "war on terror" is an all-sided attack against neocolonial countries like Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran which is accompanied by a domestic war on blacks, immigrants, leftists and the working class.

On March 22, over 200 students and faculty rallied in support of Professor Akom and against the findings of the "independent investigation." Many speakers expressed their outrage at the report, demanding an apology by Corrigan and a new investigation with student/faculty participation. While we add our voices to those opposing this racist outrage, we warn against illusions in the campus administration—the ruling class agents on college campuses—and oppose schemes for "community control" or supervision of the police, which have historically served to alibi the inherent racism of the capitalist state. The role of the cops on campus is the same as their role on the streets—subjugation through terror. SYCers at the rally held signs that read "No Administration Reprisals Against Prof. Akom!" and "Cops and Military Recruiters Off Campus!" We call to *obolish the odministrotion!* The universities should be run by the students, teachers and workers who study and work there!

Decades after the end of the civil rights movement, higher education is still out of reach for many minority youth, and blacks in particular. The rising cost of tuition and the gutting of affirmative action are a racist purge of higher education. The attack against Akom is not an aberration, rather it is the logic of the capitalist system that views black people as a "surplus population" who belong in prison or serving as cannon fodder for the wars of U.S. imperialism, not at an institution of higher learning. The SYC fights for *free, quolity education for oll! For open admissions ond no tuition!*

The Spartacus Youth Club looks to the working class as the only social force with the power and interest to smash the capitalist system of exploitation and eliminate the racism it produces once and for all. Just as it took the Civil War to smash slavery, nothing short of an overturn of the capitalist system will succeed in destroying the economic base of black oppression. We advance a program of *revolutionory integrationism*, seeking to mobilize the power of the labor movement to fight against all instances of racist oppression, while understanding that to eliminate black oppression will require a socialist revolution. To accomplish this requires breaking the chains that bind labor to the Democratic Party of war and racism and forging a revolutionary workers party. The Spartacus Youth Club fights to win youth to the perspective of building such a party. *Hands off Antwi Akom! Cops off campus! For black liberotion through sociolist revolution!* ■

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BAY AREA

Thursday, May 11, 5 p.m.
After the Revolution: Economic Planning and the Communist Social Vision
SF State University, HSS 104
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

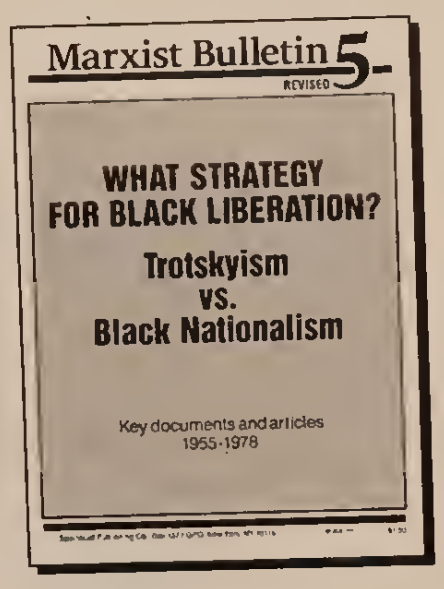
CHICAGO

Tuesday, May 2, 7 p.m.
Video Showing: Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!
University of Chicago, 106 Cobb Hall
5811 S. Ellis Avenue
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, May 20, 2 p.m.
The Struggle for Black Liberation: The Key to Socialist Revolution in America
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(near Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

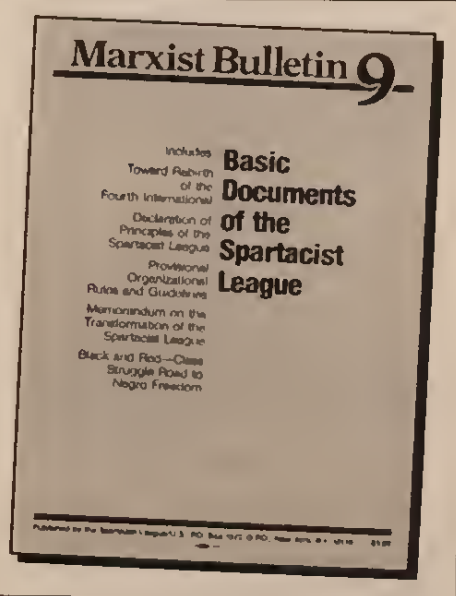
Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org



Marxist Bulletin No. 5 Revised
Key Documents and Articles 1955-1978
Includes:
"For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question"
$1.50 (64 pages)

Marxist Bulletin No. 9
Basic Documents of the Spartacist League
Includes:
"Black and Red—Class-Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (September 1966)
$3 (64 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



Administration Hands Off Students Against War!

SFSU Suspends Protesters Against Military Recruiters

The following statement protesting repression against student activists at San Francisco State University (SFSU) was issued by the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club on April 16. Attendees at a press conference organized in the students' defense on April 17 expressed appreciation for our solidarity, with the notable exception of the International Socialist Organization's Todd Chretien who is running for the U.S. Senate on the capitalist Green Party ticket and who pointedly refused to take a copy of this statement. The campus administration reduced the students' suspension to three days. However, Students Against War, which organized the protest, may face further administration reprisals.

The Spartacus Youth Club vehemently protests the SFSU administration and police repression against students protesting military recruiters on April 14. Ten students were ejected from the "career fair" by campus police and cited for "disrupting campus activities." They have been suspended from the campus for 7-14 days. Additionally, Students Against War (SAW), which organized the protest, could face being disbanded, stemming from its March 9, 2005 anti-recruiter protest, after which the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and SAW were outrageously sanctioned by the administration [see "No Reprisals Against Anti-Military Recruitment Protesters!" *WV* No. 846, 15 April 2005 and "Protest SFSU Clampdown on Antiwar Activists!" *WV* No. 851, 8 July 2005]. Despite our political differences with SAW and the ISO, we call on all students to defend these groups being targeted by [SFSU president] Corrigan's administration, the agents of the capitalist class in the university, just as we have vigorously defended all those who have been victimized by campus administrations and the cops for their actions against military recruiters. ***Drop all charges against the anti-military recruitment protesters now! Hands off SAW!***

The SYC opposes any extension of the repressive U.S. imperialist military onto college campuses and high schools. As Marxists, we seek to mobilize students to protest military recruiters as part of the struggle against the brutal, neocolonial occupation of Iraq and the entire imperialist system. We thus sharply stand out from groups like the ISO, which has acted as an appendage of bourgeois democracy, like when it made common cause with the imperialists in their drive for capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union.

The SYC took part in the protest at SFSU on April 14 against military recruiters, raising calls for "Down With the Colonial Occupation of Iraq!", "Military Recruiters, Cops and Border Patrol Off Campus!" and "Fight for Socialist Revolution!" At the rally, our speaker explained that in order to end imperialist wars you have to get rid of the capitalist system that breeds them. He exposed how the ISO and the Campus Antiwar Network base their program on pressuring the ruling class, and how the ISO's campaign for the capitalist Green Party serves as an obstacle to creating revolutionary consciousness by tying working people to their class enemy.

The administration's attack comes in the context of the bloody imperialist occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan and provocations against Iran internationally, along with the phony "war on terror," which is really a war on blacks, immigrants, leftists and the working class. At SFSU, leftists and minority students have faced a series of attacks and political intimidation by the university, including the racist case against black professor Antwi Akom, who was arrested last October after going into *his own office*. Akom faced criminal charges that were met by campus protest and subsequently dropped, but he still faces possible reprisals by the administration. *Defend Professor Akom!*

The SYC looks to the working class as the only social force with the power and interest to smash the capitalist system of wage slavery once and for all. To accomplish this requires breaking the chains that bind labor to the Democratic Party of war and racism and forging a revolutionary workers party that struggles for socialist revolution. The SYC fights to win youth to the perspective of building such a party.

The attack on these ten students is meant to intimidate and silence all who oppose and seek to protest against the presence of the American military machine on campus and the colonial occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan by U.S. imperialism. Students, faculty and campus workers must come to the defense of these protesters. ***An injury to one is an injury to all! Down with campus repression! Cops, military recruiters off campus! Drop the charges now!*** ■

High School Students Walk Out for Immigrant Rights

Chavez/LA Times

Los Angeles high school students march down Whittier Boulevard in defense of immigrant rights, March 24.

LOS ANGELES—In the lead-up to and following the million-strong March 25 immigrant rights demonstration in Los Angeles, high school and middle school students throughout California and in Arizona, Texas and other states organized walkouts and protests against proposed legislation that would criminalize "illegal" immigrants and extend the wall along the Mexican border. On March 27, over 36,000 students from two dozen school districts walked out in Los Angeles, demonstrating at City Hall and blocking two freeways. Democratic mayor Antonio Villaraigosa spoke at the rally, claiming sympathy while telling students to go back to school. In response, the mostly Latino students booed, sat down and chanted, "Hell no, we won't go!" Villaraigosa then ordered his cops to crack down on subsequent protests, and city officials put all middle and high schools into "lockdown" mode. At an ***elementary*** school in Inglewood, students were barred from using the restrooms and forced to urinate in buckets in their classrooms.

Across the country, police arrested protesting students, issuing hundreds of truancy citations with fines of hundreds of dollars. Repression was particularly intense in the San Diego area, where thousands of students marched on successive days. Well over 100 students have been arrested there; some face felony charges. Notably, south of L.A. in Carson, where cops fired pepper balls at students, many black students joined the Latino protesters. One black youth said, "Normally, it's Mexicans vs. the blacks. Today's a different day. We're here to prove a point" (*Daily Breeze*, 27 March). The L.A. Spartacus Youth Club, which has intervened into the walkouts to introduce students to a revolutionary Marxist perspective, demands: Drop all charges against student protesters!

Anthony Soltero, a 14-year-old Latino who helped organize a walkout at a middle school in Ontario, east of L.A., committed suicide after the vice principal told him he would be sent to jail for three years. To honor this youth, a citizen who took up the fight for immigrant rights, L.A. students dedicated an April 15 rally in his honor. ***Remember Anthony Soltero! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!***

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
international rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail

❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

❑ I would like to contribute $_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

869

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

socialist federation of the Near East. This is the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution, which vitally includes the fight to extend working-class rule to the imperialist centers, not least through the struggle for socialist revolution in the U.S.

Down With U.S. Nuclear Blackmail!

Hersh's article details that the Bush administration's quest for "regime change" in Iran is at least partly predicated on a growing acceptance within the Pentagon of using tactical nuclear weapons to achieve its aims. As Hersh puts it, "The lack of reliable intelligence leaves military planners, given the goal of totally destroying the sites, little choice but to consider the use of tactical nuclear weapons." Iran today has at least nine different nuclear facilities, mainly underground, including the main centrifuge plant at Natanz, nearly 200 miles south of Tehran. The military proposed this winter to use a "bunker-buster" tactical nuclear weapon like the B61-11 against such sites. Hersh quoted one former senior intelligence official:

> "Every other option, in the view of the nuclear weaponeers, would leave a gap. 'Decisive' is the key word of the Air Force's planning. It's a tough decision. But we made it in Japan.... Nuclear planners go through extensive training and learn the technical details of damage and fallout—we're talking about mushroom clouds, radiation, mass casualties, and contamination over years. This is not an underground nuclear test, where all you see is the earth raised a little bit."

The U.S. stockpile of some 10,000 nuclear warheads reportedly includes about 50 such B61-11 nuclear weapons, known as earth-penetrating weapons or EPWs. A May 2005 report on EPWs, by Lisbeth Gronlund, David Wright and Robert Nelson of the Union of Concerned Scientists, gave the following as a possible scenario, using a 1.2 megaton thermonuclear warhead (which dwarfs what was dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki): "According to a simulation using software developed for the Pentagon, if one of these weapons were used against the underground nuclear facility in Esfahan, Iran, 3 million people would be killed by radiation within 2 weeks of the explosion, and 35 million people in Afghanistan, Pakistan and India would be exposed to increased levels of cancer-causing radiation."

But it's not only Iran that the Dr. Strangelove military planners view as a feasible potential nuclear target. The Bush administration's January 2002 Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) ordered the Pentagon to draft plans for the use of nuclear weapons against at least seven countries—Iraq, Iran, North Korea, China, Libya, Syria and Russia (which was later struck from the list)—because "all have long-standing hostility towards the United States and its security partners. All sponsor or harbor terrorists, and have active WMD [weapons of mass destruction] and missile programs." The supposed existence of Iraqi WMDs, of course, has since been proven a lie.

The NPR also called to develop improved "bunker-busting mini-nukes," as they were termed in the *Los Angeles Times* (9 March 2002) article that first revealed the NPR. In fact, following the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, calls were made to use tactical nuclear weapons in Afghanistan for the demented purpose of destroying, not even deep underground bunkers, but the caves said to be harboring Al Qaeda operatives.

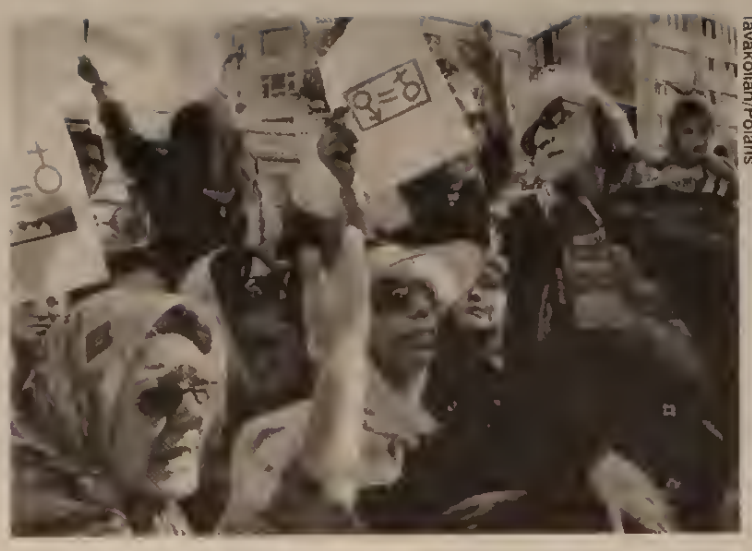
U.S. imperialist musings over nuclear weapons as a feasible military option have escalated since September 11, which can partly be attributed to the especially deranged nature of the Bush administration. As one House member commented to Hersh, "The most worrisome thing is that this guy has a messianic vision." Or as *New York Times* (19 April) columnist Thomas Friedman put it, faced with a choice of nuclear-armed Iran or an attack carried out by Bush & Co., "I'd rather live with a nuclear Iran." As war-crazed as the Bush administration is, sporadic calls by the U.S. ruling class to use its massive nuclear arsenal have occurred as long as these weapons have existed. Among the more recent calls, in 1996 during the Clinton administration, consideration was given to carrying out a tactical nuclear attack on a Libyan chemical weapons facility at Tarhuna.

Defend China!

The U.S. historically amassed its lethal stockpile of nuclear arms—and dropped the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945—for the primary purpose of threatening and ultimately destroying the Soviet Union. The USSR, the world's first workers state, was born through the only successful workers revolution, led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party in October 1917. Although political counterrevolution led by Stalin in 1923-24 resulted in the Soviet Union's bureaucratic degeneration, the USSR's existence served to deny a sixth of the globe to capitalist exploitation and acted as an obstacle to the imperialist ambitions of the U.S. and other powers. The Soviets' development of nuclear weapons and delivery systems in parity with the U.S. stayed the hand of U.S. imperialism. Democrats and Republicans were united in pursuing the Cold War drive against the Soviet Union and gloated over the supposed "death of communism" signaled by capitalist counterrevolution there in 1991-92.

To the end, we called for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution, and recognized that its collapse was a world-historic defeat for the international proletariat and oppressed. We stand for the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states—China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. China was cited in the 2002 NPR as "a country that could be involved in an immediate or potential [nuclear] contingency." The report speculated that this could result from a military conflict such as over the status of capitalist Taiwan, while another possible scenario for using nukes would be against North Korea in response to an attack on South Korea.

Indeed, the U.S. saber rattling against Iran poses a threat to the Chinese deformed workers state, U.S. imperialism's strategic target in the post-Soviet world. China gets 14 percent of the oil for its growing economy from Iran, and in late 2004 signed a $70 billion deal with Iran for oil and natural gas for some 30 years. It is vital that China oppose the imperialist drive to disarm Iran. However, the Beijing Stalinists' policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism undermines China's own defense. While verbally opposing UN sanctions against Iran, Beijing has collaborated with the imperialists on Iran and recently condemned the Iranian government for successfully enriching uranium. As part of our defense of the Chinese workers state, we fight for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with a regime based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism.



Tavakolian/Polaris

June 2005: Iranian women demonstrate demanding equality in front of Tehran University.

AP

Occupation troops in house-to-house search in Tal Afar, Iraq. U.S. invasion and occupation has devastated the country.

Down With U.S. Imperialism!

The London *Independent* (2 April) quoted Professor Zoltàn Grossman stating: "After every US military intervention since 1990 the Pentagon has left behind clusters of new bases in areas where it never before had a foothold. The new string of bases stretch from Kosovo and adjacent Balkan states, to Iraq and other Persian Gulf states, into Afghanistan and other central Asian states...The only two obstacles to a geographically contiguous US sphere of influence are Iran and Syria."

Even as the Bush administration insists that the U.S. occupation of Iraq will end some day, upon the establishment of what the U.S. deems a viable government there, it has been pouring money into military bases that are widely recognized, if not officially, to be permanent. The U.S. has set up 110 forward operating bases in Iraq, of which only 34 have reportedly been turned over to the puppet government there. According to the *Independent*, occupation forces are spending millions to establish at least six "enduring" bases, at least four of which would continue to be operated by the U.S. indefinitely.

Former Marine Anthony Zinni, head of the U.S. Central Command in the late 1990s, is among those who oppose the building of permanent bases in Iraq, arguing that they further damage the image of the U.S. abroad. He is also one of the half dozen retired generals—war criminals all, half of them with years' experience in leading the Iraq occupation—who are now loudly calling for Donald Rumsfeld's resignation. The military doesn't generally protest when it sees its war is going well. The context for the generals' rebellion is the fact that Iraq, which was supposed to be a showpiece for American "democracy" in the region, has instead become an inferno. What the generals want is a more effective military.

Polls show that popular opposition to the occupation of Iraq is at an all-time high. That, combined with innumerable domestic scandals and embarrassing leaks, has led to an all-time low in the polls for the Bush administration, which has presumably contributed to the reshuffling of posts in the White House, including the departure of White House spokesman Scott McClellan and the reassignment of Karl Rove.

Break with the Democrats! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

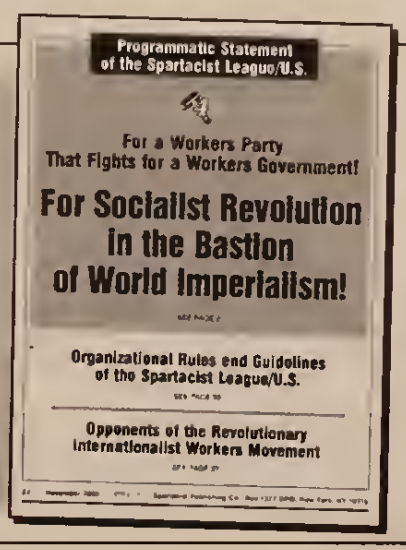
With the Bush administration in serious political trouble, the organizers of the antiwar protests are working to set the stage for a Democratic Party victory in this year's Congressional elections and the 2008 presidential election by pushing the Democrats to "really" oppose the occupation of Iraq. That will be the message delivered at the April 29 New York City antiwar protest initiated by United for Peace and Justice. The call for the demonstration declares: "Our message to the White House and to Congress is clear: Either stand with us or stand aside! We are coming together to march, to vote, to speak out and to turn our country around!"

The April 29 demonstration is being built by several pseudo-socialist organizations, such as Workers World Party (WWP) and the International Socialist Organization (ISO). WWP, which initiated the International ANSWER coalition and currently leads the Troops Out Now Coalition, wrote in an editorial that antiwar activists must "make the message 'Stop War on Iran!' an inescapable element in this [April 29] and every major demonstration from now on" (*Workers World*, 13 April). The reality is, however, that Workers World has from the beginning of the antiwar protests sought to appeal to Democratic Party liberals, who, if anything, have been even more hawkish on Iran than the Bush administration.

Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

$2 (40 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



Immigration...

(continued from page 12)

The bill would double the number of border patrol agents, add 5,000 immigration cops to hunt "illegals" in interior states, create a high-tech "virtual fence" along the Mexican border with new checkpoints and barriers, and authorize police forces to act as immigration agents. It would require Homeland Security to build 20 detention centers capable of holding 10,000 detainees—i.e., concentration camps—and expand its authority to deport alleged terrorists while adding new criminal penalties for evading immigration cops and criminalizing any aid to undocumented immigrants that the government deems is not "purely humanitarian." A cornerstone of the bill is a "guest worker" program under which hundreds of thousands of immigrants would be assigned to particular employers. This attempt at indentured servitude harks back to the notorious *bracero* program of 1942-64 under which "temporary" Mexican workers, denied elementary rights, were brought in to slave for agribusiness.

Kennedy stresses that the Senate bill "does not provide undocumented immigrants with amnesty." Indeed, its much-vaunted "path to citizenship" would be open only to those who pay a $2,000 penalty as well as back taxes, pass a medical exam and learn English. Ineligible would be anyone ever convicted of offenses as minor as shoplifting or "public nuisance" or deemed to have acted adversely to U.S. foreign policy. In the latest version proposed on April 6, only those who could prove they have lived in the U.S. for five years would be eligible. Those here two to five years would have to leave the country, go to a border station and apply to be readmitted. Those with no proof that they have lived here that long, which includes at least a million people, would be subject to deportation outright.

The Spartacist League/U.S. has intervened into the protests with the call for full citizenship rights for all who have made it into the country. We oppose racist anti-immigrant repression and call on the labor movement to fight deportations through class-struggle means and to organize immigrant workers into the unions with full rights and protections. This requires combating the politics of the labor misleaders, who are opposed to a program of class struggle and look to the capitalist state to defend the rights of working people and immigrants.

WV Photo

Indymedia

Top: Some one million marched for immigrant rights in L.A. on March 25. Bottom: UNITE HERE hotel workers at Boston mobilization against anti-immigrant bill, April 10.

KHOU-TV

Immigrants seized by Homeland Security in Texas, April 19. Nearly 1,200 immigrant workers were rounded up by Feds that day as part of ongoing government crackdown.

Bipartisan War on Immigrants

The precarious situation of immigrants has dramatically worsened as a result of the bipartisan "war on terror." Stopping "terrorists" from entering the U.S. is one of the pretexts for further militarizing the border. While the U.S. occupiers of Iraq and Afghanistan terrorize those societies, at home immigrants of Arab or Islamic background are portrayed as "internal enemies." Imperialist war abroad is often accompanied by attacks on immigrants and naturalized citizens originally from the "enemy" countries, as evidenced by the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II by the Democratic Roosevelt administration. We call for the unconditional withdrawal of the U.S. from Iraq and Afghanistan now and for class struggle at home against the capitalist rulers carrying out these imperialist depredations. The working class must fight tooth and nail against anti-immigrant chauvinism and in defense of civil liberties, which are being shredded under the pretext of the "war on terror."

One of the main slogans of the April 10 demonstrations was: "Today we march, tomorrow we vote"—a clear attempt to steer anger at Republican-led efforts to further criminalize immigrants toward the Democratic Party. But it was Bill Clinton's 1996 immigration "reform" that allowed the deportation of even longtime permanent residents for trivial offenses, and his "Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act" enacted the same year, in addition to vastly expanding the use of the racist death penalty, set up immigrants for prosecution in special courts on charges and "evidence" kept secret even from their lawyers. The militarization of San Diego and other border areas was vastly expanded under Clinton's "Operation Gatekeeper," resulting each year in the deaths of hundreds of immigrants trying to cross over in remote desert areas. And the NAFTA agreement that went into effect in 1994, which we called the U.S. "free trade" rape of Mexico, further impoverished millions of Mexican peasants and drove them off their land, spurring on the last decade's huge increase in immigration.

The current wrangling over immigration "reform" is entirely in the framework of capitalist interests. Representatives of the ruling class are divided on this question. On the one hand are right-wing anti-immigrant ideologues, including those Republicans who hope to ride anti-immigrant chauvinism into the November Congressional elections. On the other hand, there is a wide swath, ranging from the Bush White House and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to most of the Democratic Party, that speaks for those capitalists who depend on the labor of immigrant workers and is pushing various versions of "guest worker" programs.

In today's economic conditions, to deport the estimated eleven million "illegals" would wreak havoc. But when the economic and/or political needs and interests of the U.S. ruling class change in this regard, the spigot of immigration can be slowed to a trickle and substantially reversed. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, federal, state and local governments (especially in California) effected the repatriation of almost half a million Mexican immigrants, some of whom were U.S. citizens.

State legislatures have recently been stripping immigrants of the ability to obtain basic benefits, while many state and local police agencies are being trained to pursue "illegals," as captured in a *New York Times* (14 April) article headlined, "Path to Deportation Can Start With a Traffic Stop." A new federal law requires a passport, birth certificate or other proof of citizenship in order to receive Medicaid benefits—a requirement that will be a barrier to health care not only for immigrants but also many of the elderly, black people, Native American Indians and the homeless.

By denying immigrants the most basic

continued on page 10

A 13 April *Workers World* article complains that "to this day the Democratic Party leadership won't take a clear anti-war stand."

The dividing line separating us from the reformist leftists like Workers World and the ISO is political program. As Marxists, we understand that war, racist oppression and exploitation are inherent to the capitalist system, a system that cannot be reformed to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed. Only socialist revolution, by ripping power from the hands of the capitalists and placing it in the hands of the working class, can end imperialist war.

The reformists, however, spread the illusion that capitalism can be reformed—that we can have an end to imperialist war, racism and exploitation under the present social order. Thus, a common slogan raised by WWP and the ISO is, "Money for jobs and education, not for war," as though the problem were one of reordering the priorities of the capitalists. The bourgeoisie's top priority is to maintain and defend its capitalist system of exploitation, which necessarily entails the waging of wars—against both neocolonial countries and their imperialist rivals (as took place in World Wars I and II).

To the reformists, the capitalist system is their system. Very revealing is the slogan commonly promoted by the various antiwar coalitions, "Bring the Troops Home." This slogan is meant to evoke sympathy for the U.S. armed forces and serves to clean up the tarnished image of U.S. imperialism. Even more explicitly, the call for the April 29 demonstration declares, "End the war in Iraq—Bring all our troops home now!" Meanwhile, a "model resolution" for labor unions on the Web site of "U.S. Labor Against the War," an outfit largely made up of left-talking union bureaucrats that has endorsed the April 29 demonstration, is titled: "Support Our Troops & Veterans—End the War and Bring Them Home Now!" These are not "our" troops! U.S. troops in Iraq are the enforcers of a vicious occupation that by some estimates has cost the lives of 100,000 Iraqis. The photo of Lynndie England, dog leash in hand abusing a naked Iraqi prisoner, is a graphic reminder of the routine brutality meted out by imperialism's military enforcers.

The U.S. working class uniquely has the social power to bring down the U.S. imperialist beast. The key to unlocking this power is breaking the class collaborationism pushed by the labor tops and their fake-socialist backers. It is necessary to break the chains forged by the labor tops that bind the proletariat to the capitalist Democratic Party. If there is to be an end to imperialist war, racist oppression and poverty, the multiracial working class must be won, through Marxist education and its own experience in struggle, to the fight for a revolutionary workers party to defeat U.S. imperialism through socialist revolution. ■

Spartacist Forums

From Paris to L.A.

For Class-Struggle Defense of Immigrants!

BAY AREA

Thursday, May 4, 6:30 p.m.
Centro del Pueblo
474 Valencia Street
San Francisco
(16th St. BART)

For more information: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, May 6, 3 p.m.
Immanuel Presbyterian Church
Geneva Room
3300 Wilshire Blvd. (at Berendo)
(2 blocks west of Wilshire/Vermont Red Line Station)

For more information: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

Esparlaco

WV Photo

Left: Mexican steel workers at Mittal steel plant after successful strike, April 11. Right: Striking UFCW grocery workers rally in Los Angeles, December 2003. Bringing with them their history of militancy, immigrant workers can help revitalize U.S. labor movement.

Immigration...

(continued from page 9)

rights, the capitalists seek to keep them in fear and prevent them from challenging their brutal exploitation, the better to drive down the wages and working conditions of the entire working class. The working class, including its diminished unionized sections, has been under the gun for decades, with the capitalists taking the ax to industrial jobs, wages, pensions and health benefits. A class-struggle fight for immigrant rights would not only defend vulnerable immigrant workers but help to revitalize the entire labor movement by bringing in thousands of workers with experience of militant struggle in their countries of origin.

But the labor bureaucracy accepts and defends the capitalist profit system, and therefore offers to "defend" U.S. workers through protectionism and other forms of "America First" chauvinism. Anna Burger, chair of the Change to Win union federation that split from the AFL-CIO last year, grotesquely lauds the proposed Senate Judiciary Committee's "reform" as a "historic step" that "will improve our national security by strengthening our borders with more personnel and more advanced technology to prevent illegal immigration." The Teamsters bureaucracy, another component of Change to Win, is notorious for its chauvinist campaign against Mexican truckers using U.S. highways.

While the AFL-CIO under John Sweeney opposes "expanding" guest worker programs beyond those that currently exist for agricultural workers, it refuses to demand citizenship rights for immigrants or to condemn plans to further militarize the border. Its call for permanent residency is limited to those undocumented workers "who have paid taxes and made positive contributions to their communities."

As the SL/U.S. and the Grupo Espartaquista de México declared in a joint statement printed in *WV* No. 867 (31 March) and distributed as a special supplement at demonstrations across the country:

> "Instead of mobilizing union power in defense of immigrants, the union tops embrace one or another of the capitalists' anti-immigrant 'reforms,' particularly favoring their so-called 'friends' in the capitalist Democratic Party. This policy of class collaboration, sacrificing labor's interests on the altar of capitalist profitability, flows from the labor bureaucracy's support for the capitalist system and its identification with the 'national interests' of U.S. imperialism. This program has led to defeat after defeat, leaving the U.S. labor movement weaker today than at any time since the early 1900s."

The fight to defend immigrants and to defend the interests of the labor movement as a whole runs straight into the capitalist profit system. To undercut the bosses' attempt to pit native-born against foreign-born workers, there should be a fight to create *jobs for all* through cutting the workweek at no loss in pay. Against "English-only" chauvinism and restrictions on access to schools and health care, we call for free, quality, integrated education and free medical care for all. What is urgently needed is the forging of a workers party to lead all the exploited and oppressed in the struggle for a workers government that will seize the productive wealth of this society from the profit-gorged capitalists and create a planned, socialized economy. The fight for international socialist revolution is the only road to the elimination of exploitation, racial oppression, impoverishment and the wars and occupations through which the imperialists seek to secure their domination of economically backward countries.

Break with the Democrats!

The reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO), Workers World Party and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have signed up as cheerleaders for what is being dubbed a "new civil rights movement." The reformists disappear the central role played by capitalist politicians and the Catholic church in these protests. All these outfits editorialize against "guest worker" programs but refuse to raise the straightforward call for full citizenship rights. The ISO's maximum demand is for "Amnesty Now," while the SWP calls for "permanent residency now." Both of these demands would keep immigrants in second-class status.

The April 10 demonstrations, which were heavily built by the AFL-CIO, featured a panoply of Democratic politicians. In New York City these included state Attorney General and candidate for governor Eliot Spitzer, who prosecuted the New York City transit unions for going on strike in December (see article, page 3). Under fire from chauvinist yahoos over the waving of Mexican and Central American flags at earlier protests, the April 10 organizers made sure that there would be incessant waving of the U.S. flag—the emblem of the bloodiest government on the planet. Immigrants should have no illusions that waving the American flag will offer them any protection against chauvinist reaction. The Minuteman vigilantes who have staged racist, anti-immigrant provocations along the Mexican border and throughout the U.S. have rallied their fascistic forces behind the same flag, along with the Confederate flag of slavery.

Prominent in the protests in Los Angeles—where on March 25 up to one million turned out in one of the largest demonstrations in the city's history—have been Democratic mayor Antonio Villaraigosa, various Catholic priests and Maria Elena Durazo of the L.A. UNITE HERE garment and hotel/restaurant workers union, who is interim head of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor. Durazo was the national director of the 2003 Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride, which served as an electoral vehicle for the Democrats in the 2004 elections.

Durazo's mentor, and that of her late husband Miguel Contreras, who was also head of the county labor federation, was Cesar Chavez, the leader of the hard-fought battle to build the United Farm Workers (UFW). Chavez is to this day widely revered as a leader of Mexican migrant workers. In fact, Chavez was key in orchestrating the political alliance between the tops of predominately Latino/immigrant unions, the Catholic church and the Democratic Party. In 1974, as agribusiness was using contract labor and undocumented immigrants against the UFW, Chavez fingered the "illegal" farm workers to federal authorities.

Last May, the U.S. Catholic Conference of Bishops initiated a three-year "Justice for Immigrants" campaign. Anyone who believes in the benign role of the church—a force for all-sided social reaction—should look at its history of "organizing" workers. In 1891, Pope Leo XIII, in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (Of New Things), endorsed using Catholic labor groups as a means of undercutting the socialist Second International. One writer described this as the Vatican's answer to *The Communist Manifesto* and Karl Marx's *Capital*. It set the stage for decades of reactionary machinations in the working class.

In the U.S., where the Catholic church was historically a key nexus in the lives of immigrants from Ireland, Italy, Poland and elsewhere, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU) was formed in the late 1930s to undercut the growing influence of the Communist Party (CP) and other leftist tendencies in the labor movement. Following World War II, the ACTU played a key role in the purge of Communist unionists and other leftist militants, for example by helping to orchestrate the split of the International Union of Electrical Workers from the CP-influenced United Electrical Workers. In Australia, Europe and elsewhere, Catholic organizations fomented similar anti-Communist splits.

L.A.'s Cardinal Mahony has his own history as a union-buster, including against attempts to organize by immigrant church cemetery workers in the 1980s. Mahony served as the first chairman of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, a government agency that operates on behalf of agribusiness, and has often served the capitalist rulers of L.A. by helping to scuttle strikes. In 2000 he played a key role in discouraging an L.A. county workers strike, which could have gone a long way toward beating back attempts to close down all or parts of King/Drew Medical Center, which poor blacks and Latinos in the Watts area rely upon.

For United Class Struggle!

The poisonous divisions between native-born and immigrant workers that are fostered by the capitalist rulers are echoed by some black organizations and spokesmen who see in immigrants a threat to the precarious gains made by the specially oppressed black population. A black contractors association in South-Central L.A. recently advocated cracking down on immigrants as a way to provide more jobs for blacks. Najee Ali, a prominent L.A. black activist, was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* (10 April) as saying in regard to the mammoth March 25 demonstration, "Once I saw the half million, I felt fear, in a sense, that (blacks) might be marginalized in the future when it comes to jobs and political empowerment."

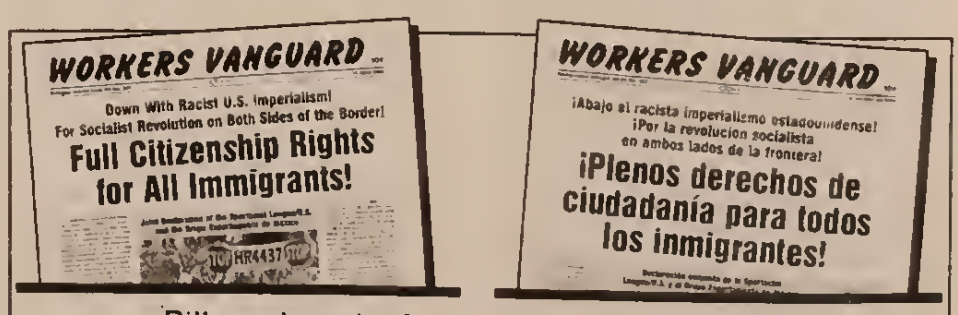
Black-Latino hostilities in L.A. have exploded recently into nasty fights between high school students and race riots in the prison hellholes, stoked by police authorities. These tensions, which are further inflamed by black and Latino nationalists, have particular usefulness to the rulers of Los Angeles, where key unions that have engaged in class struggle in recent years, such as transit and grocery workers, are predominately Latino and black. In 1994, the passage of California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 was the precursor to the passage two years later of Proposition 209, which was designed to outlaw the token affirmative action programs that gave blacks and other minorities limited access to higher education, government jobs and contracts.

It is particularly important to combat anti-immigrant chauvinism in the working class and especially among black workers, while the immigrant-derived proletariat must understand that anti-black racism remains the touchstone of social reaction in this country. While newly arrived plebeian immigrants in their vast majority begin at the bottom of U.S. capitalist society, light-skinned immigrants have historically been able to advance up the economic ladder. The special oppression of black people is of a fundamentally different character, rooted in centuries of chattel slavery and subsequent segregation in this capitalist society.

Whipping up racial and ethnic hatred has long served the U.S. ruling class in furthering the exploitation of all workers. It is through ***united class struggle*** that the divisions between white and black workers, and between the native-born and immigrants, can be overcome. A model effort in this regard was the November 1982 labor/black mobilization in Washington, D.C., initiated by the Spartacist League, which stopped the race-terrorist KKK from staging an anti-immigrant march. As we note in the SL/U.S. Programmatic Statement:

> "There will be no effective resistance to the immiseration of American working people without the unity in struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. Despite the destruction of industrial jobs and erosion of union strength, black workers, who have a significantly higher rate of trade-union membership than do white workers, continue to be integrated into strategic sectors of the industrial proletariat, which alone has the power to shatter this racist, capitalist system."

The key to unleashing that power is the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party; a U.S. section of a reforged Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■



Bilingual reprint from *WV* No. 867 10¢ each

Protests mobilizing millions throughout the U.S. against a bill to further criminalize immigrants are continuing. Get your copies of the Joint Declaration of the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Grupo Espartaquista de México.

bundles of 25: $2
bundles of 50: $3
Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

attorneys, presented a detailed report on the Beverly confession and the other evidence of Mumia's innocence.

Wolkenstein has also been invited to speak on the Beverly evidence at an April 29 ceremony in the Paris suburb of Saint-Denis to name a street after Mumia leading to the Nelson Mandela Stadium. The ceremony will also feature Mumia's current attorney Robert Bryan, Pam Africa and Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the government's 1985 bombing of Philadelphia MOVE. In January, a French coalition including the PCF, CGT and other labor, anti-racist and left groups kicked off a drive to raise 100,000 euros ($123,000) for Mumia's defense. Most importantly, that fund drive should aim to spur labor action on Mumia's behalf, internationally and especially in the U.S.

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

On March 16, the prosecution filed its opening brief, ostensibly to address the relatively technical legal issue of whether the instructions and the verdict form given to the jury at the death sentence hearing were proper. While Mumia is barred from presenting evidence that he had nothing to do with Faulkner's death, the prosecution's papers predictably open with a venomous, trumped-up "statement of the facts"—every one of which was long ago refuted—to portray Mumia as a premeditated cop killer. This vicious lying attack is a testament that the racist capitalist state will say and do anything to see Mumia executed.

In reality, a mountain of evidence proves Mumia's innocence, including Beverly's confession that he was hired to kill Faulkner because the cop was reportedly interfering with prostitution, gambling, drugs and police payoffs. Beverly's confession is corroborated by the ballistics and physical evidence and the testimony of many other witnesses, several of whom said the shooter fled the scene. Notably, Beverly was wearing a green army jacket that night, which is what at least *five witnesses* said the shooter wore! Mumia was wearing a red quilted ski jacket with wide vertical blue stripes. There is no green army jacket in the police evidence.

The cops, prosecutors, gutter press and liberals alike have dismissed Beverly's account of a mob hit as "ridiculous." But in December 1981, there were at least three ongoing federal probes of the Philly cops, with targets that included the entire chain of command for the "investigation" of Faulkner's shooting: the head of Homicide, the Central Division commander and the ranking officer at the scene of the shooting, Alfonzo Giordano. Giordano was a longtime henchman of the notoriously racist police chief and later Philly mayor, Frank Rizzo, targeting the Black Panther Party and leftists and overseeing the 1977-78 siege of MOVE's Powelton Village house. Giordano knew exactly who Mumia was, and had both motive and opportunity to frame him up.

Despite this mountain of evidence, Mumia's opening brief, due July 13, is limited by the courts to three issues: the D.A.'s racist jury selection which kept black jurors off Mumia's 1982 trial; the D.A.'s prejudicial closing argument stating that the jury should convict because Mumia would get "appeal after appeal," and the grossly biased state post-conviction hearings before the notorious hanging judge Albert Sabo, who was overheard at the time of the 1982 trial declaring with regard to Mumia, "I'm going to help 'em fry the n----r."

The Spectre of Black Revolution

The fight for Mumia's freedom must be premised on the clear understanding that this is a racist political frame-up of an innocent man. It must be understood that the forces of the capitalist state are unified in their thirst for Mumia's blood and *why* that is so. Those struggling for Mumia's life and freedom must have no illusions in the bourgeois courts or the representatives of the bloody capitalist rulers—whether they be Democrats, Republicans or Greens.

The capitalist rulers want to see Mumia dead because they see in him the spectre of black revolution, defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression. From 1969, when he was a teenaged spokesman for the Black Panther Party, Mumia was a marked man in the eyes of the capitalist state. In 1968, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover vowed, "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." Because of his political views, because of what he wrote and said, Mumia was targeted by the Feds' notorious COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program), under which 38 Panthers were murdered and hundreds more railroaded to prison. On 9 December 1981, the cops saw their chance, shooting Mumia, beating him, and then framing him up for Faulkner's murder.

Mumia's frame-up is an object lesson that the capitalist state—centrally, the cops, courts, prisons and military—is an apparatus of organized violence used to preserve capitalist rule through the suppression of the working class and oppressed. At the pinnacle of this system of state terror is the racist death penalty, a barbaric legacy of chattel slavery, the system that laid the basis for the special oppression of black people in the U.S. The "legal" lynching of Stanley Tookie Williams by the state of California in December, despite a worldwide outcry, signaled the American rulers' determination to fortify their death machine, not least against Mumia.

Mumia's case is what the death penalty is all about. The impulse behind the death penalty is the impulse to genocide. To see the murderous brutality of the racist capitalist system, you need look no further than New Orleans, where the city's black and poor were left to die as Hurricane Katrina hit. As an integral part of our fight for Mumia, the Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues sponsored a Black History month speaking tour with talks on "The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal" and "Race, Class and Socialist Revolution: Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom." These forums underlined our commitment to abolish the death penalty as part of the fight for black equality, just as our fight for Mumia's freedom is part of our perspective of revolutionary integrationism—that the multiracial working class must combat every instance of discrimination while understanding that black liberation will be won only through socialist revolution.

For Class-Struggle Defense!

The key to Mumia's freedom lies in the social power of labor. The proletariat has every interest in fighting against the frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal and all instances of racist oppression. It also has the social power to bring production to a halt. The three-day New York City transit strike crippled America's financial capital, while two months of massive protests and strikes in France this spring forced the government to scrap the hated First Employment Contract. Think if that power were mobilized behind Mumia's cause!

Mumia's fight is labor's fight. Every repressive law and court decision bolstering the capitalist state will ultimately be directed at the working class. The fight against racist discrimination, in defense of immigrant rights and all the oppressed is the fight for the unity of the working class against its common class enemy. Taking up Mumia's defense helps to promote proletarian class unity by combatting the racial and ethnic divisions fostered by the ruling class to weaken the working class. It strikes a blow at the capitalist rulers, who are shredding civil liberties in the name of the "war on terror" and pursuing imperialist war in Iraq and elsewhere.

To give an idea of what Mumia is up against: judges of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, in whose hands Mumia's case now rests, testified en masse for the reactionary Samuel Alito during his January Supreme Court confirmation hearings. Among the members of this court is Marjorie Rendell, wife of Pennsylvania's Democratic governor Ed Rendell, the former head of the Democratic National Committee and the Philadelphia D.A. during Mumia's frame-up trial.

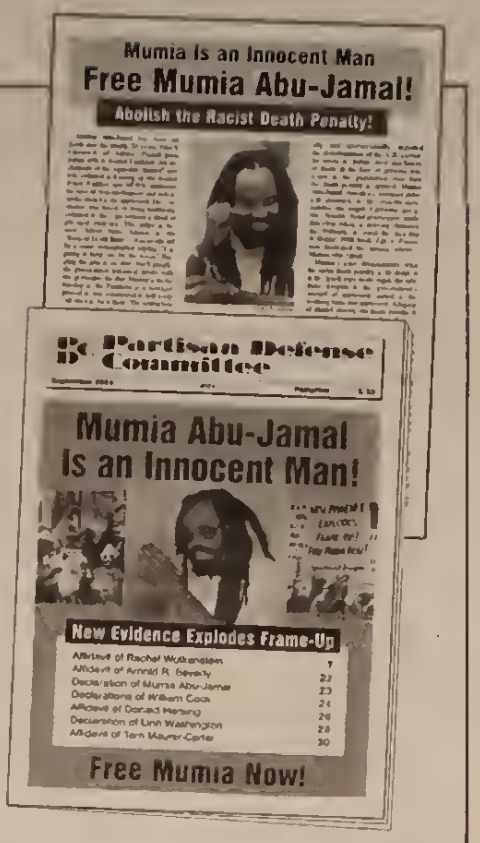
A labor-centered campaign on Mumia's behalf must be built on the principle of political independence of the working class from the capitalist class enemy and its state. Mumia's freedom will not be won through reliance on the rigged "justice" system or on capitalist politicians. The labor tops' allegiance to the capitalist system is one of the chief obstacles to unleashing labor's power in its own defense and in defense of all the oppressed.

Following the stay of Mumia's execution in 1995, a movement of millions in his defense was systematically *demobilized* by the reformist socialist organizers of protests for Mumia. Groups like Workers World Party and Socialist Action tailored their appeals to what would be "acceptable" to Democratic Party liberals. For years these reformists subordinated any demand to free Mumia to calls for a new "fair" trial, as if Mumia would suddenly receive "justice" from the same courts that have kept him on death row for 24 years! The fruit of the reformists' liberal program is that the annual demonstrations on Mumia's birthday on April 24 have dwindled since 1999, with no outdoor demonstrations on that date this year, even as the critical court battle looms.

When the Beverly confession became public in 2001, many of these same supposed socialists assisted the bourgeois media blackout by ignoring or downplaying this explosive evidence. This led Mumia to comment: "Many of you have said that you don't believe in the system, yet, in your hearts you refuse to let it go." Liberals fled Mumia's campaign in droves because they could not stomach that Beverly's confession exposed the fraud of American "justice" and showed the unity of purpose between the cops, the courts and the capitalist rulers.

As PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein stated in her Philly speech: "We need to rebuild a mass movement on the basis that Mumia's conviction and death sentence were political and that it is in the interest of all working people—black and white, citizens and immigrants—to join together and fight for his freedom." Raise your voice and join the campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Organize now in your union, on your campus, in your community to demand: ***Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!*** ■

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!



Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 130 Morningside Drive, Suite 6C, New York, NY 10027.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of our pamphlet, *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* This 32-page pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom with the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for 50 cents. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from, make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

Partisan Defense Committee • e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net

P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099 .....(212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867 .....(312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462 .....(510) 839-0852

Labor Black League Organizing Meeting and Video

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

Wednesday, May 3, 6 p.m.
YWCA of Brooklyn, Maynard Rm.
30 Third Avenue
(between Atlantic Ave. and State St.)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

WORKERS VANGUARD

Democrats, Republicans Wage War on Immigrants

For a Class-Struggle Fight to Defend Immigrant Rights!

Beginning in March, massive demonstrations totaling millions of mostly Latino participants have put front and center the fight for immigrant rights in the U.S. On April 9 and 10, some two million turned out to protest HR 4437, a bill sponsored by Republican Congressman James Sensenbrenner and passed by the House of Representatives in December that would build a 700-mile wall on the U.S.-Mexican border and turn all "illegal" immigrants, as well as those who provide them assistance, into felons. Demonstrating the growing weight of immigrant workers in the economy, a number of meatpacking plants shut down production as workers flooded into the protests. Some 600 members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 2 walked off the production line at the Excel meatpacking plant in Dodge City, Kansas, refusing to work if the company carried through with threats to discipline workers who attended the local rally. The company backed down.

WV Photo

Spartacists at massive immigrant rights demonstration in Los Angeles, March 25.

Nationally, hundreds of immigrants have been fired from their jobs for missing work to attend demonstrations, while high school students have been met with police-state repression for walking out in support of immigrant rights (see accompanying article). With further protests scheduled for May 1, including plans to boycott jobs and schools, the government has stepped up deportations in a clear attempt at intimidation. On April 19, nearly 1,200 undocumented immigrants employed by the IFCO pallet supply company were rounded up in 26 states by the Department of Homeland Security, which has already deported 275 of the workers to Mexico. Homeland Security director Michael Chertoff is threatening further crackdowns. The Bush administration had earlier sent agents disguised as OSHA safety inspectors to work sites searching for undocumented immigrants. It is crucially important that the labor movement use its social power in defense of immigrant workers and demand: No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

In a marked change from the past, the outpouring of millions of immigrant protesters, despite their vulnerability to government victimization and in the face of a virulent racist backlash, shows that they are not afraid to stand up for their rights. But the protest leaders—mainly liberal immigrant rights groups, Democratic Party politicians and the Catholic church, along with some trade-union bureaucrats—have channeled anger at HR 4437 into support for alternative legislation that would also augment anti-immigrant repression. The liberals are mainly pushing a version of a bill approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee on March 27 that is based on bipartisan legislation proposed by Ted Kennedy and John McCain.

continued on page 9

Court Puts Mumia's Case on "Fast Track"

Mobilize Labor's Power to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Terry/Gamma-Liaison

Join the Campaign!

Twenty-four years after Mumia Abu-Jamal was sent to death row, framed up on charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner, his case has entered what is likely the final stage of legal proceedings. Last December the Third Circuit federal appeals court put his case on the "fast track." Before the court are appeals from the December 2001 ruling by federal judge William Yohn that overturned Mumia's death sentence but overruled every challenge to the frame-up conviction. Mumia appealed, seeking to overturn the conviction, and the Philly district attorney appealed to reinstate the death sentence. In a matter of months, the court will decide what lies next for this innocent man, former Black Panther Party member, MOVE supporter and renowned journalist: death, life in prison, or more legal proceedings.

Mumia's life is in grave danger. He is up against the vast resources of the capitalist state and its mouthpieces in the bourgeois press who howl for his blood. The capitalist rulers who vilify striking transit workers as "thugs," black hurricane victims as "looters" and immigrant workers as "illegal," seek the legal lynching of the man known as the "voice of the voiceless." Shredding their own precedents, court after court has rubber-stamped the wholesale trampling of Mumia's rights at his 1982 sham trial, and barred proof of Mumia's innocence, including the *sworn confession* of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner.

With a death warrant hanging over Jamal's head, in August 1995 mobilizations of millions around the world stayed the executioner's hand. "They have tried to break this entire movement up," Pam Africa of International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal told an April 21 meeting in Philadelphia. "But there's a lot of us that are strong and able to stay here and will keep it going no matter what." As Mumia's critical court battle looms, we must mobilize now! As the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have stated since we first took up Mumia's defense in 1987: while every legal remedy must be pursued on Mumia's behalf, what's needed is a campaign of mass labor-centered united-front actions, uniting a broad spectrum of political views while assuring all the right to have their say. Millions of voices must once again be heard demanding: ***Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now! Abolish the racist death penalty!***

The April 21 meeting greeted a French delegation including Marie-George Buffet, National Secretary of the French Communist Party (PCF), and Jacky Hortaut of the CGT trade-union federation. Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee counsel and formerly one of Mumia's

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 870 GCIU C-701 12 May 2006

Imperialist Hypocrisy over Darfur

U.S./UN Hands Off Sudan!

"Out of Iraq Into Darfur." That was the plea on placards distributed by a phone service company and liberal outfit called "Working Assets" and scattered throughout the April 29 demonstration against the occupation of Iraq. The protest, held in New York City, was initiated by United for Peace and Justice. The next day, Washington, D.C. was the site of a massive rally, addressed by numerous Democratic and Republican politicians, celebrities like actor George Clooney and notables like Holocaust survivor Elie Wieset. Their central message was for the Bush regime and United Nations to intervene on behalf of the terrorized population of Darfur, in the western region of Sudan. The demonstration in D.C. came two days after five U.S. Congressmen and several others were arrested for staging a protest outside the Sudanese Embassy.

The conflict in Darfur has set groups of Muslim nomadic peoples, backed by the central government in Khartoum, against a largely pastoral Muslim population, resulting in mass slaughter and displacement. It is a truly horrific situation, and, particularly within the black population in the U.S., there is great sympathy for the victims of this

continued on page 9

Class Struggle and the Fight for Black Liberation

Cruelty and lethal indifference toward working people, black people and immigrants are the hallmarks of the U.S. government and the capitalist class it represents. Even as profits and the stock market rise, FEMA continues to slash disaster relief for the thousands upon thousands of poor, largely black New Orleanians dispersed first by flood waters and then by government policy. It's the biggest population displacement since the 1930s Depression era and the Dust Bowl.

The U.S. government—under both Democratic and Republican administrations—knew for decades about the dangers facing New Orleans but did nothing to reinforce the city's inadequately built and crumbling levees. When Hurricane Katrina hit, masses were simply left to drown. The aftermath of the hurricane was a racist atrocity that continues, over eight months later, in the forced diaspora of much of the black population that gave this storied city its lifeblood.

The infamous FEMA has now ruled that one-third of some 55,000 families still unable to either return home or afford other housing are "ineligible" for financial aid for housing and utilities that was supposed to last for a year. The other two-thirds of the displaced families have to sign new leases while their benefits are cut and they have to pay gas and electric bills. For most of them, there is nothing left in New Orleans to return to. In Memphis, which has 1,500 such families on vouchers, a spokesman for a community services agency said that FEMA even asked these impoverished people to give their kitchen pots and pans back! This comes as Bush's cronies continue to reap windfall profits from the Katrina disaster, including, according to a *Wall Street Journal* (5 May) article based on a Congressional report, big contractors who "overbilled the government in a $63 billion operation that only will get more expensive."

The death and devastation along the Gulf Coast was a product of the capitalist system, in which a tiny class of obscenely rich owners extracts its profits from the exploitation of the working class. The human toll of this brutal system can be seen in the rulers' attempts to dump retirement and health care benefits for workers after years of grueling toil on assembly lines or in other dangerous jobs. It can also be seen in the all-sided attacks on immigrant rights and the threats to further militarize the border by Republicans and Democrats alike. Dangerous working conditions are the norm in the drive for profits, as shown by the disaster last January at the International Coal Group's Sago Mine in West Virginia, which left 12 miners dead.

AFP

Above: Desperate Katrina victims trying to escape hellish conditions in Superdome in New Orleans. Below: Striking bus workers walk picket line on December 19, one day before TWU Local 100 shut down the entire New York transit system, crippling the city.

Raia/Newsday

Now Randal McCloy Jr., the lone survivor at Sago, only recently able to speak again, has told the victims' families that the company's emergency breathing equipment failed at least four of the men, so, as they slowly suffocated deep underground, they had to share their last breaths of oxygen. "As my trapped co-workers lost consciousness one by one, the room grew still and I continued to sit and wait, unable to do much else," he wrote in late April.

At hearings concluded on May 4 in Buckhannon, West Virginia, relatives of the dead miners assailed the company and government. "You guys are investigating International Coal Group," said the son of one of the miners. "Who's investigating M.S.H.A. [the federal Mine Safety and Health Administration] and the state?" The company has tried to claim that a bolt of lightning four miles away somehow made its way across the Buckhannon River and dove deep underground to cause the explosion. As a United Mine Workers spokesman put it, "You know, if it was lightning then that's an act of God. And you can't sue God."

In reality, with coal production expanding, cascading layers of cost-cutting on safety, with the government's collusion, led to this disaster. Sago Mine was a deathtrap—no exhaust airshaft to remove gas, no escape route—and it was non-union. Any real measure of protection gained by mine workers—or elsewhere in industry—was won through hard struggle by the unions. As we wrote in "West Virginia Mine Disaster: Capitalist Murder" (*WV* No. 862, 20 January): "With the overwhelming majority of U.S. workers unorganized, what is desperately needed is a class-struggle fight to ***organize the unorganized***—from Appalachia and the West to the notoriously anti-union South." Such a struggle requires fighting against the policies of the pro-capitalist union misleadership that by and large has renounced the class-struggle methods that built the unions and in some instances

continued on page 6

19
7 25274 81030 7

On Abortion Article

Mexico City
18 March 2006

Dear Spartacists:

It is with delight that I have read the article on "Free Abortion on Demand!" in the 17th of March issue of Workers Vanguard [No. 866]. I wanted to write this short letter to congratulate you on a clear and concise presentation of the sexist and reactionary onslaught on women's rights. What started as a strong critique of the Capitalist State's continued attack on individual rights hard won through social struggles became a sharp presentation of the role of the family under capitalism and ended with the unambiguous argument favouring the need to forge a workers' vanguard party to fight for Socialist Revolution.

As Lenin stated in What is to be done? the role of the Revolutionary Party is to elevate spontaneous social struggle against absolutism to political grounds and this article does just that. I found the entire exposé had been well researched, presenting data from various sources which clearly revealed the parallel directions of the policies of both bourgeois parties, fighting hard against the illusions which other ostensibly revolutionary parties or leftist organizations try to instill on the Democrats. One critique I have had of revolutionary propaganda is that it sometimes lacks clarity in the arguments especially when it comes to explaining the theory behind Socialism, a critique which Lenin also presents in What is to be done? However, your article in Workers Vanguard profited from the State's attack on abortion rights to present in a succinct and crystal clear manner the basic thesis in Engels' book The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.

I look forward to reading more from Workers Vanguard and take advantage of this short letter to urge you to write an article linking quasi-fascist and hypocritically contradictory US international politics, with its attack against Evolutionary theory, against abortion, the rights of homosexuals, the enforcement of age of consent laws, the influence of reactionary religious beliefs, the relentless degradation of the environment in the defense of the capitalists' profit margins, etc., as a way of showing how numerous and diverse a Capitalist State's attacks can he and how these end up having devastating effects on all levels of society.

Sincerely,
A.V.

WV Photo

Spartacists at San Francisco antiwar demonstration, March 2004.

"Guest Workers" and Apartheid

7 April 2006

Dear Workers Vanguard,

The bipartisan "war on terror" that has targeted Muslims in particular and all immigrants in general finds its logic in the latest attempt to criminalize a significant swath of the U.S. workforce for the "crime" of being undocumented immigrants.

The U.S. House of Representatives proposes building a 700-mile apartheid wall along the U.S./Mexico border after stealing half of Mexico's territory one hundred and fifty years ago. Twelve million undocumented immigrants including children will be turned into felons. The so-called alternative bills proposed in the Senate with Democratic Party support combine draconian enforcement measures with massive "guest worker" programs.

These racist "guest worker" programs are reminiscent of South African apartheid. Blacks were only welcome as temporary "guest workers" to toil in the homes, mines and plantations of their white bosses. Under notorious pass laws, blacks were forced to carry documents at all times that gave their work authorization and employer's monthly signature, to be produced on demand by police. Termination of employment, violation of any of the numerous apartheid laws, or a finding that one's presence was "detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order" were grounds for immediate detention and deportation to desperately impoverished, rural reserves.

The massive protests across the U.S. by immigrants and their allies must be backed by the social power of labor demanding: No deportations! Down with racist anti-immigrant repression! Organize the unorganized! Down with apartheid-like "guest worker" programs! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! It will take a socialist revolution on a world order to put an end to neocolonial exploitation that gives rise to the desperation forcing masses to leave their home countries.

Comradely,
Adwoa
Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense

TROTSKY

LENIN

Imperialism and War

Throughout the demonstrations against the Iraq war and occupation, the reformist left has promoted the lie that imperialism can be reformed and pressured to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed. Writing in 1915, amid the carnage of World War I, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained that war is intrinsic to the system of capitalist imperialism. This analysis has been confirmed by the second inter-imperialist world war and by the numerous predatory wars against colonial and semi-colonial countries. Only socialist revolution can put an end to imperialist war.

Imperialism is the highest stage in the development of capitalism, reached only in the twentieth century. Capitalism now finds that the old national states, without whose formation it could not have overthrown feudalism, are too cramped for it. Capitalism has developed concentration to such a degree that entire branches of industry are controlled by syndicates, trusts and associations of capitalist multimillionaires and almost the entire globe has been divided up among the "lords of capital" either in the form of colonies, or by entangling other countries in thousands of threads of financial exploitation. Free trade and competition have been superseded by a striving towards monopolies, the seizure of territory for the investment of capital and as sources of raw materials, and so on. From the liberator of nations, which it was in the struggle against feudalism, capitalism in its imperialist stage has turned into the greatest oppressor of nations. Formerly progressive, capitalism has become reactionary; it has developed the forces of production to such a degree that mankind is faced with the alternative of adopting socialism or of experiencing years and even decades of armed struggle between the "Great" Powers for the artificial preservation of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges and national oppression of every kind.

—V. I. Lenin, "Socialism and War" (1915)

WV Photo

New York City: Hundreds of thousands march in support of immigrant rights as part of nationwide protests on May 1.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth International).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 9 May.

No. 870 **12 May 2006**

Get Your Copy of
CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES!

Just Out!
No. 34, Spring 2006
50¢ (24 pages)

Order from/pay to:
Partisan Delense Committee
P.O. Box 99
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013-0099

Phone: (212) 406-4252
E-mail: partisandelense@earthlink.net

ISO, RCP to Bush: Disarm Iran, "Lead the Way to Peace"

The latest foray into bourgeois "peace" politics by the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) marks a low point even for these shameless reformists. The ISO, the Campus Antiwar Network (CAN—an ISO project) and "World Can't Wait" (WCW—an RCP vehicle) have signed on to a petition addressed to "Dear President Bush and Vice President Cheney," appealing to these certified war criminals—who are currently threatening Iran, including possibly with nuclear weapons—to effectively *disarm* Iran and, along the way, inaugurate world peace!

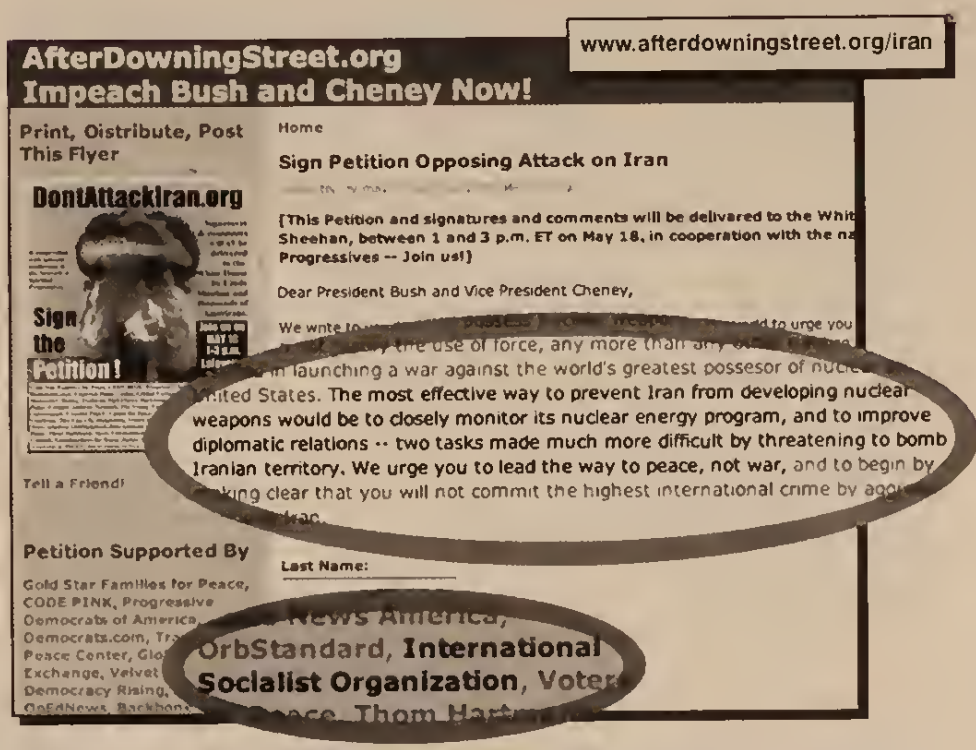
The petition states:

> "The most effective way to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons would be to closely monitor its nuclear energy program, and to improve diplomatic relations—two tasks made much more difficult by threatening to bomb Iranian territory. We urge you to lead the way to peace, not war, and to begin by making clear that you will not commit the highest international crime by aggressively attacking Iran."

Of course, Bush/Cheney have already repeatedly committed international crimes by "aggressively attacking" both Afghanistan and Iraq. This petition is like appealing to Jack the Ripper to take up social work—while simultaneously demanding that his potential victims walk the streets defenseless.

In signing the petition, which is sponsored by the "After Downing Street" coalition (of which the ISO and World Can't Wait are members, along with Progressive Democrats of America), the ISO and RCP join bourgeois liberals in advising U.S. imperialism on improving its foreign policy. (Yeah, it probably wouldn't help "diplomatic relations" much if the U.S. nuked Iran.)

The ISO's *Socialist Worker* (5 May) writes that "the antiwar movement has to take the Bush administration's threats against Iran seriously—and unconditionally oppose U.S. there and throughout the Middle East," while the RCP calls in *Revolution* (23 April) on "people in the U.S." to "oppose U.S. war plans against Iran with all their energy." For these sniveling reformists, such "opposition" consists of building class-collaborationist coalitions with Democratic Party liberals, as they did in opposing "Bush's war" in Iraq. Democrats commonly complained that the Iraq war was diverting attention from "real threats," like Iran and North Korea. And now that the liberals are chiming in on how to deal with Iran, the ISO and RCP are swept right along.



ISO and RCP's World Can't Wait signed petition advising the Bush regime on how best to disarm Iran.

Imperialists' Bootlickers

While these bleating lambs were appealing to the proprietor of the world's biggest slaughterhouse in the latest round of antiwar protests, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs highlighted the need for the international working class to defend Iran in the event of imperialist attack. At the national protest in New York City on April 29, our comrades sold hundreds of copies of *WV* No. 869 (28 April) with its article "Imperialists Threaten Iran," which stated straight out: "In the context of threats by the nuclear-armed imperialists, Iran clearly *needs* nukes to defend itself and deter U.S. attack. In today's world, possession of nuclear arms has become the only real measure of national sovereignty."

At a CAN conference at Borough of Manhattan Community College following the demonstration, a Spartacus Youth Club member tore into the ISO for signing the petition: "This is protest politics, this is 'we can change the world through appealing to capitalists' who wage wars in their interests, not in ours. Our fight is not simply to end the occupation of Iraq, to end this war, but to end all war and abolish the system of imperialism through socialist revolution."

SYCers challenged the ISO's panel speaker, Elizabeth Wrigley-Field, on why the ISO signed the obscene appeal to Bush. She replied by saying that she disagreed with some of the petition's wording, but continued, "I also agree with signing it because I thought that the point of that petition was to come together against the idea of attacking Iran." No, the point of that petition was to advise U.S. imperialism on how best "to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons." Sometimes words just mean what they say.

As gross as the petition is, it's nothing new for the ISO to appeal to the imperialists to take action against their enemies. In the lead-up to the 1991 Gulf War, the ISO endorsed a "peace" demonstration that called for United Nations sanctions against Saddam Hussein's Iraq as an "alternative" to war. UN-imposed sanctions killed some one and a half million Iraqis, more than have been killed by the two brutal wars and the current occupation. ISO honcho Todd Chretien is running for the capitalist Green Party's nomination for the U.S. Senate race in California on a stock liberal program to "reduce" the budget of the armed forces—what level of imperialist firepower would he be satisfied with?—and to bring "our" troops home from Iraq. Chretien's electoral pipe dream notwithstanding, the Greens have more than amply demonstrated their support for imperialist slaughter. In Germany Green Party foreign minister Joschka Fischer helped implement the 1999 imperialist bombing of Serbia (which among other horrors left the Balkans riddled with depleted uranium shells).

Back in 1979, the ISO promoted Khomeini's reactionary mullah-led movement in Iran, even cheering, in a January 1979 headline: "The Form—Religious, the Spirit—Revolution!" Today we find the social-patriots of the ISO advising the U.S. "Great Satan" on how to cripple Iran. As Trotskyists, we are politically hostile to the reactionary mullah regime in Iran and call for proletarian revolution to liberate the oppressed masses. But in the event of attack by the U.S. imperialist colossus, we stand foursquare in defense of Iran, a dependent semicolonial capitalist country.

In regard to North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba and China—bureaucratically deformed workers states, where the overthrow of capitalist rule was a historic gain for the world working class—we stand for unconditional military defense against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. We fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and replace them with regimes based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

If North Korea has developed nuclear capacity, as Pyongyang claims, then that is a good thing. But you won't hear this from the anti-Communist ISO. The ISO's political godfather, the late Tony Cliff of Britain, broke from the Trotskyist movement during the 1950-53 Korean War when he refused to defend the Soviet Union, China and North Korea against the counterrevolutionary war led by the "democratic" U.S. and British imperialists. The ISO hailed every CIA-backed movement arrayed against the Soviet Union, from Polish Solidarność to the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* who fought the Red Army in Afghanistan to Yeltsin's capitalist-restorationist forces inside the Soviet degenerated workers state. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92 was a massive defeat for the world working class. At home, the ISO's embrace of capitalist "democracy" extends to its treacherous support of trade-union dissidents who haul the unions into the bosses' courts.

The RCP was also part of the imperialist anti-Soviet chorus, following the "Great Helmsman" Mao Zedong who denounced "Soviet social-imperialism" as the greatest enemy of the world's peoples while forging a counterrevolutionary alliance with Washington. Today, these eccentric Maoists have made "World Can't Wait," which is based on calls for Bush to "step down," their favored means of cozying up to liberal capitalist politicians and celebrities. What the RCP can't wait for is the November Congressional elections, as shown by the fact that the next big WCW mobilization is October 5. For anyone doubting the RCP's commitment to Democratic Party lesser-evilism, *Revolution* (29 January) trumpets that "ruling class figures like [Al] Gore will inevitably be part of the whole swirl and ferment that will go into driving out the Bush regime."

In time-honored Stalinist fashion, the RCP justifies this groveling before the Democrats by claiming that the other capitalist party, the Republicans, are running a "fascist" regime. No, they're just the right-side profile of the ugly face of capitalist-imperialist "democracy." Our commitment is to building a revolutionary workers party that will lead the multiracial working class in socialist revolution—the only road to ridding the world of imperialism and its wars and depredations. ***U.S. hands off Iran! Out of Afghanistan, Iraq now!*** ■

WV Photo

New York City, April 29: ISO pushes illusion that capitalism can provide "Money for jobs and education, not for war and occupation."

CORRECTION

Our article "ISO Goes All the Way with Capitalist Greens" (*WV* No. 866, 17 March) polemicized against the International Socialist Organization's Todd Chretien and his "'Million Votes for Peace' Campaign—directed against pro-war incumbent Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein—for the Green nomination for California Senate in the June primary elections." To be clear, Chretien's campaign is for the U.S. Senate, not the state senate.

WV Photo

In counterposition to reformists, Spartacists at April 29 antiwar demonstration in NYC asserted Iran's need for nukes today.

Scrap the Sex Offenders Register!

Britain: Anti-Sex Witchhunt in Schools

The following article is reprinted from Workers Hammer *No. 194 (Spring 2006), published by the Spartacist League/ Britain, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

WORKERS HAMMER

It is a sign of the reactionary times in Blair's Britain that Education Secretary Ruth Kelly was almost hounded out of her job in January for being "soft" on so-called "sex offenders." A member of the sinister, ultra-right-wing Catholic sect Opus Dei, Kelly is currently preparing Blair's latest attack on secondary education. Yet even she was placed on the defensive by a hysterical media frenzy about "sex offenders" in schools, one of many such moral crusades that have been detonated by the Blair government's 1997 Sex Offenders Act. Passed just weeks after coming to power, this act (re-enacted as the Sexual Offences Act in 2003) required those branded as "sex offenders" to register with the police. This register is a witch hunter's charter.

The issue of "sex offenders" is a political football that has been used repeatedly to ignite often violent public campaigns against those who end up on the register, which currently contains roughly 24,000 names. The term "sex offender" grotesquely and wilfully equates heinous acts such as the brutal murder of Soham schoolgirls Holly Wells and Jessica Chapman with harmless activities like teenage sex, or looking at pornographic images. People's names can be placed on the Sex Offenders Register even if they've never had sex with anyone!

The latest witch hunt was started by the "liberal" *Observer* running a scaremongering piece that "sex offenders" had been cleared to teach in certain schools, igniting hysteria that might make one think child-rapists and murderers were lurking in the classrooms. The pretext was that, until now, not everyone on the Sex Offenders Register was automatically banned from teaching or working with children. Such a ban was restricted to those on List 99, the government's official blacklist, which numbered 4,200. A tiny number of those on the register had been permitted by the education department to teach. This "loophole" was seized upon for a muck-raking media vendetta in which the "respectable" BBC, *Guardian* and *Independent* joined the rabidly right-wing *Daily Mail*, particularly targeting two people who had been cleared to work as teachers. What "sex crimes" had these two people committed? William Gibson, a former maths teacher, had been placed on the register for a *consensuol*, long-term relationship that began in 1980 when his girlfriend was a 15-year-old pupil, with whom he went on to have three children during a 19-year marriage! Paul Reeve, a popular Norfolk PE teacher, received a "caution" three years ago because his credit card details were found on a U.S. pornography website!

Reeve was forced out of teaching and became the victim of a police dragnet code-named "Operation Atlas," a trawl through a list of "paedophile suspects" by Norfolk police. The list came from the National Crime Squad, a unit specialising in searching for people using porn websites, known as "Operation Ore." This trawl was launched in 2002 when the American FBI provided British police with the credit card details of 6,500 people in Britain who accessed an American website called Landslide, resulting in an invasion of privacy by the state on a mass scale. Hundreds of computers have been seized and a staggering 3,500 people arrested, including Who guitarist Pete Townshend. Some have been convicted and jailed; even those who are merely "cautioned" are automatically placed on the Sex Offenders Register. Not surprisingly, Operation Ore has contributed to a vast increase in the number of people cautioned for possessing child porn images. In the last decade there has been an increase of 2,692 per cent in cautions for this! (*Guardian Unlimited*, 16 January).

We vehemently oppose such police surveillance which is an outrageous intrusion by the state into people's private lives. We call for an end to all laws against "crimes without victims" such as prostitution, drug use and pornography; we oppose the existence of a legal "age of consent," which gives the capitalist state the right to determine at what age youth can engage in consensual sexual activity. And we utterly reject the practice whereby looking at porn is equated with violent crimes such as rape, sexual assault and even murder. *Down with the "age of consent" laws!*

Reuters

Former British Education Secretary Ruth Kelly has fueled virulent anti-sex campaign.

State Out of the Bedroom!

For us the guiding principle for sexual relations is that of *effective consent*, meaning mutual agreement and understanding, as opposed to coercion. We believe that as long as those who take part agree to do so at the time, no one, least of all the state, has the right to tell them they can't do it. Determining what effective consent is can be difficult, and particularly in sexual relationships between youth and older adults such as teachers, there will always be grey areas. As we wrote in an article titled "Labour's Witch Hunt Against 'Sex Offenders' Unleashes Vigilante Terror," published during a media-generated frenzy over "paedophilia" in 2000 that resulted in lynch mobs on the streets:

> "'Paedophilia' simply means sexual desire towards children. To equate this with child murder and rape is grotesque and partakes of the same reactionary bourgeois bigotry which declares all sex other than heterosexual monogamy to be 'deviant.' We oppose the persecution of those who engage in consensual intergenerational sex, we oppose the reactionary 'age of consent' laws and we have a long record of defending against persecution organisations such as the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) and the British Paedophile Information Exchange, whose leaders were jailed in 1984 for advocating the right of youth under the 'age of consent' to have sex with adults."
>
> —*Workers Hammer* No. 174, Autumn 2000

We also oppose the criminalisation of those who look at child pornography which, like all pornography, is simply images and words designed for pleasure. This was the subject of *Capturing the Friedmans*, a documentary depicting the true story of how two innocent individuals were framed up, jailed and had their lives destroyed by false accusations of raping dozens of children, simply because the father had received images of child pornography through the post!

Ruth Kelly has proposed new measures that will ban anyone convicted or cautioned of any so-called "child sex offence" or "serious offence against adults" from ever working in schools. Ominous noises are now being made about "sex offenders" lurking in the NHS [National Health Service] as well!

Dozens of teachers have been hounded out of their jobs and even jailed for nothing other than consensual sexual encounters with teenagers. This was the subject of the November 2005 Channel 4 documentary *Sleeping with Teacher*. Among others it featured Scottish music teacher John Forrester, whose partner was a student when the relationship began and both were shown as a happy couple expecting a baby; Lucy Hayward, who was jailed for two years and placed on the Sex Offender's Register for a fling with a 15-year-old pupil (who seduced her) who wasn't even attending the school where she taught at the time. There was *no* suggestion that these relationships were anything other than consensual.

Criminally, the National Union of Teachers has endorsed Ruth Kelly's new measures, saying they are "fully in line with the NUT's approach." The reformist left—the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Workers Power and the Socialist Party—have refused to utter a word against this reactionary moral crusade that made front-page news for days on end. In April 1998 the SWP denounced paedophilia as a "sick product of a sick society," while at other times doing some liberal handwringing over "innocent" people being caught in the web. But today the SWP's alliance with the mosques in [the electoral coalition] Respect precludes even that. According to *Weekly Worker*, Salma Yaqoob, a prominent leader of Respect, actually welcomed the government's crackdown on "sex offenders" as a "positive move" on the BBC's *Question Time* (quoted in *Weekly Worker*, 26 January 2006). The bottom line for reformists (and bourgeois liberals alike) is that they look to the capitalist state—the butchers of Iraq and

No credit

Tom Pilston

Seventeenth-century witchhunts, such as depicted in graphic (left), are recalled by modern-day "sex offender" hysteria in Britain (above).

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
International rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail

❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

❑ I would like to contribute $ _____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

870

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

After Anti-Militarist Protest

D.A. Drops Charges, U of C Threatens Ban Against SYCer

On the morning of April 5 all charges were dropped against Jeremy Cohan, Ben Fink, and two supporters of the Spartacus Youth Club, Tom Discepola and Brian Stapleton, who were arrested at the University of Chicago (U of C) on February 21 for protesting Marine recruiters and the U.S.'s neocolonial occupation of Iraq. The university was forced to drop all charges and threats of disciplinary action by a successful campaign that was initiated and led by the SYC to defend the arrested protesters.

The SYC collected more than 40 endorsements for a united-front defense rally from individuals and organizations spanning a broad spectrum of political perspectives. The SYC shaped the widespread outrage against the arrests into a successful protest in defense of the protesters. During this campaign, we refuted a variety of slanders, including the outright lie by the campus newspaper, the *Chicago Maroon*, that the Spartacus Youth Club "escalated the protest and created a dangerous environment" (24 February). On March 8 over seventy students and U of C faculty stood together in demanding: "Drop all charges against the anti-military recruitment protesters now! Administration hands off! No disciplinary actions!" (see "Drop Charges Against Anti-Military Recruitment Protesters!" *WV* No. 867, 31 March).

It is a substantial victory that the university was forced to back down from its assault on the free speech rights of students and activists. However, the fight is not over. We recently learned that the university administration is attempting to ban SYC supporter Brian Stapleton from setting foot on campus. We print below an April 29 letter from the Chicago SYC to University of Chicago vice president Stephen Klass protesting the threatened ban.

Young Spartacus

April 5: U of C anti-military recruiter protesters and their supporters celebrate outside courthouse after charges were dropped.

* * *

Our supporter, Brian Stapleton, has informed us that he received a letter from you, in your capacity as Vice-President and Dean of Students in the University of Chicago, prohibiting him from entering the campus and any and all university property and threatening him with arrest for criminal trespass should he violate your ban. We note that you do allow him access for medical treatment to the University of Chicago Hospitals but are somewhat puzzled by your concern for the physical well-being of this twenty-year-old. As you point out this is Brian's punishment for his "disruptive" behavior at the 2/21 demonstration against Marine recruiters on the campus, behavior for which he and three others were arrested by your cops.

Having been forced to drop your charges against the four by the mobilization of those who saw these arrests as an attack on the rights to assemble and protest protected by the U.S. Constitution, you now promise to exert your authority as a landlord against Brian as an outsider (as you are aware there is no similar ban against the three others who were students). This is an old tactic that was used extensively during the civil rights era, as Northern activists who came to the South to fight against Jim Crow segregation were branded as "outside agitators." This is certainly consistent with the U of C's past practice when it used its landlord status to clear the Hyde Park area of its poor and mostly black tenants while cleansing the area of such social gathering spots where students, to their benefit and pleasure, could mix with those who could impart a certain urban sophistication. Far from acquainting your students with the world, you maintain and seek to enforce their separateness as you train them to be America's leaders.

The most revolting feature of your letter is the ersatz gentility with which you promote your "right" to defend your wards against disruption. Could this be the same U of C that provided its then star economists, Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger, as advisors to the vicious Chilean military dictatorship of General Pinochet, who now seeks to avoid the courts of Chilean justice that are attempting to prosecute this murderer of thousands of workers and leftists? That you share more than advisors with Pinochet is demonstrated by your assertion of dictatorial powers over who says what and of what, how and where it is said.

We do not acknowledge your assertion of such powers, with respect to Brian or to any others who would exercise their constitutional rights on the U of C or on any university "property" and will do all in our ability to fight such political repression. As a first step, we will circulate this letter and associated materials to all who endorsed our united-front rally that resulted in the charges against the four being dropped and, additionally, seek its publication and availability for a wider audience. You are, perhaps, aware that we call for the nationalization of all private universities under student, worker and faculty control as a democratic measure to provide higher education to all and control to those who, in fact, make up the university. Were this to be realized at the U of C, it would have the additional benefit of allowing residents, particularly those on Chicago's South Side to access the many opportunities available in Hyde Park without the interference of your police-statelet forces.■

Afghanistan—as protectors of children.

Marxists oppose these puritanical witch hunts by the state, which are the latter-day version of Christian fundamentalist crusades against "sin," but are today dressed in "secular" and even "liberal" and "human rights" garb. A case in point is Labour's proposals to crack down on prostitution which is being marketed as "protecting women from exploitation." The purpose of these morality drives is to regiment the population and to bolster the repressive powers of the state. The state is not a neutral arbiter, hut the instrument for the suppression of the exploited by the exploiters. As such it plays a key role in enforcing the oppression of women (and youth) alongside organised religion and the patriarchal family, which remains the central instrument for the subjugation of women under capitalism. The family is critical for the ruling class to pass on its property to "legitimate" heirs and to instil obedience to bourgeois codes of morality.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

In capitalist society, one of the main functions of the family is to impose on the working class the burden of rearing the next generation. In Britain today the shift from an industrial to a service economy has drawn unprecedented numbers of women out of the home and into the workforce, where they are often concentrated in the lowest-paid part-time jobs. The dramatic increase in the number of one-parent households has been met with reactionary crusades against "absent" fathers and "lack of role models." This reflects the fact that the nuclear family is expected to play a conservatising role in the upbringing of children. Today the working people, particularly women, face the choice of paying for expensive childcare or staying at home to look after the children and thus living in dire poverty. Either way, working-class parents and children face a climate of constant fear, that every minute of the day "the kids are in danger"—of rape, sexual assault, drug addiction and much more.

The supposed mortal threat to all children has been a central theme of repeated moral crusades of the past decades: the truly bizarre tales of "Satanic ritual abuse" in the 1980s and early 1990s that originated with evangelical Christians in the U.S. and were swallowed by social work departments here; the 1990s scaremongering over children's homes being "infiltrated" by "organised groups of paedophiles," which led to frame-ups and prosecutions of hundreds of care workers. These puritanical crusades are also the thin end of a wedge stigmatising all those whose sexual behaviour differs from the presumed "norm" of one man on top of one woman for life. Human sexuality is complex. No amount of state repression or surveillance will change the fact that children do, in fact, develop sexual attractions towards other children and adults, including their teachers.

We seek to win workers, youth and the oppressed to the perspective of building a revolutionary workers party that will fight against all aspects of oppression and state terror, as part of the fight to mobilise the working class to overthrow the capitalist system and to establish societies where the workers own and control the means of production. The family cannot be abolished. Under socialism, it will be replaced by communal childcare and housework; birth control, abortions and quality health care will be free and available to all and youth will be able to live independently of their parents. Only then will relations between people in all spheres, including sex, be genuinely free and equal, devoid of any economic or social constraints, and in the words of Frederick Engels, there will be "no other motive left except mutual inclination."■

Spartacus Youth Club Events

CHICAGO

Tuesday, May 16, 7 p.m.
Class: Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!
University of Chicago
106 Cobb Hall
5811 S. Ellis Avenue
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

LOS ANGELES

Thursday, May 18, 6 p.m.
Video Showing:
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Ackerman Union 3508, UCLA

Saturday, May 20, 2 p.m.
Class: The Struggle for Black Liberation: The Key to Socialist Revolution in America
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(near Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

Black Liberation...

(continued from page 1)

(e.g., Delphi auto parts and General Motors) has actually helped to liquidate workers' hard-won gains. The labor bureaucracy has hamstrung labor's power through its reliance on capitalist politicians and government agencies.

To defeat the capitalists' unrelenting war against workers and minorities requires the forging of a revolutionary workers party that will lead all the exploited and oppressed in the fight for socialist revolution. Such a party can only be built through combatting the structural oppression of the black population, rooted in the very foundations of this capitalist society. We print below a presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Alexander, edited and abridged for publication, at a Black History Month educational in Chicago on February 25 that also featured a presentation on the fight for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal. Particularly in light of the massive nationwide mobilizations for immigrant rights on May 1 and before, comrade Alexander's speech serves to illuminate that there will be no effective resistance to the immiseration of American working people without the unity in struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor.

Kemp/Charleston Gazette

Pallbearers carry casket of Jesse L. Jones, one of 12 miners killed in Sago mine disaster in January.

Ebony

Summer 1965: Protesters march in Bogalusa, Louisiana, for black equality.

* * *

The fight for black freedom is a strategic task for proletarian revolution in the U.S. A class-conscious labor movement under revolutionary leadership must and will take up the fight for black liberation as an inseparable part of the struggle for the emancipation of workers from capitalist exploitation. We say: Finish the Civil War—For black liberation through socialist revolution!

It took a bloody civil war—a social revolution—for black people to be considered persons. There have been centuries of racial oppression in the U.S., and anti-black racism has been central to the maintenance of this capitalist system. There can be no socialist revolution in this country unless the proletariat—the working class—takes up the fight for black liberation, and there can be no liberation of black people short of the overthrow of this racist capitalist system. We fight for the class-struggle program of revolutionary integrationism. This is a fighting program counterposed to liberal integrationism, the false view that blacks can achieve social equality within the confines of racist American capitalism.

Today you see the democratic mask falling from the face of the bloody, hypocritical, lying U.S. ruling class. They torture with impunity. Under their system, black people are expendable. During Hurricane Katrina, poor, mainly black people were allowed to die in New Orleans by this racist capitalist ruling class. Thousands continue to face indescribable immiseration, scattered throughout this country and rendered jobless, homeless and rootless. Hurricane Katrina laid bare the naked reality of racial and class divisions at the heart of this sick society. Black people were met with police intimidation and repression at every turn for simply trying to survive. Any kind of assistance was thwarted.

The capitalist vultures today are supposedly "rebuilding" New Orleans—by discarding the public education system, bringing in more charter schools, getting rid of the unions and keeping as many black people from returning as possible. This is accompanied by a very conscious attempt to foment racial divisions between black people and Hispanics for the most meager, low-paying jobs. As communists, we denounced the racist atrocity in New Orleans. We called on the multiracial labor movement to fight to win union jobs at union wages, to organize the unorganized, to fight against the oppression of black people, and to enlist the victims of Hurricane Katrina in the rebuilding of New Orleans. Instead of blacks against immigrants and vice-versa, we fight for jobs for all, for full citizenship rights for all immigrant workers, and against the bourgeoisie's divide-and-conquer schemes.

Reconstruction and the Betrayal of Black Freedom

The U.S. in its colonial origins was rent by two distinct rival economic systems: black chattel slavery in the South and the so-called "free" labor system in the North. The economic interests of the Southern slaveholder, which required expansion, came into collision with those of Northern capitalists, resulting in bloody civil war. The Civil War was America's second bourgeois revolution, which culminated in the destruction of the Southern slavocracy.

The post-Civil War Reconstruction period, which was brief, was the most democratic, egalitarian period in U.S. history. It brought not only black enfranchisement but other significant democratic reforms. But the Northern capitalists betrayed the promise of black equality, allowing it to be smashed by Ku Klux Klan terror. The Northern capitalists had fought during the war in defense of their property rights, and now the Northern banks sought to exploit the new economic opportunities in the South. The last of the federal troops were pulled out of the South by the Compromise of 1877 and political power was returned to elements of the former slaveholding class.

Intensive exploitation of black agricultural labor, rather than industrial development and capital investment in agriculture, remained the basis of the Southern economy. The rigid system of Jim Crow segregation—that is, race-caste oppression—was the bitter fruit of the defeat of Reconstruction. This corresponded to the rise of U.S. imperialism at the end of the 19th century, manifested in particular by the 1898 Spanish-American War, which inaugurated the brutal exploitation of U.S. imperialism's dark-skinned colonial slaves overseas.

The defeat of Reconstruction was not simply the result of internal economic and political factors. There were other powerful factors, including internationally. Just take New York. Manhattan was a city of militant opposition to Reconstruction. Ruled by the pro-Confederate slavocracy Democrats under William Marcy "Boss" Tweed and his corrupt Tammany Hall administration, New York City from late 1865 on was, as historian David Quigley put it, "the Northern capital of anti-Reconstruction activism" (*Second Founding*, 2004).

Class struggle in France haunted the Northern capitalists. In particular, the Paris Commune of 1871 concentrated their minds. New Yorkers of all classes watched with great interest the revolutionary development of the Paris Commune, in which the workers briefly, for the first time in history, set up their own government. Some of the Communards who escaped the mass butchery of the French counterrevolutionaries escaped to New York City, which made the propertied classes, the bourgeoisie, very nervous. Conservative New Yorkers viewed any and all evidence of local working-class unrest through a French lens, finding a wealth of evidence for the rising threat of communism on this side of the Atlantic. E.L. Godkin, the editor of the liberal *Nation* magazine, the same magazine around today, moved from supporting the anti-slavery Republicans and embraced the Democrats. Godkin complained that patriotism was giving way to "a strong class feeling." The capitalists then and now were conscious of their class interests.

Working-Class Rights and Black Rights Must Go Forward Together

Until the substantial entry of blacks into industry during World War I, anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic bigotry were the chief weapons of the rulers in dividing and holding back the working class. Virulent racism against Chinese and Japanese on the West Coast, and the playing off of many ethnic groups against each other in the East—anti-Irish, anti-Italian, anti-Jewish—was the norm.

Poisonous ethnic and racial divisions can be broken down in the course of class struggle. A recent example of this was the New York transit strike, when the bosses sought to split the workers through racist demagoguery. You all recall that talk about the workers, in a heavily black union, being "thugs." That's what the bosses were saying against the union. Such ethnic divisions have historically impeded the construction of a workers party standing in opposition to both parties of the ruling class. Anti-black racism is the key weapon employed by the capitalist exploiters to divide and hold down the entire working class, and to prevent the working class from becoming what Marx called "a class for itself"—a class fighting to abolish capitalist wage slavery.

Now, many reformists and liberals push so-called "people of color" politics, which indiscriminately lumps together the diverse history and struggles of nonwhites in this country. This is what we call a sectoralist perspective, which counsels each sector of the oppressed to mobilize on behalf of its own constituency, appealing to the Democratic Party for a few crumbs. What we fight for is a Leninist vanguard party that is a tribune of the people, that champions the interests of all the oppressed and the exploited.

"People of color" liberalism also negates the centrality of the fight against black oppression, which is a motor force for the fight for proletarian revolution in the U.S. The majority of black people, as a race-color caste segregated at the bottom of society, face brutal daily racist subjugation and humiliation, by whatever index of social life one might choose—joblessness, imprisonment, lack of decent integrated housing—in this so-called "democracy," a democracy for the rich.

On the other hand, and crucially, black workers are a strategic part of the proletariat in urban transport, longshore, auto, steel (what remains of some of those industries), and they are the most unionized section of the working class. They form an organic link to the downtrodden ghetto masses who are valuable potential allies in the class struggle against the capitalist rulers. Being strategically located in the economy and facing special oppression, black workers under revolutionary leadership will play a vanguard role in the struggles of the entire U.S. working class. Class-conscious black workers, armed with a revolutionary program, can play a central role in building a multiracial workers party. The capitalist rulers note and fear this, along with their labor lackeys.

Marxists and the U.S. Civil War

The Spartacist League, as a fighting revolutionary Marxist organization, stands in the heroic tradition of the mid 19th-century revolutionary abolitionists John Brown, Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass; of the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and the Bolsheviks under V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, who led the workers revolution of October 1917 in Russia; and of the German Communists Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and others.

Karl Marx stated shortly after the Civil War that "Labor cannot emancipate itself in white skin where in the black it is branded." In his pamphlet *Wage-Labor and Capital*, a series of lectures to the German Workingmen's Club in Brussels

Combier

Communards manning barricade during 1871 Paris Commune, hailed by Marx as the first "working-class government."

in 1847, Marx sought to throw a historical light on the nature of the black question. He wrote: "What is a Negro slave? A man of the black race. The one explanation is worthy of the other. A Negro is a Negro. Only under certain conditions does he become a slave. A cotton-spinning machine is a machine for spinning cotton. Only under certain conditions does it become *capital*." He was addressing the material basis of that oppression, which is exactly what we as Marxists seek to do.

Now, in order to win we have to have a program that is revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist. Revolutionary German workers came to the United States following the defeat of the 1848 revolutionary wave in Europe and helped to overthrow slavery. They led regiments in the Union Army. They were animated by revolutionary ideals. Marx and Engels played a key role in winning English weavers and spinners of the cotton industry to the cause of victory for the forces of the Northern army and in impeding the ruling classes in England and France from supporting the Confederacy. These workers in England endured great privations and suffering. But they saw that they had an interest in fighting to get rid of black chattel slavery.

Armed black freedmen, ex-slaves, 200,000-strong in the Union Army and Navy, were powerful instruments that helped smash slavery. They made a huge difference in the war both strategically and symbolically. Frederick Douglass called black enlistment in the ranks of the

German "Red '48ers," many of whom were supporters of Karl Marx (inset), enlisted in Union Army to fight Confederate slavocracy in U.S. Civil War.

Karl F. Wunder (inset photo), Americana Image Gallery

Military History Institute

Gun crews of a battery of "Corps d'Afrique" at Port Hudson, Louisiana in 1863. Black soldiers helped turn tide of Civil War, leading to Union victory.

Union Army "the greatest event of our nation's history, if not the greatest event of the century." Ulysses S. Grant said, "I have given the subject of arming the Negro my hearty support. This, with the emancipation of the Negro, is the heaviest blow yet given the Confederacy.... By arming the Negro we have added a powerful ally." It was no accident that many captured black Union soldiers were massacred by the Confederate army.

The black people in Louisiana have a proud history of fighting for freedom. The book *Generations of Captivity* [2003] by Ira Berlin describes an incident during the Civil War when slavery was collapsing. When "the manager of the Magnolia plantation in Southern Louisiana dismissed the slaves' claim for wages, the slaves erected a gallows within the shadow of the Big House." When the masters learned the slaves intended to hang them so that "'they will be free,' the masters paid up and fled." The slaves had the Union Army behind them. And today we fight to mobilize the social power of the army of labor behind the fight for black liberation in this country.

Marx and Engels, in their writings on the American Civil War, were critical of the timidity of Lincoln's Republican Party and its policies of conciliation toward the slaveholders, manifested for example in the role of General George McClellan, who led the Union Army for a period. In 1937, Leon Trotsky, who fought against the politics of class collaboration embodied in the "Popular Front," raised the example of the American Civil War to drive home the bankruptcy of conciliating the class enemy. He wrote:

> "In civil war, incomparably more than in ordinary war, *politics dominates strategy*. Robert Lee, as an army chieftain, was surely more talented than Grant, but the program of the liquidation of slavery assured victory to Grant. In our three years of civil war [in Russia], the superiority of military art and military technique was often enough on the side of the enemy, but at the very end it was the Bolshevik program that conquered. The worker knew very well what he was fighting for."
>
> —*The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)* (1973), emphasis in original

Now, whether Lee was more talented or not, we know that it is important to know what you are fighting for. To paraphrase an old African proverb: If you don't know what you are fighting for, any road can take you there.

The Communist International and the Black Question

The early Communist International—the Comintern—under Lenin and Trotsky was assisted by American Communists such as John Reed and also the radical West Indian poet Claude McKay, both of whom provided useful information on the situation of blacks in the U.S.

The revolutionary Trotskyist James P. Cannon eloquently indicated in his very important essay "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement" [*International Socialist Review*, Summer 1959; reprinted in *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, 1962] that the assistance rendered by the Bolsheviks to the early American Communist Party in overcoming its colorblindness on the race question, which was a big defect of the early socialist movement in the United States. The Bolsheviks made the argument that black people in the United States were not just exploited as workers but oppressed as black people. There was racial oppression—special oppression—that had to be combatted as part of mobilizing the working class to fight for power in this country. That was an important contribution, and it was made as a result of the fact that they were thoroughgoing internationalists fighting for world proletarian revolution.

However, in 1928, at the Sixth World Congress of the Stalinized Communist International, there was invented a so-called "black nation" supposedly situated in the collection of majority black counties in the Deep South that they called the "Black Belt." This was Stalin's contribution to the black question. Initially this reactionary line was opposed, especially by some of the leading black Communist Party [CP] cadre. Even the ultra-Stalinist Harry Haywood, the ex-CPer who was a fervent champion of this line, admitted in his autobiography *Black Bolshevik* [1978] that it didn't go down well. It smelled like segregation.

In spite of this erroneous line, however, in the early 1930s the Communist Party waged an aggressive fight for black rights and equality—against evictions and against rampant police brutality and murder. They organized sharecroppers in the South. They did some very courageous work. This changed with the Stalinists' embracing of the program of the Popular Front. This program meant subordinating the struggles of blacks and workers to the government of Franklin D. Roosevelt, to the Democratic Party and the capitalist system. It meant opposing the struggle of black people during World War II, and it meant opposing workers' strikes. It meant supporting the wartime internment of the Japanese. It meant supporting the aims of U.S. imperialism during the second inter-imperialist world war, which was a war for the redivision of the world.

Whatever lack of knowledge Trotsky had on the historical development of black oppression in the U.S. (and he readily acknowledged this), his impulse was to urge revolutionaries to pay special attention to this question. In his 1939 discussions with the Trotskyists in the U.S. at that time, the Socialist Workers Party [SWP], he was particularly concerned that they have a serious orientation to the black question, or they would run the risk of adapting to backward consciousness within the working class. Trotsky stated: "We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class.... If it happens that we in the SWP are not able to find the road to this stratum, then we are not worthy at all."

The SWP, Black Nationalism and the Civil Rights Movement

The SWP waged an aggressive fight for black rights and equality during World War II. That is our tradition. The Socialist Workers Party was heavily involved in campaigns and struggles against discrimination and segregation. They sought to link the fight for the defense of black rights to the working-class struggle against capitalism. Their interventions were animated by a militant integrationist perspective. They recruited hundreds of black workers and made a significant breakthrough in Detroit. However, as Richard Fraser, the veteran Trotskyist, later noted in his writings, the SWP was politically disoriented. They pushed black workers toward joining the petty-bourgeois, liberal-integrationist and legalistic NAACP, which had grown quite a bit in the post-World War II period.

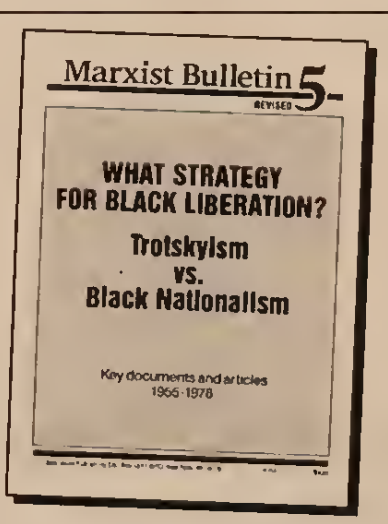
In 1953, Richard Fraser gave two lectures to the SWP on the black question (reprinted in *In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser*, Prometheus Research Series No. 3). His main opponent on the black question at that time was George Breitman, who was the principal SWP spokesman for years on this question. Breitman argued that self-determination applied to black people in the U.S.—that is, it was a national question, the right of an oppressed nation to set up its own separate state. Breitman's program of self-determination was a capitulation to black nationalism. But for the time being, there was no difference between the two lines in terms of the public policy and practical work of the Socialist Workers Party.

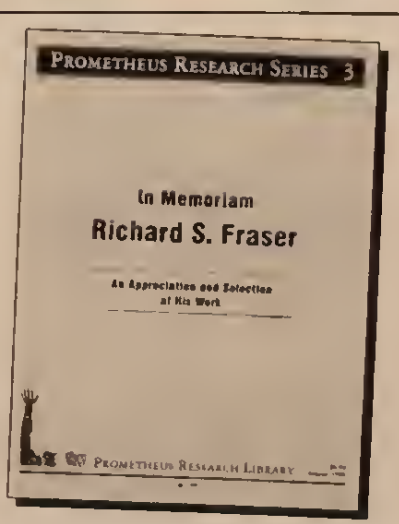
Fraser argued that self-determination was being misapplied to American blacks. Unlike the oppression experienced by non-Russian nationalities in tsarist Russia, who were subject to forcible assimilation, the exact *opposite* dynamic was operating in the U.S. That is, the historic tendency of black struggle was for equality, for integration, against segregation and for elementary democratic rights. In Fraser's powerful 1955 polemic "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question" [reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 (revised), "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism"], he cogently argued that black people were not a nation for whom the demand for self-determination applied. There is no economic basis for a separate political economy for black people, a separate mode of production and commodity exchange.

When I first saw his article in 1971, it bothered me a lot: "For the Materialist Conception of the *Negro* Question." We were kind of literal-minded, and it was out of step with the times. I said, "This is quaint—we are *black* people." But the comrade who sold it to me argued against the prevalent misconception that the oppression of blacks was a "national question." So I hung on to the pamphlet. I was under the sway of so-called "revolutionary nationalism," which was a contradiction in terms, because nationalism is a form of capitalist ideology that presumes a fundamental unity of interests between the workers and the bourgeoisie.

By 1955, the differences within the SWP over the black question were emerging. This was reflected in the debate over the call for federal troops—the armed forces of the federal government—to defend the black masses in the struggle for civil rights in the South. The demand

continued on page 8





$1.50 (64 pages) **$7.00** (110 pages, includes postage)

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Black Liberation...

(continued from page 7)

for federal intervention in Mississippi was raised by the SWP. And Fraser denounced it. By 1957, the SWP supported Republican president Eisenhower's introduction of federal troops into Little Rock, Arkansas, which crushed developing black self-defense efforts. In 1957, an SWP convention passed a resolution, despite some opposition, promoting the myth that the federal troops were on the side of the oppressed, instead of being an instrument of class oppression, reflecting a revision of the Marxist understanding of the bourgeois state.

Fraser had his own tendency within the SWP in 1957, and by 1963 he was in opposition to the majority leadership under Farrell Dobbs. It was known as the Kirk-Kaye tendency, and at the 1963 SWP convention they submitted a resolution upholding the program of revolutionary integrationism. The Revolutionary Tendency, a left-wing opposition within the SWP that was the forerunner of the Spartacist League, supported the resolution while advocating an aggressive communist intervention into the civil rights struggles to take advantage of a time-limited opportunity. The SWP rejected this perspective. [For more on Richard Fraser and his legacy, see the two-part article "Revolutionary Integrationism: The Road to Black Freedom," *WV* Nos. 864 and 865, 17 February and 3 March].

We have paid an incalculable price for the abstention of the rapidly rightward-moving Socialist Workers Party during the civil rights movement. An entire generation of radicalized black youth, which had gained experience and authority in the Southern civil rights movement, was lost to the revolutionary movement. By 1963 the SWP had explicitly renounced the fight for communist leadership of the black struggle, relegating itself to the role of a "socialist" vanguard of the white working class. The Revolutionary Tendency fought this liquidationist perspective. We fought for the necessity of a Leninist vanguard party. In an August 1963 document, "The Negro Struggle and the Crisis of Leadership," the Revolutionary Tendency wrote:

> "The rising upsurge and militancy of the black revolt and the contradictory and confused, groping nature of what is now the left wing in the movement provide the revolutionary vanguard with fertile soil and many opportunities to plant the seeds of revolutionary socialism.... We must consider non-intervention in the crisis of leadership a crime of the worst sort."

Winning over and forging black communist cadre with authority, rooting them in the black working class in the South, could have changed the course of U.S. and world history. In historical terms, the civil rights movement confronted the unfinished business and tasks of the Civil War.

We raised the need for a Southern-wide Freedom Labor Party as an expression of working-class political independence and the need to mobilize the labor movement to fight for black emancipation. We linked this to other demands, including organizing the unorganized, for a sliding scale of wages and hours to combat unemployment and inflation, for the right of armed self-defense against racist terror, and for a workers' united front against government intervention in the labor movement and against suppression of black struggles. We recognized the need for special organizational forms to win specially oppressed strata to the revolutionary party. So we projected the need for a transitional organization to win over black militants, an organization that would be politically subordinated to, but organizationally independent of, the party and linked to the party through its most conscious cadres. That's why the Labor Black Leagues exist in a few cities, to provide a vehicle for those who want to fight for a class-struggle program for black freedom and for workers revolution.

Ghetto Rebellions and "Black Power"

The liberal-led civil rights movement, embodied in Martin Luther King's "turn the other cheek" pacifism, aimed its strategy at pressuring the racist federal government and the Dixiecrat Democratic Party to fight for black rights. The Democratic Party was an alliance between Northern liberals and the virulently racist Southern Dixiecrats, and this repelled the radicalized black youth. The New Deal-derived labor-black Democratic Party coalition forged under the Roosevelt administration was shattered by the civil rights struggles in the South.

AP

Berkeley, 1966: Stokely Carmichael, leader of "Black Power" movement, denounces the draft during Vietnam War.

Spartacist

Spartacists at mid 1960s civil rights demonstration in Central Park, New York City.

The civil rights movement could not achieve black freedom because its leadership and program were based upon support to the Democrats and the racist capitalist system. When it went North, it had no answers to the burning economic oppression of the black masses, who were permanently consigned to the ghettos, who were the last hired and the first fired, who faced rampant police murder and lower life expectancy. Today's beneficiaries of that struggle, petty-bourgeois "leaders" such as Al Sharpton, Jesse Jackson, Congresswoman Barbara Lee, and ex-Black Panthers such as Congressman Bobby Rush, keep blacks tied to the Democrats and confine their struggles within the framework of capitalism. Anti-Semitic nationalist demagogue Louis Farrakhan offers, as an "alternative" to the bankrupt black "leadership," reactionary, dead-end black capitalist schemes designed to exploit the ghetto poor while making a virtue out of the segregation imposed upon the black masses.

The collapse of the civil rights movement led to ghetto upheavals that were violently suppressed by the armed forces of the racist rulers—the cops and National Guard. My awakening corresponded to that. The suppression of the black rebellion in Watts in South-Central Los Angeles in 1965 was supported by Martin Luther King. Watts was the symbol of the angry black ghetto. From 1964 to 1968 there was a series of black ghetto revolts that were leaderless, that expended a lot of energy with very few results. There was an acutely felt sense that the civil rights movement did not and could not address the burning needs of the masses. It was the case that its legalistic program brought the legal and social structure of the South in alignment with the rest of the country. But it could not get rid of black oppression short of mobilizing to get rid of capitalism.

The failure of the labor movement to mobilize its social power in support of black democratic rights fed the development of a separatist mood expressing despair at the possibility of waging an integrated struggle for black freedom. When ex-civil rights activist John L. Lewis, who is now a Democratic Party Congressman from Georgia, tried to put in his speech at the 1963 March on Washington language expressing criticism of the Democratic Party, the labor faker and United Auto Workers head Walter Reuther and the various other Democratic Party bigwigs muzzled him.

By 1966, civil rights organizations such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee [SNCC] came out for "black power," which shocked the liberal establishment. After some internal struggle and clarification, the Spartacist League fought to pose the demand for "black power" in class terms and warned that otherwise it would be a bridge to reconciliation with the Democratic Party and co-optation by what was commonly referred to as "the racist power structure." And man, a lot of militants were being co-opted. We referred to them as "poverty pimps," with these government poverty programs which were basically to cool down the ghetto and keep people in line.

During that period the Spartacist League lacked the numbers and the political authority to influence the agonizing debate and soul-searching that was going on within the ranks of organizations such as SNCC that had broken from mainstream liberalism but had not yet embraced utopian black separatism. The program of black separatism was incapable of generating a program of struggle because it was based upon acquiescence to the racist capitalist status quo and made a virtue of segregation. It propagated the myth that black people, no matter what class they belong to, have the same interests. Then and today there was a third way, an alternative to the program of liberal integrationism and black separatism. And that's the program of revolutionary integrationism—a class-struggle fight for black freedom.

The Black Panthers and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers

In 1966, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was formed in Oakland, California. The Panthers were the hegemonic radical black nationalist organization among militant black youth. They were very contradictory. They fought initially to organize independently of the Democrats and Republicans. So-called "revolutionary internationalists," they were a product of the New Left. They viewed the working class as "bought off" and hopelessly backward. In particular, they promulgated the myth of the "lumpen proletariat vanguard"—the brothers on the block, the streetwise black youth—as the revolutionary vanguard of social change in this country.

The Panthers were all over the map politically, eclectic radicals. Their Marxism was kind of a smorgasbord. They heavily borrowed from Mao, guerrilla groups, Stalin, whatever. They were heavily influenced initially by the writings of Frantz Fanon, a supporter of the Algerian National Liberation Front. His *The Wretched of the Earth* [1961] had a powerful impact especially on black radicals. Fanon was the quintessential "Third World" nationalist, who equated the working class in the capitalist countries with their own rulers.

The Panthers argued that black people in the U.S. were a "black colony"—though not of the classic sort, with an imperialist power exploiting non-white masses. This was emotionally seductive and deeply impressionistic. Seductive, because from the standpoint of a ghetto-based political struggle, they could point to an "occupying army," namely the murderous racist police. The "black colony" line was used mainly to justify their nationalist perspective of black people going it alone, independent of the rest of American society—especially the working class. This utopian program of "community control" of impoverished, segregated ghettos was a proven dead end, and it distracted from

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Darfur...

(continued from page 1)

carnage and devastation. However, as we underlined in "Imperialist Crimes in Rwanda and Sudan" (*WV* No. 845, 1 April 2005), regarding calls for imperialist intervention into Sudan: "There is profound anger and desperation over these tragedies, *but this anger is being manipulated in defense of forces who are profoundly culpable*."

An article in the liberal *In These Times* (16 February 2005) by Eric Reeves complains, "Without robust humanitarian intervention...Khartoum's genocide in Darfur will continue." It is grotesque to uphold the U.S.—which is today carrying out bloody occupations in Iraq and Afghanistan and threatening missile strikes, possibly a nuclear attack, against Iran—as the instrument for a "civilizing mission" in Africa. In fact, the Bush administration is clearly not eager to send U.S. troops to Darfur. U.S. envoys were instrumental in getting Sudanese officials and the main rebel faction in Darfur to agree to a "peace deal" earlier this month, though two other rebel factions have rejected the deal. What the liberals calling for U.S. intervention into Darfur want is a return to the Clinton-style "humanitarian" interventions of the 1990s.

The racist U.S. rulers, who left the black people of New Orleans to die, will not intervene to help black people in Africa. Recall the U.S.-led UN intervention to "help" starving Somalia. In November 1992, the lame duck Bush Sr. administration sent 30,000 U.S. troops to Somalia, supposedly to help distribute food and other relief supplies. Under the Democratic Clinton administration, "Operation Restore Hope" was expanded. Somalis were bullied, shot at roadblocks, and massacred when they resisted the occupiers. In a battle in Mogadishu in October 1993, at least 1,000 Somalis were slaughtered. The deaths of 18 soldiers there led to an outcry in the U.S., and in 1994 the Clinton administration withdrew American troops from Somalia.

WV Photo

Demonstrator calls for imperialist intervention into Darfur at April 29 protest against Iraq occupation, New York City.

Clinton's next bloody wars around the globe included the 1994 invasion and five-year occupation of black Haiti and the 1999 U.S./NATO war against Serbia, carried out in the name of stopping "ethnic cleansing" in Kosovo. These wars were widely supported by liberals who sought to bolster the "human rights" credentials of the U.S. The face of "human rights" imperialism was also bloodily expressed in Clinton's aerial bombings of Sudan and Afghanistan in 1998 for supposedly harboring Al Qaeda terrorists. Clinton's act of terror against Sudan killed dozens of people and destroyed the country's only pharmaceutical factory. The U.S.-enforced UN starvation sanctions against Iraq, carried out overwhelmingly under the Clinton regime, killed some 1.5 million people, far more than have died since the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

The imperialist powers that dominate the UN, which are now beseeched to bring "peace" to Darfur, are the very same forces that have bled, starved and exploited Africa. Britain, France, Belgium and other European powers carved up Africa to suit their interests, drawing the boundaries to divide and set populations against each other. Britain, which colonized Sudan in the 19th century, pitted its northern and southern regions against each other, setting the stage for the civil wars that have ravaged the country since independence in 1956.

In his classic work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, written in 1916 amid the slaughter of World War I, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin laid out that imperialism is the stage of capitalism in its decay, where massive military force is used to "settle" the inevitable economic rivalries between major capitalist states. These rivalries throw humanity into interimperialist world wars of massive devastation, such as the First and Second World Wars. The drive to control markets and spheres of exploitation also leads to predatory wars by imperialists against colonial and semicolonial countries.

Rhetoric about "humanitarianism" notwithstanding, foreign intervention by the U.S. and other imperialists is driven by what best promotes the interests of the imperialist rulers. Indeed, the main criticism of the Bush administration by the Democrats is that its war-crazed, "unilateral" actions have hurt U.S. imperialism's abilities to pursue its interests. The *In These Times* article urging Western intervention in Sudan laments: "The war in Iraq continues to take its toll on U.S. efforts to act effectively within the United Nations—efforts that have been hobbled by the profligate squandering of diplomatic capital."

AP

U.S. soldier in Somalia, 1992. U.S./UN "humanitarian" intervention, escalated under Democrat Clinton, meant racist imperialist terror.

Behind the campaign for U.S. intervention in Darfur is an unholy alliance of liberal forces and a sinister cabal of Zionist and Christian fundamentalist groupings, such as the National Association of Evangelicals. These forces reduce the complex conflict in western Sudan to "Arabs" oppressing "Africans" in order to whip up anti-Arab and anti-Muslim chauvinism, which has greatly intensified since the launching of the reactionary "war on terror" after the September 11 attacks.

One of the most prominent figures in the Darfur protest movement is one Charles Jacobs, who for years has been central in pushing universities to divest from companies doing business in Sudan. Jacobs is also president of the Zionist outfit the David Project that was the force behind the 2004 video, "Columbia Unbecoming," which launched a witchhunt against pro-Palestinian rights professors at Columbia University, particularly targeting Professor Joseph Massad (see "Defend Columbia Professor Joseph Massad! Down With Zionist Witchhunt on Campus!" *WV* No. 837, 26 November 2004).

A component of this movement's attempt to uphold U.S. imperialism as the champion of global "democracy" and "peace" is to hold the Chinese deformed workers state responsible for the carnage in Sudan. The campus divestment movement in fact got started in October 2004 when Harvard announced it had invested in the state-owned Chinese oil company, PetroChina, which has interests in Sudan. Following a public outcry, Harvard sold its stake, and at least eight other campuses have followed suit, including the University of California system, Yale, Stanford and Brown. Divestment measures have also been passed by city and state governments, including Illinois, New Jersey, and Oregon, and further legislation is pending.

As Trotskyists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state, where capitalist rule was overthrown by the 1949 social revolution. In contrast, in February 2005 the supposed Trotskyists of Socialist Alternative (SAlt) co-signed a leaflet by the "Coalition for an Anti-Sexist Harvard" that demanded that "Harvard support justice and human rights campaigns by divesting from corporations like Unocal and PetroChina." The campaign against PetroChina is an anti-Communist campaign that predates the atrocities in Darfur. By signing on to it, SAlt joined with forces that are exploiting outrage over Sudan to push for capitalist counterrevolution in China.

Ending the hideous oppression in Africa will take a series of workers revolutions, in the imperialist countries as well as in key proletarian centers on the continent—in northern Africa and the industrial powerhouse of South Africa. American capitalism was built by bleeding the labor of African slaves. Today, it is the multiracial American proletariat that has the social power and the interest to bring down the U.S. imperialist beast through socialist revolution. It is necessary to build an international, revolutionary workers party that fights on behalf of all the oppressed to build a socialist society in which today's horrors will become a distant memory. *No to U.S./UN imperialist intervention! U.S. hands off the world!*■

---

the fight for workers revolution to liberate all of the oppressed and exploited.

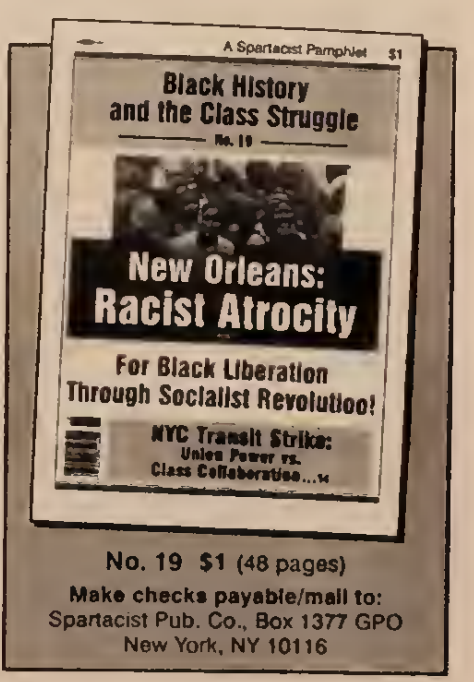
In 1971 there was a split in the Panthers between the pro-Democratic Party Huey Newton wing and the self-proclaimed "urban guerrillaist" (mainly on paper) Eldridge Cleaver wing. This was accompanied by internecine bloodletting fanned by the flames of FBI COINTELPRO provocation. Despite the Black Panthers' penchant for physical attacks against other leftist critics, including Progressive Labor and ourselves, we defended them against bloody state repression. We raised our criticisms of their program and fought to win the best elements to a revolutionary proletarian perspective. You can see how we intervened in our article "Rise and Fall of the Black Panthers: End of the Black Power Era," reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5.

The League for Revolutionary Black Workers was another radical black nationalist organization on the scene. In 1970-71, I was studying abroad in Beirut. I was a member of the YSA (the SWP's youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance) and SWP and wrote some reports on the plight of the Palestinians for the SWP. The Black Panther Party leadership, mainly the New York Panthers, was in exile in Algiers and there were other black militants traveling in the region. At one conference in Kuwait I met John Watson, a leader of the Detroit-based League of Revolutionary Black Workers. He was there to show their film on the struggles of black auto workers in Detroit, *Finally Got the News*. Watson was interesting, he was smart, he was articulate, he was serious—he was a little older than myself. We met again. We had a long discussion on our respective political histories, and on the struggle for Palestinian national liberation, which black radicals were especially interested in then.

What was running through my head was, how could I interest him in the SWP? At the time I thought it was revolutionary and Trotskyist. Well, he knew more about the SWP than I did. He told me that he once had a lot of respect for the SWP and that he and black militant friends of his had regularly attended their Militant forums, but eventually they decided that they needed to form their own "black revolutionary party." The SWP was chasing the pacifist preachers and the black nationalists simultaneously because they had already given up on fighting for a revolutionary working-class program. The SWP offered them a separate black party, so they concluded: Why hang around the SWP? Why not form their own party? Which is exactly what they did. And program is key. When we say program is primary, it's not an abstraction. It determines where you're going, what you're fighting for. I've thought a lot about what it would have meant to have won such militants to the Spartacist League and to our Trotskyist program.

The League was a radical nationalist workerist organization, but they rejected common struggle with white workers, and they lumped white workers together with the white racist rulers and the racist trade-union bureaucracy. This was a fatal error that sealed their doom. When they split in 1971, a wing of them coalesced around the "radical" lawyer Ken Cockrel, who went into the Democratic Party. The other wing around General Baker and Luke Tripp went into a hard Stalinist group called the Communist Labor Party, which had some influence among militant black auto workers. Now if you claim a "working-class orientation" but you argue that the white population is a single reactionary mass and refuse to give white workers leaflets—which they did—then the bourgeoisie wins and the proletariat loses.

There is no substitute for building a Leninist vanguard party that fights against all social oppression, modeled on the Bolshevik Party under Lenin and Trotsky that made the only successful workers revolution in history. There is no substitute for studying genuine Marxism, that is, Trotskyism, the Marxism of our time. It is the indispensable weapon in the struggle for a communist future for humanity.■



No. 19 $1 (48 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

CHICAGO

Live Music Fundraiser for Mumia Abu-Jamal

Featuring Funkadesi and Philadelphia Jazz Great Byard Lancaster

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

Thursday, June 15, 5 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Hot House, 31 East Balbo

(Harrison stop on the Red line)

Tickets $20

For more information: (312) 563-0442 or e-mail: chicagopdc@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK CITY

New York Labor Black League Fundraiser for Mumia Abu-Jamal

Featuring the video *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*

Wednesday, May 17, 7 p.m.

5C Cultural Center, 68 Avenue C (at 5th Street)

(F train to 2nd Avenue stop, walk east on 2nd St. to Avenue C, then north to 5th St.)

For more information: (212) 267-1025 or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Black Journalist Herb Boyd: Rally for Mumia's Freedom!

WV received the following letter, dated April 25, from Herb Boyd, managing editor of The Black World Today (www.tbwt.org). The letter was sent to various individuals and organizations and was edited for publication here with the permission of the author.

A number of pertinent questions were raised at a recent forum on hip hop culture conducted by Professor Cornel West at the Schomburg Center in Harlem. None of the questions or comments, however, resonated with as much political conviction as the one posed by Don Alexander, a member of the Partisan Defense Committee.

Alexander very passionately alerted the audience to the urgency of dealing with the plight of Mumia Abu-Jamal. He pressed the importance of mobilizing immediately in order to galvanize support for Mumia who faces the possibility of execution for a crime he did not commit.

Like Alexander, I believe the confession of Arnold Beverly, who admitted that he was the person who shot and killed the police officer that fateful morning nearly a quarter of a century ago, a murder for which Mumia was convicted and has been languishing on death row these many years.

The execution of Tookie Williams a few months ago was a warning to all justice-seeking people that the state is preparing to take Mumia from us in the same way. In general, I oppose the death penalty, and in the case of Mumia, who has been a voice for the voiceless, an execution would be doubly painful and unforgivable.

Let this letter join the hundreds being written and the thousands now assembling in a mass protest of this miscarriage of justice.

It is time now for all freedom-loving people to rally like we used to when our precious liberties were threatened, time to mobilize as we did during the Vietnam era, to stop the senseless murder of innocent people.

To murder Mumia would be akin to losing a Malcolm, a King, an Ella Baker, a Geronimo, a Che, a Lumumba. We must salvage his life knowing that if they come for him in the morning, they will come for us in the evening.■

Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

author Richard Wright and coordinator of the International Committee in Solidarity with Mumia Abu-Jamal and Political Prisoners, Paris; and Leslie Jones from the Youth for Mumia and the ICFFMAJ. Also present at the event were our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League, who for years have played a key role in bringing Mumia's case to broader forces in that country. Mumia sent a note of thanks and solidarity to the gathering.

Ramona Africa, who spent seven years in prison for the "crime" of being the only adult survivor of the government's 1985 bombing of Philadelphia MOVE (see "Remember May 1985 MOVE Massacre," this page), powerfully spoke of the government's vendetta against MOVE and Mumia: "The government murdered my family but nobody went to prison for it except me. Nobody sits on death row for burning babies alive. But they want to convince you that Mumia is a murderer and that he should be executed. Mumia is innocent."

In the U.S., the death penalty is a legacy of black chattel slavery and represents the pinnacle of state terror. Though in France the death penalty has been abolished, minorities, particularly those of North and West African descent, face daily police brutality and racist discrimination, a legacy of French colonialism. As Wolkenstein stated, minority youth in France "are stigmatized as potential 'Islamic terrorists,' '*casseurs*' [hooligans—a racist codeword] and 'anti-Semites'. When young people revolted in the *banlieues* [suburban minority ghettos] last fall, the workers movement should have taken up their cause. They should be freed, granted amnesty and all charges dropped!"

In her speech at Saint-Denis, Wolkenstein emphasized: "A labor-centered campaign on Mumia's behalf must be built on the principle of political independence of the working class from the capitalist class enemy and its state. In the U.S., just as the so-called 'war on terror' is supported by both major parties of capitalism, Democrats and Republicans, Mumia is in all their gun sights. In France, that means no illusions in a new Popular Front." This was a warning against the attempts in France by the PCF, the Socialist Party and several small bourgeois parties—such as the Chevènementistes, the Left Radicals and the Greens—to form a new popular-front capitalist government, disarming the working class by tying it to the class enemy.

It is crucial that Mumia's fight be taken up internationally. A week before the Saint-Denis event, a French delegation from the PCF and CGT trade-union federation participated in a meeting in Philadelphia for Mumia's defense. Earlier this year, a coalition including the PCF, the CGT, and other labor, anti-racist and left groups launched a drive to raise 100,000 euros (close to $130,000) for Mumia's defense. And in Mexico City on May Day, a comrade from the ICL section Grupo Espartaquista de México addressed a rally of some 15,000 people sponsored by the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), calling on Mexican workers and youth to join the campaign for Mumia.

The key to Mumia's freedom lies in the social power of labor. In her speech, Wolkenstein referred to the fact that France was rocked this spring by two months of massive protests, involving student youth and workers, and strikes against the hated First Employment Contract, forcing the government to back down. This is the kind of social power that must be mobilized behind Mumia's cause! As Wolkenstein stated: "That Mumia is innocent is the truth. That the capitalist state has spent decades putting its lying, corrupt class- and race-biased forces to work to see Mumia dead is also the truth. But we need to use these truths and bring out more power, social power, to fight for Mumia's freedom." ***Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!***■

Remember May 1985 MOVE Massacre

"Attention MOVE. This is America." That was the ultimatum issued over a cop bullhorn on 13 May 1985. Soon after, the Philadelphia police, working together with the FBI and BATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms), dropped high-powered explosives onto the MOVE commune. When MOVE members attempted to escape the ensuing fire, hundreds of heavily armed cops drove them back into the inferno under a hail of gunfire. Eleven black people, among them five children, were slaughtered. The fire was deliberately allowed to rage for five hours, reducing the entire neighborhood to smoldering rubble and leaving hundreds homeless.

The firebombing, ordered by Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and orchestrated by the Feds, was the culmination of years of harassment, beatings, arrests and police assaults against MOVE, a largely black, radical back-to-nature collective. It was also meant as a message to those who might "get out of line." Ed Meese, Republican president Ronald Reagan's attorney general, cited this state terrorism as a "good example" for other police to follow. Unlike much of the left, the Spartacist League protested this heinous massacre at the time, describing it as "the signature of the Reagan years" and vowing to sear the atrocity into the memory of the working class.

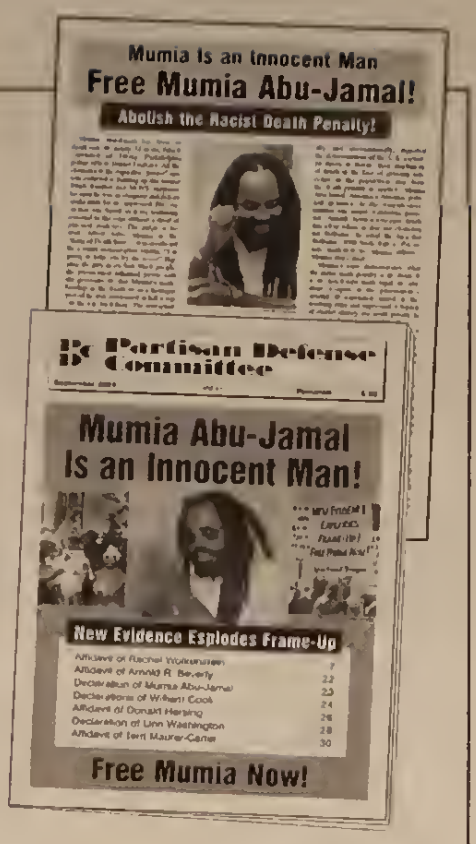
UPI

Bombing of Philadelphia MOVE home killed eleven people, including five children, and destroyed entire black neighborhood.

Not one of the government officials behind this monstrous crime was ever penalized, much less jailed. But Ramona Africa served seven years in prison for the "crime" of being the sole adult survivor. To this day, eight MOVE members still languish in prison, falsely convicted of killing a police officer who died from the cops' own crossfire during a 1978 police assault on MOVE's former home in Powelton Village. It was in the wake of his courageous defense of these MOVE prisoners that Mumia Abu-Jamal was framed up and sentenced to death in 1982. The Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, sends monthly stipends to the eight MOVE prisoners, as well as Mumia, as an expression of solidarity with those imprisoned for standing up to racist capitalist repression.

Free the MOVE prisoners! Free Mumia! The American workers revolution will avenge the MOVE martyrs!

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!



Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 130 Morningside Drive, Suite 6C, New York, NY 10027.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of our pamphlet, *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* This 32-page pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom with the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for 50 cents. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each.

Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from, make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

Partisan Defense Committee • e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net

P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099 .....(212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867 .....(312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462 .....(510) 839-0852

Show Trial...

(continued from page 12)

are reprehensible, but the government had not one shred of evidence that he was involved in the September 11 attacks. The fact that the government will put him away for life on the basis of lies and manipulation will only serve to reinforce its assaults on the democratic rights of the entire population.

Deprivation of Moussaoui's rights and dirty tricks by the prosecutors pervaded the case. According to the government's indictment, Moussaoui deserved to die because "while being interviewed by federal agents in Minneapolis," he "attempted to explain his presence in the United States by falsely stating that he was simply interested in learning to fly." The Feds ludicrously claimed that without this diversion they could have prevented the September 11 attacks. As Elaine Cassel, a Virginia lawyer and author of *The War on Civil Liberties: How Bush and Ashcroft Have Dismantled the Bill of Rights*, pointed out in *CounterPunch* (7 April): "The problem with this argument, though, is that like all those facing custodial government questioning, Moussaoui had the Fifth Amendment right to remain silent." Cassel added that Moussaoui was facing death "for his silence, through which he exercised a constitutional right."

In 2004, a federal appeals court upheld the government's refusal to allow Moussaoui to question Al Qaeda leaders in U.S. custody who would provide evidence that he had nothing to do with September 11—a clear violation of Moussaoui's Sixth Amendment right to present witnesses on his behalf. After the Supreme Court refused to consider his appeal, Moussaoui entered his guilty plea.

The fact that Moussaoui was sitting in a Minnesota jail on 11 September 2001 meant little to the prosecutors, who based their case entirely on conspiracy charges. Historically, conspiracy law has been used to nail anyone the government wants to silence yet can't charge with a single demonstrable criminal act—organizing against slavery was "conspiratorial," and labor unions used to be considered illegal conspiracies in this country.

An important historical example that comes from Britain was the case of Derek Bentley. Bentley and a younger friend broke into a warehouse in 1952. When the police arrived, they managed to arrest Bentley but not his friend, Christopher Craig, who opened fire. One of the cops was killed. Prosecutors could not hang Craig because he was under 18. Even though Bentley was in police custody when the cop was killed, both were charged with the murder, with the cops claiming that Bentley egged on Craig to shoot the police officer. Bentley was hanged in 1953. The case would go on to play a notable role in the abolition of the death penalty in Britain in 1965.

AP

Guantánamo detainee being taken for interrogation by U.S. torturers.

Though labeling Moussaoui the "20th hijacker," the government has never produced anything linking him to the September 11 hijackings—no witness, no evidence that he ever met the plot's purported leader, Mohammed Atta, or any other hijacker, or that he even had any communications with them. French intelligence, which had been watching Moussaoui for some time, as well as numerous unnamed U.S. government officials confirmed that Moussaoui had nothing to do with September 11. In videotaped statements, other Al Qaeda members recalled Moussaoui as so incompetent that Osama bin Laden would never have trusted him with anything. The September 11 commission set up to investigate the government's "intelligence failures" concluded that Moussaoui had no direct involvement in the attacks.

One juror told the *Washington Post* that he and others questioned whether "the death penalty is an appropriate punishment for lying." It certainly isn't a basis for a life in prison either. Moussaoui will be confined to the super-maximum security prison at Florence, Colorado, one of the "control units" which came into use in the 1970s to isolate those deemed "dangerous," among them leftist political prisoners. Writing some time ago, class-war prisoner Ray Luc Levasseur of the Ohio 7 described his experience at the prison: "Lock yourself in your bathroom for four years and tell me how it affects your mind." For all the bourgeoisie's talk about Constitutional protection against cruel and unusual punishment, such maximum security prisons are designed to be cruel and unusual.

We pointed out from the outset of the "war on terror" that while initially directed against immigrants from Muslim backgrounds, the government's repressive measures threatened a qualitative diminution of democratic rights and would target perceived opponents of government policy, black people, leftists and, ultimately, the labor movement. Those currently being investigated for "terrorism" include black radicals, anarchists, animal rights activists, antiwar groups and proponents of Puerto Rican independence, as well as numerous people from predominantly Muslim countries.

At the core of the USA Patriot Act and other repressive measures enacted in the wake of September 11 are definitions of "terrorism" and "material support to terrorism" that are broad enough to encompass anyone whose political views put them afoul of the madmen running this country. In a *New York Times* (7 May) oped piece about previous sedition laws that have been used to criminalize criticism of the government (many enacted in reaction to the 1917 Russian Revolution), Adam Liptak points out that there are "echoes of earlier sedition charges in some terrorism charges today," and quotes law professor David Cole: "Sedition laws and the material support laws are all designed to serve the same purpose: to give the government incredible discretion to go after people without proving they took part in any criminal or violent act." This is seen in the vendetta against leftist attorney Lynne Stewart, who faces 20 years in prison on frame-up conspiracy charges for her vigilant defense of her client, Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, who is serving a life sentence for conspiracy to blow up New York City-area landmarks.

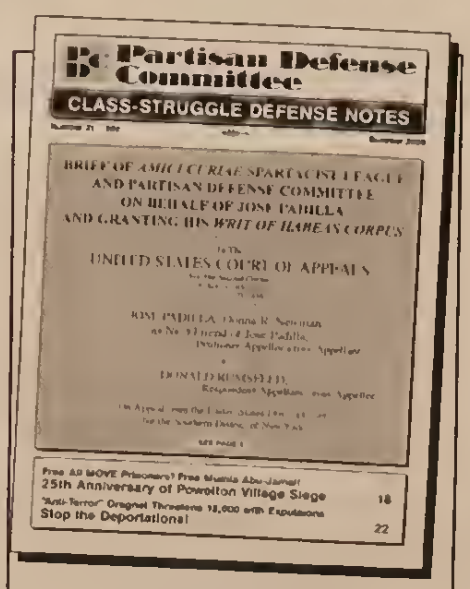
That the Democratic Party and its liberal mouthpieces share the aims of the Bush administration's "war on terror" can be seen in their responses to the Moussaoui trial. In a 4 May editorial, "Due Process," the *New York Times* cites the Moussaoui trial as the way to deal with "terror threats," calling it, "fair and in accordance with the rules of American justice." Writing in the radical-liberal *CounterPunch* (18 February), Elaine Cassel, a critic of the administration, stated of Moussaoui: "He's a dangerous man who should be locked up—a sworn enemy to the United States. Indeed, enemy combatant status which would keep him locked up in military custody until the end of the war on terrorism would be appropriate."

The Democrats have endorsed nearly every repressive measure implemented by the Bush administration and put themselves forward as more capable enforcers of the "war on terror." In anticipation of recapturing control of the House of Representatives in November's elections, the Democrats have already announced plans to fully implement the recommendations of the September 11 commission to shore up "homeland security." To get a picture of what this portends, the Bush administration announced last month that it will start conducting background checks on some 400,000 port workers—a frontal assault on labor—taking up a longstanding complaint of the Democrats that the administration hasn't done enough to "secure" the ports.

As the U.S. imperialist rulers terrorize countries in the name of bringing them "democracy," at home they are implementing the sorts of measures normally associated with the military dictatorships propped up by Washington around the globe—torture, unlimited detention, "disappearing" those who run afoul of the government. As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained in *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918):

> "There is not a single state, however democratic, which has no loopholes or reservations in its constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth, in case of a 'violation of public order,' and actually in case the exploited class 'violates' its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner."

The U.S. capitalist rulers have long sought these repressive measures, which the Bush administration seeks to inscribe as permanent features of the "justice" system. It is crucial that the labor movement mobilize in struggle against the government's assaults on civil liberties. Short of the overthrow of capitalist rule, none of the rights that working people fought for are secure. What's needed is a thoroughgoing socialist revolution led by a multiracial workers party to sweep away the brutal bourgeois order and establish in its place the rule of the working class. ■



No. 31, Summer 2003
$.50 (24 pages)
Order from/pay to:
PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station
New York, NY 10013-0099

WORKERS VANGUARD

Build the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Mumia Honored in France

On April 29, the city government of Saint-Denis, a suburb of Paris, named a new street in honor of class-war prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Some 150 people attended the dedication ceremony, held a few steps from Nelson Mandela Stadium. The French Communist Party (PCF) city mayor, Didier Paillard, hailed Mumia for becoming "a symbol of the fight for justice." Patrick Braouezec, PCF member of Parliament and president of the group of towns that includes Saint-Denis, said, "We in Saint-Denis wished to find an event which would allow us to salute the fight led by Mumia in prison, not just for him but for all those today who are on death row and who have been condemned to death."

The fight to free Mumia, America's foremost class-war prisoner, has reached a critical turning point. His legal case has been put on the "fast track" by the Third Circuit federal appeals court and decisions that will put his life in the balance could be made within months. At the event in Saint-Denis, Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee counsel and a former member of Mumia's legal team, emphasized: "The cops, prosecutors and the entire so-called 'criminal justice system' have colluded to kill Mumia for the crime of being an eloquent and effective critic of racist oppression, for being a former Black Panther Party member, and for being a MOVE supporter. In Mumia, the U.S. government sees the spectre of black revolution."

Le Bolchevik photos

Rachel Wolkenstein of the Partisan Defense Committee speaking at inauguration of street named in honor of Mumia Abu-Jamal in Paris suburb of Saint-Denis, 29 April.

Mumia Abu-Jamal was framed up and sent to death row, falsely charged with killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner in 1981. Shredding their own precedents, court after court has rubberstamped the wholesale trampling of Mumia's rights at his 1982 sham trial. The courts have barred proof of Mumia's innocence, including the ***sworn confession*** of Arnold Beverly that he—not Mumia—shot and killed Faulkner. In fact, in the current round of court hearings, Mumia is barred from presenting evidence that he had nothing to do with Faulkner's killing. Mumia's opening brief, due July 13, is limited by the courts to three issues: the D.A.'s racist jury selection that kept blacks off the jury in Mumia's 1982 trial; the D.A.'s prejudicial closing argument stating that the jury should convict because Mumia would get "appeal after appeal"; and the grossly biased state post-conviction hearings before the notorious hanging judge Albert Sabo, who presided over the original trial.

Wolkenstein was invited to address the Saint-Denis gathering to speak on the Beverly confession and other evidence that proves Mumia's innocence. Referring to the current legal proceedings, she warned, "We cannot be lulled by the fact that the courts have agreed to hear legal issues which could lead to a new trial or new appeals proceedings. It is necessary and urgent, now more than ever, for there to be a mass mobilization based on the power of labor. The rallying cry for this movement must be to free Mumia now! That Mumia is an innocent man—that the frame-up was racist and political." This is a vital point in the fight for Mumia's cause. The international mass movement that stayed the executioner's hand after a death warrant was signed in 1995 has since been demobilized, not least by the reformist left and liberals who subordinated the fight for Mumia's freedom to the call for a "new trial." These groups promoted the illusion that the very same courts that have kept Mumia on death row for 24 years could give him justice.

In an interview printed in the PCF's daily newspaper, *L'Humanité* (25 April), Mumia himself said, regarding the current court hearings: "I have very little hope in a favorable decision from the Federal Court which has accepted to look at three points of the petition submitted to appeal by my lawyers." As Wolkenstein underlined in her speech: "We must place all our faith in the power of the masses. It is that power, centered on the power of labor to shut down the workings of this system, which can free Mumia now. The courts will provide justice for Mumia only when faced with the determination of that power."

Other speakers at the Saint-Denis event included Robert Bryan, Mumia's attorney; Pam Africa and Ramona Africa of the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal (ICFFMAJ); Julia Wright, daughter of

continued on page 10

Moussaoui Case: 9/11 Show Trial

MAY 9—Last week a federal jury stunned the government when it announced, after seven days of deliberation in the trial of Zacarias Moussaoui: "We the jury, do not unanimously find that a sentence of death should be imposed on the defendant." Rejecting the prosecutors' bloodthirsty pleas, the jury sentenced Moussaoui to life in prison. As opponents of the racist death penalty, we welcome this rebuff to the government. At the same time, we recognize that from beginning to end the detention and trial of Zacarias Moussaoui was a mockery of justice—a September 11 show trial aimed at furthering the capitalist rulers' crusade against civil liberties in the name of the "war on terror."

Arrested and imprisoned on immigration charges while attending a Minnesota flight school in August 2001, Moussaoui was charged four months later with six conspiracy counts related to the September 11 attacks. Deviating from their usual script, in which untold numbers are held and tortured in secret prisons around the world and hundreds are confined without charge as "enemy combatants" at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo, Bush & Co. staged a public trial. They sought to exploit the unstable Moussaoui and passions for revenge for the September 11 attacks to get a slam dunk conviction. In April 2005, Moussaoui pleaded guilty to conspiring with Al Qaeda to fly planes into U.S. buildings and to training to fly a plane into the White House in a later attack, while also insisting he had nothing to do with September 11. This set the stage for the trial to determine whether he'd receive the death sentence or life in prison. On the stand, contradicting his prior statements, the mentally unhinged Moussaoui claimed he was part of the September 11 plot. After he was sentenced to life, on May 8 Moussaoui's lawyers announced that they filed a motion to withdraw his guilty plea, and Moussaoui now says he had nothing to do with September 11.

Throughout the trial, the government pulled out all the stops to see Moussaoui killed. This included parading on the witness stand relatives of those who were killed in the September 11 attacks. Yet several of the relatives made clear that they did not want Moussaoui to die. On 11 September 2001, two civilian airliners were crashed into the World Trade Center, another hit the Pentagon and a fourth was brought down by its passengers in a Pennsylvania field. The attack on the World Trade Center was indeed a criminal act of terrorism that murdered nearly 3,000 everyday working people. However, unlike the World Trade Center, the Pentagon is the command and administrative center of the U.S. imperialist military, and being a military installation, the possibility of getting hit comes with the territory. That recognition does not make the attack on the Pentagon an "anti-imperialist" act, nor does it change the fact that terrorism almost always gets innocent people—in this case, the passengers on the plane as well as the maintenance workers, janitors and secretaries at the Pentagon.

In the Spartacist League's initial statement on the World Trade Center attack, issued on 12 September 2001 (see *WV* No. 764, 14 September 2001), we warned: "The ruling parties—Democrats and Republicans—are all too eager to be able to wield the bodies of those who were killed and wounded in order to reinforce capitalist class rule" and the "arsenal of domestic state repression against all the working people." And that is what has happened with the Moussaoui case. Moussaoui's bloodthirsty views

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

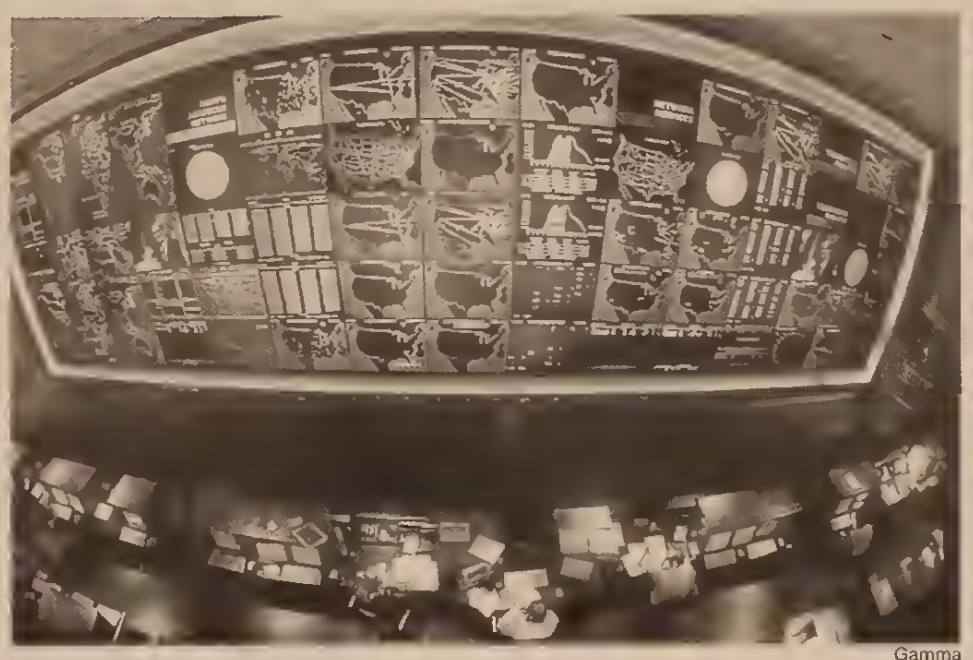
50¢

No. 871 | ® GCIU C-701 | 26 May 2006

Big Brother and Ma Bell's Brood

Government Spy Network Exposed, Again

AP



Gamma

White House

Left: Gen. Michael Hayden, architect of NSA warrantless wiretapping operation, at May 18 Senate hearing for confirmation as CIA chief. Center: AT&T network operating center. Right: President Bush at NSA headquarters in January.

Recent revelations that the National Security Agency (NSA) has been working in collusion with several major telecommunications companies to "data mine" the phone records of tens of millions of people are another instance of the massive assault on the democratic rights being carried out in the name of the "war on terror." For the U.S. capitalist rulers, the September 11 attacks were a pretext to launch new imperialist rampages around the globe, brutally occupying Afghanistan and Iraq, imprisoning and torturing "terror suspects" in Guantánamo, Abu Ghraib and secret prisons elsewhere. Even U.S. citizens declared "enemy combatants" can be held indefinitely with no legal rights.

Domestically, the government seized the opportunity to intensify repression of the population, introducing measures the rulers had long sought. As we warned immediately after the September 11 events, the repressive measures directed initially at Muslims and immigrants have led to attacks on political dissent and civil liberties across the board, not least against black people and the labor movement. From "rendition" of "terror suspects" to domestic spying, the government claims legal justification for its crimes abroad and at home.

As the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in our 2003 *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief on behalf of Jose Padilla, a citizen seized and detained by the government as an "enemy combatant" in the "war on terror": "Like the 'war against communism' and the 'war against drugs,' this 'war' is a pretext to increase the state's police powers and repressive apparatus, constricting the democratic rights of the population." From the beginning, the "war on terror" has been a bipartisan affair. Democrats in Congress overwhelmingly joined in voting Bush authority to "use all necessary and appropriate force" after the September 11 attacks, a vote Bush points to as giving him legal authority for warrantless wiretapping, communications "data mining" and the like.

With the advances in digital technology, the NSA is amassing a huge pool of personal data to fish in, aiming to snare those the government deems guilty of "conspiring" with "terrorists." It's computerized guilt-by-association. These big-brother efforts to examine the intimate details of everyone's life are causing concern even in the capitalist class, whose rule the NSA and the whole machinery of government repression exist to defend.

The *New York Times*, a major ruling-class mouthpiece, expressed such worries in an editorial (12 May): "What we have here is a clandestine surveillance program of enormous size, which is being operated by members of the administration who are subject to no limits or scrutiny beyond what they deem to impose on one another. If the White House had gotten its way, the program would have run secretly until the war on terror ended—that is, forever." Albeit a little less secretly, the surveillance program continues. As for scrutiny, while the Senate Judiciary Committee held some hearings on the NSA's domestic spying, earlier this month an investigation by the Justice Department ethics office into the conduct of department lawyers who approved the NSA program was closed when investigators were denied security clearances.

The latest revelations of NSA spying can be added to the list of factors causing the Bush administration's public approval rating to tank. On top of growing popular disillusionment with the brutal U.S. occupation of Iraq, the huge increase in gas prices is hitting working-class families hard, and even better-off suburbanites are screaming. Meanwhile, the musical-chair scandals continue to rock Bush's cronies. The Republican Party is itself deeply divided over immigration policy, while the NSA, CIA and Pentagon are embroiled in turf battles.

With their eye toward the November Congressional elections, the Democrats raised a bit of a flap over the sinister NSA/phone company spy network. But their main objection is to the unfocused targeting by the program. Whatever dismay the Democrats are expressing has something of the character of the corrupt police chief in the movie *Casablanca* who suddenly announces he is "shocked" to find gambling going on in Rick's café. Far from being a plot by the Bush gang, government spying on the population—be it by the NSA, FBI, CIA or other such agencies, past and present—has been carried out by Republican and Democratic administrations alike. In fact, the likely outcome of the publicity over NSA domestic surveillance is a new law codifying such practices.

It is no accident that the Democrats are allowing the confirmation of Air Force general and former NSA chief Michael Hayden as head of the CIA to sail through the Senate. This is even after a *USA Today* (11 May) story exposed the extent of the NSA-telecom spy network. According to the *New York Times* (14 May), Hayden was the "principal architect" of the domestic wiretapping program. Like Bush, he publicly insisted that the program was strictly limited to monitoring Al Qaeda types.

Senate Minority leader Harry Reid and other leading Democrats praise Hayden as the right man to lead the CIA, which has spent over half a century assassinating people, overthrowing governments, torturing and murdering people on behalf of U.S. imperialism. The Democrats are pushing for ***more effective*** spy agencies. Not wanting to be outdone on the "security" issue, the Democrats have made their theme in the Hayden confirmation hearings the charming thought that the CIA should "speak truth to power," as California's Senator Dianne Feinstein, a police and security groupie, put it. The Democrats want the CIA to give good advice to the government, rather than making things up (like the mythical Iraqi weapons of mass destruction) at the behest of a particularly demented administration averse to "reality-based" policy.

Especially with the Democrats posturing as the party better suited to prosecute the "war on terror," which Bush has invoked to launch pre-emptive, unilateral predatory wars, there hasn't been much in the way of public outcry over the government's snooping into the intimate details of everyone's life. Indeed, both capitalist parties aim to cow the population into accepting blatant attacks on their rights as necessary for "national security." This underscores the need for the labor movement, black people, immigrants and other minorities to break from the Democratic Party in order to fight against the increasingly repressive measures of the capitalist state.

Yes, They Can "Hear You Now"

The NSA's current "data mining" project goes far beyond its warrantless tapping of phone and Internet communications. These practices are in addition to monitoring international communications, as the agency has done since its inception in 1952. NSA spooks are also prying into all electronic messages passing through key points in the communications grid. The NSA—the largest agency in the capitalist state's espionage apparatus—quite literally aims to spy on the entire population.

The *New York Times* (24 December 2005) reported that the NSA had "gained the cooperation" of phone companies "to obtain backdoor access to streams of

continued on page 11

7 25274 81030 7 21

Anti-Polygamy Witchhunt

Feds Hands Off Mormon Fundamentalists!

On May 6 the FBI announced a new name on its notorious "Ten Most Wanted" (which include an alleged Colombian drug lord, Boston mobster James "Whitey" Bulger and Osama bin Laden): Warren Jeffs, 50-year-old leader of a polygamist Mormon sect called the "Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints." The Utah attorney general is now investigating the church as "an organized crime-type setup" based on allegations of financial fraud. Jeffs has been a fugitive since 2005, when he was indicted in Arizona for conspiracy and for the "sex crime" of allegedly marrying a 16-year-old woman to an older man. In April, Utah prosecutors charged him with "rape as an accomplice" for performing another marriage.

The official Mormon church renounced the practice of polygamy to meet conditions set by Congress for Utah to achieve statehood, which it did in 1896. But there are an estimated 30,000 to 100,000 Mormons still practicing "that old-time religion" in communities throughout Utah and Arizona. Our view is that the government should leave the Mormons, all varieties of them, alone, as Abraham Lincoln once proposed.

The government's pursuit of the fugitive Mormon is being aided by a media circus. It almost seems like the Feds' revenge for the popular HBO series *Big Love*, the sympathetic soap opera of a Utah polygamist and his wives. Here in the real world, we have a gang of patriarchal fundamentalist Christians in the White House chasing a bunch of patriarchal fundamentalist Mormons out in the sticks, in the name of saving young women from polygamous marriages in order to stifle them in monogamous ones instead.

The witchhunt against Jeffs recalls the case of Tom Green, a Utah Mormon convicted of felony bigamy charges in 2001 over the objections of his wives. As we wrote in "Mormon Polygamists: Leave Them Alone!" (*WV* No. 764, 14 September 2001): "The family structure—whether monogamous or polygamous—necessarily oppresses women. However, not everybody understands the source of their oppression, and people do all sorts of things that are undoubtedly bad for them that the state still has no business throwing them in prison for." The Mormons are one of many peculiar American religious sects (check out Christian Science and L. Ron Hubbard's Scientology) essentially chosen by their practitioners. However, in many societies that never experienced bourgeois revolutions, women are held to be little more than property, requiring struggle by communists to end such institutions as polygamy, the bride price and other such legacies of social backwardness.

It's both a sign of anti-sex hysteria and the height of hypocrisy for authorities today to pretend horror at 16-year-olds in the U.S. getting married, as this was utterly commonplace only decades ago. Indeed, New Hampshire still allows 13-year-old girls to marry if they have parental consent. We uphold "effective consent" as the only guiding principle in sexual relations. We have always opposed reactionary "age of consent" and "statutory rape" laws, which are designed to repress youth and strengthen the repressive reach of the state, and also serve as a diversion from the real brutality of this sick capitalist society.

Our liberating Marxist position is anathema to the capitalist ruling class and its government. The oppression of women is rooted in the institution of the family, which arose with the advent of private property as the mechanism for passing property from one generation to the next, with the monogamous wife supposedly ensuring the heirs' paternity. The family serves as the social mechanism to rear the next generation, and under capitalism serves, along with religion, to instill obedience to authority among youth. The private property system, upheld by the bourgeois state, and the family cannot be "reformed" away. The liberation of women requires proletarian revolution internationally to lay the basis for a socialist society of material abundance, in which child-rearing and other functions now performed by the family will be the responsibility of society as a whole.

Today, of course, there is real violent abuse, including sexual abuse, of both women and children within polygamous families, just as within monogamous ones. But prosecuting Mormons for polygamy won't help, as such families retreat further underground in fear of the authorities.

The Irish playwright Brendan Behan commented, "I have never seen a situation so dismal that a policeman couldn't make it worse." Certainly the government's "sex offender" Internet registries have made a dismal situation far worse for those falling into the clutches of the law, often for acts that in a rational society would be no crime at all. These registries, providing photos and home addresses of "offenders," are an "all you can kill" buffet for wackos driven mad by the thought of children and sex. This April in Maine, two men on such a registry were shot dead in separate towns. Last summer in Washington state, two other men were murdered; the killer said he'd targeted them after finding their names on an online list.

Government vendettas against anyone it decides to target are deadly business. In 1985 under Ronald Reagan, the FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms conspired with the Philadelphia police department and black mayor Wilson Goode to incinerate the mainly black back-to-nature MOVE commune, killing eleven people, including five children, and burning down a whole black neighborhood. In 1993 under Bill Clinton, Attorney General Janet Reno ordered a fiery assault on the racially integrated Branch Davidian commune near Waco, Texas, killing more than 80 men, women and children on such pretexts as suspected "child abuse." In vigorously protesting these government atrocities, we declared that these people had the right to live and be left alone. Now today, we Marxist atheists are again defending a religious sect, in this case a Mormon one, against a government witchhunt. Sure, the Mormons may be weird, but the main enemy of human progress and women's liberation in the world today is the U.S. imperialist ruling class and its state.■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Communist International and the Struggle for Black Liberation

Under the influence and tutelage of the Communist International led by V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, the early American Communist Party came to understand the strategic importance of the struggle against the oppression of black people in the United States. Writing at the time of the mass Southern civil rights movement, James P. Cannon, a founding leader of both the Communist Party and the Trotskyist movement in the U.S., explained the organic link between the Bolshevik Revolution and a proletarian revolutionary perspective against the racist American capitalist state.

The earlier socialist movement, out of which the Communist Party was formed, never recognized any need for a special program on the Negro question. It was considered purely and simply as an economic problem, part of the struggle between the workers and the capitalists; nothing could be done about the special problems of discrimination and inequality this side of socialism....

The difference—and it was a ***profound*** difference—between the Communist Party of the Twenties and its socialist and radical ancestors, was signified by its break with this tradition. The American communists in the early days, under the influence and pressure of the Russians in the Comintern, were slowly and painfully learning to change their ***attitude***; to assimilate the new theory of the Negro question as a ***special*** question of doubly-exploited second-class citizens, requiring a program of special demands as part of the over-all program—and to start doing something about it....

After November, 1917 this new doctrine—with special emphasis on the Negroes—began to be transmitted to the American communist movement with the authority of the Russian Revolution behind it. The Russians in the Comintern started on the American communists with the harsh, insistent demand that they shake off their own unspoken prejudices, pay attention to the special problems and grievances of the American Negroes, go to work among them, and champion their cause in the white community....

An honest workers' party of the new generation will recognize this revolutionary potential of the Negro struggle, and call for a fighting alliance of the Negro people and the labor movement in a common revolutionary struggle against the present social system.

—James P. Cannon, "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement" (1959), reprinted in *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (Pathfinder Press, 1973)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is 23 May

No. 871 **26 May 2006**

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

CHICAGO

Live Music Fundraiser for Mumia Abu-Jamal

Featuring Funkadesi and Philadelphia Jazz Great Byard Lancaster

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

Thursday, June 15, 5 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Hot House, 31 East Balbo

(Harrison stop on the Red line)

Tickets $20

For more information: (312) 563-0442 or e-mail: chicagopdc@sbcglobal.net

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Immigration Blues

Now, as polls show growing disenchantment with both political parties, the issue of immigration is raised once again, as politicians seek to stir the pot of social resentment.

Voices are raised, tempers are frayed, proposals are launched, and the destinies of millions are apparently held in limbo.

But, in numbers not seen for generations, mostly Mexican-born (or related) families pound the pavements in protest, demanding amnesty for the millions who live and work, in the most thankless jobs, here in the U.S.

The immigration "discussion" masks deeper currents in American life, of those who dread the approaching dawn when those who number the nation's majority are brown, instead of white.

As the government and the servile corporate media hawked fear to trap the nation into the Iraq War, so now fear is once again merchandised for political gain. The perpetual fear of the foreign Other, the fear of Spanish-speaking people, who are called "criminal" for daring to cross the Rio Grande, to inhabit the lands stolen from their ancestors!

The truth of the matter is that it is highly unlikely that over 11 million men, women and children will be returned to Mexican territory. That's because businesses, especially those engaged in agriculture, would virtually go out of business if their immigrant-based workforce up and disappeared.

But, like most people, many Latino immigrants are involved in other businesses and industries in U.S. life. Guess who's doing the lion's share of the work to actually rebuild New Orleans? (In case you've not guessed, let me just say—It ain't FEMA!)

With the exception of Native Americans (as in so-called "Indians"), and African Americans, every person in the U.S. today is a descendant of a willing immigrant. (OK, strict historians will object that many poor whites, especially in the Southern states, were sent to Georgia and Maryland as indentured servants, as part of a penal sentence.)

But the point is clear. Immigration was consciously used to craft the U.S. as a white nation. For centuries, certain racial groups, like Chinese, for example, were specifically excluded by law from citizenship. (Like their Mexican counterparts, many Asians were needed in the building of this country as cheap labor.)

As law professor Ian F. Haney Lopez has shown in his book, "White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race" (New York: NYU Press, 1996), American courts and legislatures have consistently defined "citizens" as "whites," and over the course of centuries, millions of people were denied entry to the U.S., or even if allowed in, denied citizenship, because they were not "white." In 1882, Haney Lopez explains, the U.S. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which barred Chinese workers for a decade. In 1884, the Act was expanded to bar all Chinese people, and shortly thereafter an indefinite ban was implemented. State and federal court decisions banned Syrians, Asian Indians, Palestinians, mixed-race people and multitudes of others on the basis of insufficient whiteness!

That ugly history may be reborn in this latest "battle" over Mexican immigration. Political storms have a way of giving way to political hurricanes that even those who planned them cannot control.

Several years ago, a right-wing politician in California tried to ride the anti-immigrant train to the White House. His name is Pete Wilson, and his playing with fire left him politically burnt. Angry Hispanics in Cali sent him, and some of his colleagues in the Republican Party, into retirement.

But this era of politicians, trying to create an issue that protects them from the falling numbers of the incumbent Bush Administration, look at Wilson's fate as ancient history.

Perhaps the recent demonstrations, massive in their size, vociferous in their spirit, have given them pause.

Time will tell.

The political entity that truly befriends this growing segment of the U.S. population will have tapped into a powerful social force.

Don't expect it to be either the Republicans or the Democrats.

From Death Row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

©2006 Mumia Abu-Jamal

If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Wayneshurg, PA 15370.

Trade Unions Say: Free Mumia Now!

The campaign to free class-war political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is gaining support, in the U.S. and internationally. Mumia, an eloquent and defiant spokesman for the oppressed, has been sitting on death row for some 24 years, falsely convicted of the 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. The fight to free Mumia confronts the full force of the capitalist state's system of injustice that originally framed up this innocent man and is still determined to see him dead. Federal and state courts have barred any of the evidence proving his innocence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner. While the Third Circuit federal appeals court agreed to hear a limited number of challenges to Mumia's frame-up, its decision, expected within months, could open the door to his execution.

When Mumia faced a death warrant in August 1995, a mass outpouring of protest worldwide succeeded in staying the executioner's hand. It is now necessary to mobilize a new generation of youth, fighters for black rights, opponents of the death penalty and, crucially, the labor movement to take up the urgent fight for Mumia's freedom. As the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in its mobilizing brochure, "Mumia Is an Innocent Man—Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!" (25 January): "If undertaken through a mobilization based on the social power of the working class, the fight for Mumia's freedom would be a giant step forward in the defense of all of us against the increasingly depraved and vicious rulers of this country."

We print below two of the trade-union statements in support of the campaign to free Mumia recently received by the PDC and its international fraternal organizations. The first, dated May 4, is by Mike Payne, Chair of the International Longshoremen's Association Local 1526 Public Relations Committee in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. The second, dated April 27, is from the French SUD Rail union in Paris. Join the campaign: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

ILA 1526 Public Relations Committee

It is with a great deal of concern and a deep sense of responsibility I issue this statement of protest and support on behalf of Brother Mumia Abu-Jamal and the campaign to free him. I truly believe that Brother Jamal is an innocent man and was targeted, set-up, framed, wrongfully convicted and sentenced to death.

Brother Jamal, a former Black Panther spokesman and supporter of the organization MOVE has spent over 24 years on death row even though there is documented evidence in the form of the confession of Arnold Beverly who swears that he, not Brother Jamal did the shooting that resulted in the death of a Philadelphia Police Officer.

The Mumia Abu-Jamal case is another blatant example that race and class bias in the U.S. Justice System continues to keep justice, fair and equal treatment out of the reach of the poor, the oppressed, the minority community and the working class of America.

This case exemplifies the fact that you **will only get the amount of justice that you can afford.**

It is without reservation, and with a great measure of pride that I stand proudly with the millions of workers, students, death penalty abolitionists and civil, minority and immigrant rights activists in defense and in support of Brother Jamal. **FREE HIM NOW!!!**

Darryl "Mike D." Payne

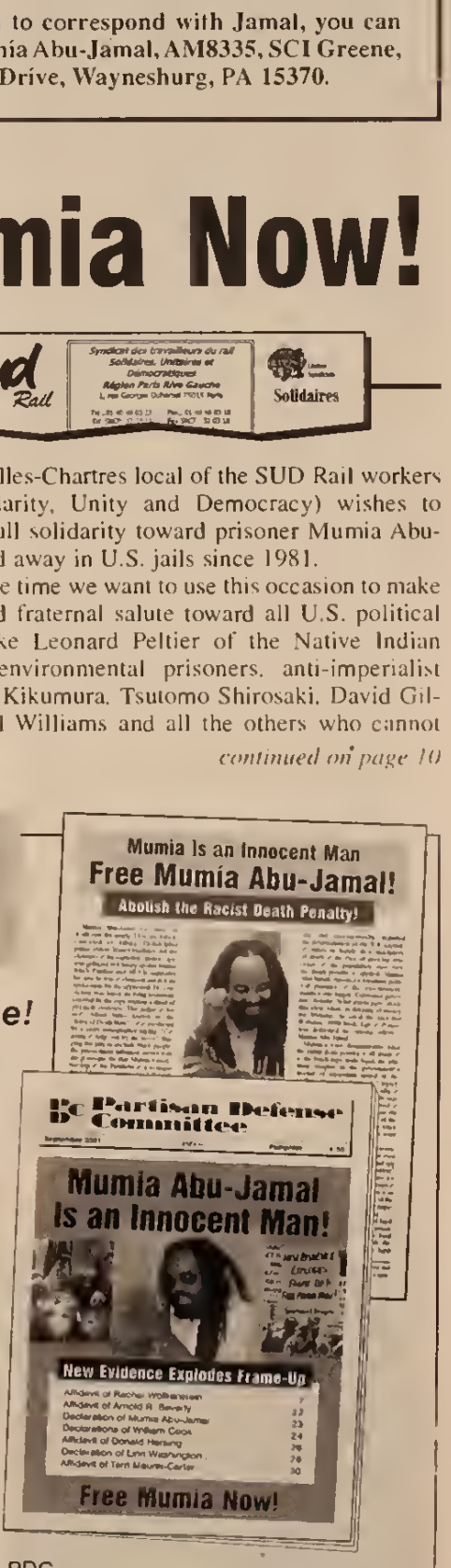
SUD Rail — Syndicat des travailleurs du rail Solidaires, Unitaires et Démocratiques — Région Paris Rive Gauche — Solidaires

The Versailles-Chartres local of the SUD Rail workers union (Solidarity, Unity and Democracy) wishes to express its full solidarity toward prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, locked away in U.S. jails since 1981.

At the same time we want to use this occasion to make a sincere and fraternal salute toward all U.S. political prisoners, like Leonard Peltier of the Native Indian movement, environmental prisoners, anti-imperialist prisoners Yu Kikumura, Tsutomo Shirosaki, David Gilbert, Richard Williams and all the others who cannot

continued on page 10

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now! Join the Campaign!



Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 130 Morningside Drive, Suite 6C, New York, NY 10027.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of our pamphlet, *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* This 32-page pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom with the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for 50 cents. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, "Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!"—$2 for 25 copies. Order from, make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

Partisan Defense Committee • e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net

P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099 .....(212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867 .....(312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462 .....(510) 839-0852

U.S. Out of Iraq Now!

The U.S. Occupation and the Kurdish Question

Under the U.S. occupation of Iraq, ethnic antagonisms rooted in the imperialists' carve-up of the Near East and stoked by decades of bourgeois-nationalist rule threaten to erupt in an all-sided orgy of bloodletting. The bombing of the Shi'ite Al-Askariya Mosque in Samarra in February touched off an explosion of communal violence between Shi'ite and Sunni Muslims that left hundreds, mostly Sunni, dead. Almost daily, the bodies of victims of communal militias or the Shi'ite-dominated police force turn up in and around Baghdad, often hideously tortured and finished off execution-style. Tens of thousands have fled their homes in the face of "ethnic cleansing" of mixed villages and neighborhoods by Sunni, Shi'ite or Kurdish forces. This comes on top of the brutal massacres, massive arrests and widespread torture carried out directly by U.S. forces.

The latest expression of Washington's cynical claim to be bringing "democracy" to Iraq is a puppet government, announced on May 20. As with the previous government, it is dominated by Shi'ite and Kurdish parties at the expense of the minority Sunni Arabs, whose leaders played a dominant role under the regime of Saddam Hussein. The ministries of defense, the interior and national security have still not been filled because each ethnic group fears the murderous consequences if its rivals get control over the armed forces and police.

The imperialist occupation has fostered reactionary forces in Iraqi society, from Islamic fundamentalists and rival clan leaders to virulent bourgeois nationalists. With these forces now at each other's throats, the stage is set for civil war within Iraq's borders and significant destabilization beyond. Sunni Arab leaders across the Near East are bristling over the fact that in Iraq, for the first time in centuries, an Arab country is dominated by Shi'ites. The Wahabi rulers of neighboring Saudi Arabia, where the population of the oil-rich eastern region is predominantly Shi'ite, view with alarm the growing influence of Shi'ite Iran in southern Iraq. The Turkish regime of Recep Tayyip Erdogan has amassed some 250,000 troops, backed by tanks and helicopter gunships, in the southeastern Kurdish region along the Iraqi border, aiming to stifle any stirring of Kurdish independence.

AP

Getty

Building in Kirkuk, key city in Kurdish region of Iraq, destroyed by U.S. bombs, April 2003. Left: Kurdish nationalist leader Massoud Barzani greets Condoleezza Rice, May 2005.

For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

The deepening sectarian bloodshed underlines the fact that Iraq is not a nation but rather a patchwork of different peoples and ethnicities carved up by the British imperialists out of the Turkish Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War. The borders of Iraq were arbitrarily drawn to encompass imperialist oil concessions, forcing together historically hostile populations. In such a society, stable bourgeois-democratic rule can be nothing more than a pipe dream. Absent the working class emerging as an independent political force in a struggle against neocolonial rule, each of these populations can come to power only by oppressing the others and in alliance with U.S. imperialism.

This is exemplified by the Kurds, whose nationalist leaders actively collaborated with the U.S. invasion of Iraq, offering their Kurdish militias (the *pesh merga*) as an auxiliary to U.S. military forces. Today, the two rival Kurdish bourgeois-nationalist parties, Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and Massoud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), act as pawns of the U.S. occupation forces. Since 1991, a semi-autonomous Kurdish region has existed in northern Iraq, first under cover of a U.S.-enforced "no fly zone" and now under direct U.S. military occupation.

This is a cynical parody of self-determination for the Kurdish people, who have endured generations of oppression at the hands of various colonialist and nationalist regimes. The Kurdish nationalist leaders in Iraq have subordinated themselves to the American-led occupation forces. And many Iraqi Kurds mistakenly look with favor on the occupation as a guarantor against Arab conquest. Any fight for Kurdish independence that does not take as its starting point opposition to the occupation and to the nationalist parties that serve it will necessarily be subordinated to the occupation.

Iraqi Kurdistan: Oil and Ethnic Conflict

Numbering some 30 million people, the Kurds constitute the largest nation in the world without a state of its own. Kurdistan includes the expanse of rugged mountains and parched valleys that straddles the remote reaches of four different countries: Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Thus, to achieve Kurdish self-determination requires the overthrow of four capitalist states.

From bombing and gassing by British planes in the 1920s through the brutal repression under Saddam Hussein's rule to Turkey's current war of annihilation, the people of Kurdistan have been the victims of repression, forced transfers and massacres by the colonial powers and local capitalist regimes alike. The Kurdish people have a long record of struggle against their oppressors. Their feudalist and bourgeois-nationalist misleaders have just as long a record of sacrificing these struggles for illusory support from the imperialists or their regional lackeys.

When U.S. forces drove out Falluja's Sunni population and devastated the city in late 2004, the Iraqi troops that supported them were largely the Kurdish *pesh merga* combined with some Shi'ite units from the south. Soon afterward, the same combination aided U.S. forces that overran the mixed Kurdish-Arab city of Mosul after it had been seized by Sunni insurgents. Around that time, former UN weapons inspector Scott Ritter commented that the only effective unit of the Iraqi army was the 36th battalion, "a Kurdish militia, retained by the US military because the rest of the Iraqi army is unwilling or unable to carry the fight to the Iraqi resistance fighters" (*Al Jazeera* online, 9 November 2004).

In Kurdish-dominated northern Iraq, which is portrayed by the U.S. occupiers as a model for the rest of the country, *pesh merga* backed by U.S. troops have attacked Sunni and Shi'ite Arabs as well as the Turkmen and Christian Assyrian minorities, seizing their property and driving them out by the thousands. The wave of terror began immediately after the U.S. occupation and surged after the January 2005 elections, in which the PUK and KDP consolidated their control over the provincial government. A focal point in the conflict is the battle to control the city of Kirkuk, which lies atop huge oil reserves. In fact, some 40 percent of Iraq's oil reserves are located in the Kurdish region.

To suppress Kurdish nationalism and dilute the Kurds' political strength in this oil-rich region, successive Sunni Arab governments in Baghdad systematically expelled Kurds from Kirkuk and surrounding areas and replaced them with Arabs from the south. "Arabization" was intensified by Saddam Hussein after the 1991 Gulf War, when hundreds of thousands of Kurds were forcibly driven out of their homes.

Now the Kurds are reversing the process. The PUK and KDP have repatriated as many as 300,000 Kurds to the outskirts of Kirkuk in rapidly expanding settlements, effectively adding hundreds of thousands of voters ahead of a referendum on the status of Kirkuk scheduled for the end of 2007. The repatriations have provoked bloody confrontations between Arabs and Kurds. In recent weeks, hundreds of Shi'ite militia have moved into Kirkuk to jockey for position, setting the stage for more bloodshed.

Kurdish Liberation and Permanent Revolution

With U.S. support, the two Kurdish nationalist parties have held sway over the people of the region through fear and terror. As *Time* online (17 March) reported: "Kurdistan is a veritable police state, where the Asayeesh—the military security—has a house in each neighborhood of the major cities, and where the Parastin 'secret police' monitors phone conversations and keeps tabs on who attends Friday prayers."

The KDP, which dominates Erbil and Dohuk provinces, and the PUK, which controls Suleymania province, both have their own militia. Demonstrations are banned, and journalists are regularly arrested and beaten. The writer Kamal Karim, an Iraqi-born Kurd with Austrian citizenship, was sentenced to 30 years in prison after accusing Barzani of corruption and abuse of power. After an international outcry, his sentence was reduced to 18 months and he was later pardoned.

But the Kurdish people in Iraq are hardly a homogeneous mass lined up in support of their nationalist leaders. A March 16 demonstration in Halabja, where Saddam Hussein's regime launched a poison gas attack in 1988 that killed some 5,000 people, exposed the anger against the

Reulers

March 16: Kurdish protesters in Halabja carrying man wounded in attack by Kurdish security forces.

nationalist leaders simmering beneath the surface of Kurdish "unity." As officials gathered for a day of mourning on the anniversary of the 1988 atrocity, thousands of angry Kurds took to the streets to protest corruption, tyranny and neglect. *Pesh merga* fired on the demonstration, killing a 17-year-old demonstrator. Enraged protesters reached a monument and a museum commemorating the victims of the gas attack and set the museum on fire.

It is a measure of the depth of popular rage that the protesters burned a monument commemorating their own suffering. The BBC (18 March) reported that the monument had become a focus of popular anger because, according to residents, "officials have used the atrocities for their own political ends, but they have seen little in return."

The March 16 protest was the latest in a series of demonstrations and student strikes across Iraqi Kurdistan against corruption, unemployment, poor services and lack of housing. Despite the $4 to $5 billion that the regional government receives from the central government, none of it trickles down to the impoverished population. Much of the region remains underdeveloped, with high rates of illiteracy and unemployment. Disappointed and frustrated with the nationalist parties, many students and other youth are turning to the Kurdistan Islamic Union, which is linked to the Muslim Brotherhood.

The Kurds are not simply victims of national oppression and repeated betrayals by their nationalist leaders. As we pointed out in a two-part series, "The Kurdish People and the U.S. Occupation of Iraq" (*WV* Nos. 804 and 805, 23 May and 6 June 2003):

> "There is a sizable Kurdish working class with a history of militant struggle in the oil fields of Kirkuk and other strategic centers. But for the most part the Kurdish proletariat is to be found outside of Kurdistan in such industrial centers as Istanbul and the mining regions of southern Turkey, as well as Baghdad—at least before it was starved by sanctions and bombed to rubble. It is in the urban centers, among the industrial proletariat, that the power exists to lead the Kurdish people to freedom."

In the colonial and semicolonial countries in the epoch of imperialism, only the proletariat in power can achieve the tasks that were historically addressed by the classic bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries, such as national emancipation, land to the tiller and formal equality before the law. To open the road to socialism, proletarian revolutions in the Third World must be linked to the fight for the overthrow of capitalism in the advanced industrial countries of Europe, North America and Japan. This understanding, the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution, encapsulates the experience of the 1917 Russian Revolution.

As part of the multinational proletariat of the Near East, Kurdish workers can play a leading role in bringing down the rotten structure set up to serve the imperialist overlords. Kurdish and Turkish workers in Europe, especially in Germany, can serve as a living bridge linking the Kurdish struggle for independence to the fight for socialist revolution in the Near East and the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe. This struggle requires the leadership of internationalist workers parties, which will inscribe on their banner the call for a ***Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan, part of a socialist federation of the Near East.***

Forge Proletarian Revolutionary Parties!

The rulers of Turkey, Iran and Syria are unanimously hostile to any serious concession to Kurdish nationalism in Iraq, fearful that this would inspire Kurds throughout the region to seek independence. This is especially true of the Turkish ruling class, which since the mid 1980s has been waging a campaign of annihilation against the Kurds and the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). For decades, Turkey was a favored recipient of military hardware from the U.S., serving as a key outpost in the Cold War against the Soviet Union.

From 1984 to 1999, the Turkish military killed some 37,000 people and forcibly transferred hundreds of thousands, possibly millions, of Kurdish villagers, burning and razing thousands of their hamlets. For years, the central government banned the use of the Kurdish language in schools and in publishing and broadcasting. Speaking Kurdish in public was outlawed. The Kurdish people were officially referred to as "mountain Turks," their villages' names changed to Turkish names.

AP

March 29: Turkish riot police mobilized to put down protest in Kurdish city of Diyarbakir following funerals for nationalist guerrillas killed by army.

The Turkish bourgeoisie has introduced cosmetic reforms intended to appease the European Union (EU), as part of Ankara's bid for EU membership. Thus the regime cynically allowed Kurdish-language classes in private schools, which very few of the impoverished Kurds can afford to attend. Kurdish radio broadcasts were limited to four hours per week and television broadcasts to two hours.

With hopes of joining the EU now dwindling, the Erdogan regime is trying to deflect anger over rising unemployment, a deteriorating economy and allegations of graft and corruption by whipping up chauvinist hatred of the Kurds. In the past 18 months, the upsurge in Turkish chauvinism has frequently boiled over into vigilante violence and attempted lynchings of both Kurds and leftists.

Meanwhile, the Turkish state has stepped up its repression in the southeastern Kurdish region, from military operations against nationalist guerrillas to suppression of popular protest. Erdogan has explicitly threatened that "the security forces will intervene against the pawns of terrorism, no matter if they are children or women" (*BBC News*, 1 April). Like Turkey, Iran has amassed thousands of troops along the Iraqi border, where they regularly shell positions of the Iranian militant Kurdish group PEJAK, which took refuge in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Turkish, Persian and Arab workers must be won to the need to uphold the national rights of the Kurds and the rights of other oppressed peoples, thus opening the road for joint workers struggle against their common capitalist oppressors. This perspective is diametrically opposed to the petty-bourgeois nationalist program of the PKK, now also known as the People's Congress of Kurdistan or Kongra-Gel. Despite its claim to be a "Marxist-Leninist" national liberation movement, the PKK is vehemently opposed to a program of proletarian-internationalist struggle and consequently ends up looking to the good graces of imperialism. Thus the PKK has repeatedly called on the UN, the EU and even the U.S. to pressure Turkey to resolve the Kurdish question. The PKK even embraced the U.S. occupation of Iraq, proclaiming its desire to "establish a dialogue with Washington on joining its campaign of democratisation in the Middle East" (*Financial Times*, 15 April 2003).

Founded by Abdullah Öcalan in the 1970s, the PKK has long waged a courageous struggle against the far better equipped Turkish army, winning mass support among rural Kurds and among Kurdish workers in Turkey, West Europe and elsewhere. For the PKK, guerrilla war was a means to pressure the Turkish bourgeoisie to grant concessions. And as it increasingly tailored its politics to the reactionary climate of the post-Soviet world, the PKK abandoned its call for an independent Turkish Kurdistan, asserting that "Kurdish reality should be acknowledged in a united democratic Turkey" (*Kongra-Gel News Bulletin*, 12 November 2004).

The PKK supported Ankara's bid for membership in the EU, calling on the European imperialists to sponsor a "dialogue" between the Kurdish movement and the Turkish regime. These are the same imperialist powers that denied asylum to PKK leader Öcalan as he was being hounded by Turkish security in the late 1990s. The U.S. provided the intelligence that led to his abduction by Turkish commandos in Kenya. Like the U.S., the EU considers the PKK a "terrorist" organization. Germany has long banned the PKK and a range of Kurdish political, cultural and social organizations.

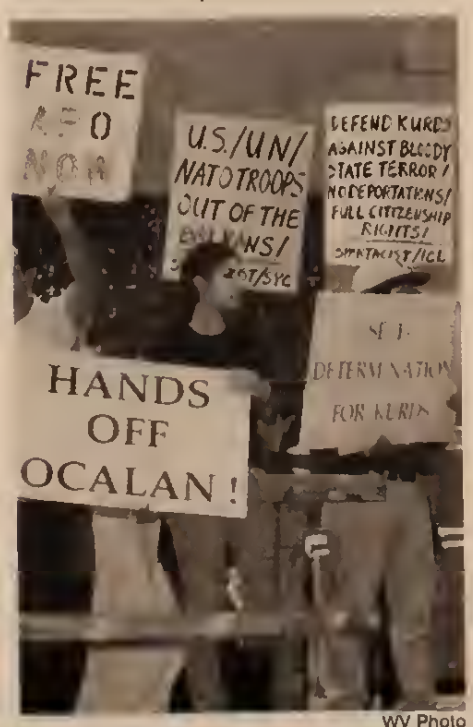
Los Angeles Times

U.S. soldier guards refinery in oil-rich Kirkuk, April 2003.

Raising the call for self-determination for Iraq's Kurdish people is the Worker-Communist Party of Iraq (WCP-Iraq), which has a certain base in Iraqi Kurdistan. In 2003, these reformists called on the United Nations to "safeguard free conditions" in Iraq while calling for the withdrawal of U.S. and British occupation forces. The UN is nothing but an instrument serving the interests of the imperialist powers. It is the same institution that for 12 years, beginning in 1990, imposed sanctions on Iraq, killing some 1.5 million people. It was UN weapons inspections that helped pave the way for the U.S. war of occupation. Over the last year, the WCP-Iraq's main initiative has been the creation of the Iraq Freedom Congress (IFC), whose program boils down to the call for a "secular, unifying government"—i.e., the continuation of capitalist rule with a "democratic" veneer.

In greetings to a 1984 conference of Kurdish militants in Europe, a Spartacist representative laid out the alternative to the history of betrayals by bourgeois nationalists and reformist left organizations:

> "We understand that the struggle for a United Socialist Republic of Kurdistan will be shaped by and in turn shape the future of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole region toward a socialist federation of the Near East. Our model is Lenin's Russia of 1917-1924 where the Bolsheviks offered the national minorities the option and the advantages of association with the Soviet Federation. For our part, we are dedicated to the forging of the internationalist party of worldwide proletarian revolution and speak to you in the understanding that the future of humanity depends on its construction."
>
> —*WV* No. 362, 14 September 1984■



WV Photo

NYC, July 1999: United-front demonstration demanding freedom for imprisoned PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
international rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail

❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

❑ I would like to contribute $_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (_____) _____ E-mail _____

871

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Against Capitalists' Divide-and-Rule

Immigrant Rights and Black Liberation

The recent wave of demonstrations for immigrant rights, which were predominantly made up of Latino working people, underscores the growing weight and combativity of immigrant labor in the U.S. The protests have also touched off a virulent chauvinist backlash spearheaded by such right-wing media types as CNN's Lou Dobbs and politicians like California Republican Congressman Dana Rohrbacher. Such racist reactionaries are even attempting to incite sections of the black population against immigrants. Thus Dobbs, railing against the liberals who have dubbed the protests a "new civil rights movement," cynically declaims that blacks were not "illegal aliens."

It is clear that there are real divisions among American blacks over the fight for immigrant rights. Many black working people see immigrants as successfully competing for scarce jobs while further depressing the wages of low-paid workers. It is a fact that capitalism brings into the working class new sources of cheaper labor, principally immigrants from poorer, less developed countries who have few rights and are deemed more disposable in times of economic contraction. The economic pressures resulting from increased immigration bear down especially on black people, historically segregated at the bottom of U.S. society, and also the lower levels of white workers. The resulting divisions within the working class can only be countered by militant struggle by the labor movement to defend the interests of all workers.

A number of black liberals express a certain degree of resentment that the immigrant rights protests are detracting attention from the horrific conditions and brutal oppression of the ghettoized black masses. Reflecting this sentiment, one prominent black commentator in Los Angeles wrote, "This is what vexes blacks most about immigration, even the most progressive and pro-immigration among us: the idea that people from somewhere else are ultimately accorded more of a place and a function in this country than we ever have and probably ever will be" (*Los Angeles Times*, 5 April).

Along similar lines, in a 2 May online article, L.A.-based black publicists Earl Ofari Hutchinson and Jasmyne A. Cannick criticize mainstream Latino organizations for their narrowly based ethnic politics. In particular, they point to the mission statement of the Mexican American Political Association, one of the chief organizers of the recent protests, which states that the organization "has been, and is, dedicated to the constitutional and democratic principle of political freedom and representation for the Mexican and Hispanic people of the United States of America." They comment, "There is no mention of blacks, poor whites or even other immigrant groups, just Latinos."

More generally, Hutchinson and Cannick argue:

> "Latinos who want to change the mindset of blacks on illegal immigrants' rights must make a visible and concerted effort to reach out to blacks and not just on immigrant rights issues but on issues that are important to blacks as well. Just as they vigorously pound on Congress, the Bush Administration, employers, and the American people to make jobs and justice the watchwords for dispossessed immigrants, they must make jobs and justice the watchword for dispossessed poor blacks too. This is the right and indeed the only way to build a firm and lasting relationship between blacks and immigrants rights groups."

Hutchinson and Cannick's criticisms of the bourgeois liberal organizers of the protests for not raising any demands speaking to the oppressed black populace are entirely justified. However, their solution is just another version of liberal constituency politics, centered on the Democratic Party.

Capitalism and Black Oppression

In opposition to such bourgeois pressure politics, as Marxists we understand that the only way to overcome the divide between immigrant and native-born, and between black and white, will be the united class struggle of the multiracial proletariat against the common capitalist enemy and its profit system. This perspective calls for forging a new union leadership committed to the political independence of the working class and the development of a multiracial revolutionary workers party. Such a party would fight for quality, integrated housing and schools and for free, quality health care for all. It would fight for full citizenship rights and for the unionization of vulnerable immigrant laborers. It would advance demands for a sliding scale of wages and hours to distribute available jobs to everyone who wants them with no loss in pay, challenging the capitalist system that requires a reservoir of the unemployed to keep wages down. To achieve full employment and social equality requires the overthrow of the capitalist order through socialist revolution and the construction of a rational, planned economy based on collectivized property.

Central to the struggle for the emancipation of labor in the U.S. is the fight for black liberation. The special oppression of black people as a race-color caste is rooted in centuries of chattel slavery and subsequent segregation. Indeed, black oppression is rooted in the very foundation of racist American capitalism. The racist atrocity in New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina revealed the harsh reality of black oppression to the whole world.

While newly arrived plebeian immigrants in their vast majority begin at the bottom of U.S. society, light-skinned immigrants have historically been able to advance up the economic ladder. The color bar is the American social measuring stick, ranging from blacks on the bottom to whites on the top. The social standing and prospects of all "people of color" are largely determined by this measuring stick, with dark-skinned people tending toward the black end and the lighter-skinned toward the white end. This is clearly indicated by the extent of intermarriage across racial and ethnic lines: The rate of intermarriage between non-Hispanic whites and Latinos or Asians is far higher than between whites and blacks.

The fight against black oppression is a strategic question of the American socialist revolution. There will be no social revolution in this country without the united struggle of black, white and immigrant workers led by their multiracial vanguard party, just as there is no other road to eliminating the oppression of black people other than the victorious conquest of power by the U.S. proletariat. The growth of the immigrant workforce is actually a potential boon for the cause of black liberation, by infusing the American labor movement with traditions of a higher level of class struggle in Mexico and other "Third World" countries. This is the key factor behind the transformation of Los Angeles from a largely open-shop city to "Strike City U.S.A."

WV Photo

Los Angeles transit workers at strike rally, September 2000.

L.A. Rulers Foment Black-Latino Conflict

The Los Angeles area is a textbook example of the capitalists' divide-and-rule policy. In 1992, Latinos joined blacks in protesting the racist acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King. Shaken by the multiracial nature of the ghetto upheavals, which posed the possibility of integrated class struggle, the bourgeois rulers—abetted by black and Latino nationalist demagogues—worked to pit the black and Latino poor against each other in a scramble over the crumbs from the "Rebuild L.A." project. Of course, the bourgeoisie had no intention of rebuilding the decaying ghettos and barrios.

Los Angeles has witnessed growing antagonisms between blacks and Latinos, as once predominantly black neighborhoods have been increasingly populated by Latino immigrants over the past couple of decades. Contributing to such ethnic conflicts is the fact that L.A. has one of the highest poverty rates—about 22 percent—and the largest homeless population in the country.

Over the last two years, sharp clashes between black and Latino students have taken place at nearly a dozen L.A. County schools. Predictably, the response of school and police authorities has been increased repression, prompting one Jefferson High School student to remark, "They treat us like we're in prison." These antagonisms have reverberated in the prisons and jails. In February, 2,000 inmates at the North County Correctional Facility in Castaic rioted for four hours after a group of Latinos attacked black prisoners with prison furniture. Fighting also occurred at the Men's Central Jail in downtown L.A. and the Pitchess Detention Center. In one case, prison authorities responded to the fighting by forcing more than 100 inmates at an L.A. County jail to strip naked, leaving them with only blankets to cover themselves.

The anti-immigrant Minutemen vigilantes, who mainly appeal to poorer whites susceptible to racist demagogy, were recently joined in L.A. by a small, reactionary black outfit called the "Crispus Attucks Brigade." Its leader, Ted Hayes, rants: "Illegal immigration is the greatest threat to African Americans since slavery"! Hayes was echoed by Theodore J. Smith III, chairman of the African American Caucus of the California Democratic Party, who wrote in a letter to the *Los Angeles Times* (28 April), "Activist Ted Hayes is right—illegal immigration has lowered wages and pushed African Americans out of the building trades and service jobs that were our opportunity to have the American dream." Many blacks have seen right through these divisive attempts, and some have actively protested against the Minutemen. When Hayes recently staged a photo-op in L.A.'s Leimert Park embracing Minutemen honchos, his followers were outnumbered by black protesters who equated the Confederate-flag-wielding Minutemen with the KKK.

Immigrant-bashing and anti-black racism always go hand in hand. The passage in 1994 of California's notorious, anti-immigrant Proposition 187, which sought to deny public services to "illegal aliens" and was supported by approximately half of black voters, served to pave the way for the passage two years later of Prop. 209, which eliminated affirmative action programs in hiring and education, with devastating impact on blacks in particular.

Whipping up tensions between Latinos and blacks especially serves the L.A. rulers in their drive against the resurgent labor movement in the city, particularly the powerful unions that are largely Latino and black, such as transit and longshore. Internally, the power of labor is shackled by the class-collaborationist trade-union bureaucracy. Maria Elena Durazo, head of the L.A. County Federation of Labor, recently alibied the racist hotel bosses by claiming that "ethnic networks" were the reason for the decline in the number of black workers and the increasing numbers of Latino workers in the local hotel industry. Durazo's "solution" is to plead with the employers to recruit and train more black people, citing UNITE HERE Local 11's contract "guarantees" from some hotels to do so. Instead of looking to the racist bosses, there should be union-run hiring halls carrying out an equitable distribution of available work, with union-run programs to hire more blacks, other minorities and women.

The mass unemployment of black youth, who are lucky to get a minimum-wage job at McDonald's, is not caused by the influx of immigrants from Mexico and elsewhere. The pro-capitalist labor tops, who have accepted large cuts in union jobs, wages and benefits, bear major responsibility for the dire situation of workers and minorities. The past few decades have seen the disappearance of millions of stable, well-paying jobs as a result of deindustrialization and de-unionization in capitalist America. For example, industries such as auto and steel once were the economic bedrock of black working-class communities in Detroit, Chicago and other Midwestern cities. The labor force in these industries has been slashed, non-union operations have proliferated (especially in the South).

We fight for a workers government which would rip the means of production out of the hands of the capitalists and put the wealth produced by working people to the service of all. A planned socialist economy would rebuild this society, providing the necessary material basis for productive jobs and a decent living standard for all, native-born and immigrant alike.■

Immigrants...

(continued from page 12)

discrimination and massive unemployment. While the racist press in France calls these youth "immigrants," actually most of them were born and raised in France. They are the children and grandchildren of the immigrant workers who came to France in the '60s and '70s from the countries of France's former colonial empire, centrally North Africa.

The scrapping of the CPE is a victory. When the working class entered the scene with strikes, it changed the entire situation and showed the power of the working class. The government is coming out of the struggle *weakened*. Many students and workers want to continue the struggle until the whole racist act, of which the CPE is a part is scrapped. Now, France and the U.S. are different. But they also have much in common. There are lessons from each as to how it is necessary to fight and what is needed to end exploitation and oppression internationally.

We start from the standpoint that only socialist revolution internationally can put an end to the growing immiseration of the toiling masses—both in dependent countries like Mexico and in the imperialist centers. The fundamental divide in all capitalist countries is between the working class, whose labor makes society run, and the capitalist class that reaps enormous wealth from exploiting that labor. Under capitalist imperialism, a handful of wealthy industrial powers strive to divide and redivide the rest of the world for their own aggrandizement, leading to neocolonial exploitation and imperialist wars, of which we have seen quite a few. As we explained in the International Communist League Declaration of Principles [*Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 54, Spring 1998]:

> "Modern capitalism, i.e., imperialism, reaching into all areas of the planet, in the course of the class struggle and as economic need demands, brings into the proletariat at its bottom new sources of cheaper labor, principally immigrants from poorer and less-developed regions of the world—workers with few rights who are deemed more disposable in times of economic contraction. Thus capitalism in ongoing fashion creates different strata among the workers, while simultaneously amalgamating the workers of many different lands. Everywhere, the capitalists, abetted by aristocracy-of-labor opportunists, try to poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. The struggle for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism is thus a vital task for the proletarian vanguard."

So that's sort of a theme of this talk: the unity and integrity of the working class. We fight for this against chauvinism and racism because this is a vital task for the proletarian vanguard that must lead the fight for socialist revolution internationally. As Karl Marx said more than 150 years ago, the workers of the world have no fatherland. This perspective also requires an uncompromising fight for the class independence of the proletariat from all wings of the capitalist exploiters; and in the U.S., that chiefly means breaking the ties that bind labor and the oppressed to the Democratic Party.

Immigrants and the "War on Terror"

Now, the context of this bipartisan war on immigrants is a bipartisan "war on terror" which is really a war on immigrants, blacks, workers and democratic rights in general in the U.S. and a pretext for neocolonial wars and occupations abroad. There has been an all-out capitalist assault on jobs, wages, unions, health care, pensions, education, and every meager social benefit that this country has ever provided. And then there are the police-state measures of every variety: the torture chambers around the world, rendition, domestic spying at an unprecedented level, the USA Patriot Act, the Maritime Security Act, disappearing people, declaring citizens to be "enemy combatants" with no rights—all of this no longer covert, but justified aggressively!

Now I read in the *New York Times* that the U.S. government is saying they don't want to send people back from Guantánamo because they might be mistreated in their home countries! I mean, "hypocrisy" doesn't even describe this. Look at the persecution of immigrants from Muslim countries, like this vicious frame-up of the young Pakistani man and his father in Lodi, California. The U.S. government would have you believe the top leaders of Al Qaeda are making the pilgrimage to Lodi, California! I've heard some tall tales in my life, but this one takes the cake.

Abroad, it's U.S. imperialism's bloody war on Iraq and Afghanistan. Iraq was one of the most advanced countries of the Middle East; the mass murderers who run *this* country have massacred its people and destroyed its infrastructure. We called for defense of Iraq during the Iraq war and now we call for the unconditional withdrawal of the U.S. from Iraq and Afghanistan and for class struggle at home against the capitalist rulers carrying out these imperialist depredations. We call for "Hands off Iran," currently in the U.S.'s gun sights, and hope to hell they do have nuclear weapons, because that's the only thing that U.S. imperialism respects.

Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

University of Texas

Left: Mexican migrant workers in 1933 California cotton strike. Below: Deported workers back in Mexico, victims of 1950s "Operation Wetback."

All of this is very much related to the ascendancy of counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Its demise was a world-historic defeat for working people all over the world, decisively altering the political landscape on this planet. No longer challenged by Soviet military might, U.S. imperialism has declared a "one-superpower world," running roughshod over the whole world. In France, as in all of West Europe, the capitalist governments are trying to overturn the remains of the so-called welfare state—social measures introduced mostly during the anti-Soviet Cold War by a ruling class fearful of the spectre of social revolution. And in Russia the working people starve. We fought for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, and for proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucracy and return the USSR to the revolutionary road of Lenin and Trotsky.

Immigrant Rights Protests and the Democrats

Now after this probably too-long introduction, let me get back to today's immigration struggles. There has been massive immigration to the U.S. in the past decade: 12.1 percent of the population of the U.S. was born in another country. This is the highest figure since 1920 (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 May). It is now estimated that there are nearly 12 million undocumented immigrants in the U.S., about half of them from Mexico, another quarter from Central and Latin America, the remaining quarter from a variety of different Asian and European countries.

But the really significant date here is 1994 and the imposition of NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement. Our U.S., Canadian and Mexican sections wrote a joint statement beforehand, where we said: "Yankee imperialism gears up for global trade war—Stop the U.S. 'free trade' rape of Mexico." We were so right: As a direct result of this agreement, millions of Mexicans were forced out of the countryside, leading to a huge increase in urban poverty in Mexico and mass migration by millions of desperate immigrants to the U.S. looking for work. It is estimated that 10 percent of the Mexican population now lives in the U.S., and the $20 billion they send home annually is Mexico's third-largest source of income. Meanwhile, the Mexican rulers cry crocodile tears over the plight of Mexican immigrants. But this is simply a smokescreen to cover exploitation and oppression by a parasitic Mexican bourgeoisie. None of the bourgeois parties in Mexico opposed NAFTA.

What is hopeful and encouraging in the recent period is that in marked contrast to the past, there has been an outpouring of millions of immigrant protesters, despite their vulnerability to government victimization. Millions took to the streets on May 1 in the largest coordinated demonstrations since the Vietnam War. Many Tyson Meat and Perdue chicken processing factories were closed. The port in L.A. was described by the *San Francisco Chronicle* as "eerily quiet," as the mostly immigrant, but still not unionized, port truckers shut it down. Good for them! Across California there was a big student boycott. And, of course, the U.S. government has stepped up deportations in a clear attempt at intimidation, rounding up nearly 1,200 people in one big sweep. The Department of Homeland Security, which had no interest whatsoever in saving black people in New Orleans, promises to be quite efficient when it comes to deporting Hispanic people and sending a message that they better not go to the demos.

Look at these protests: massive demos of desperate and brave Hispanic immigrants fighting for their rights but carrying the red, white and blue of U.S. imperialism and led by the reactionary Catholic church hierarchy and a bunch of Democratic Party capitalist politicians. The Catholic church—an all-sided force for reaction. People here in L.A. could probably speak more specifically than me, but Cardinal Mahony has his own history as a union-buster.

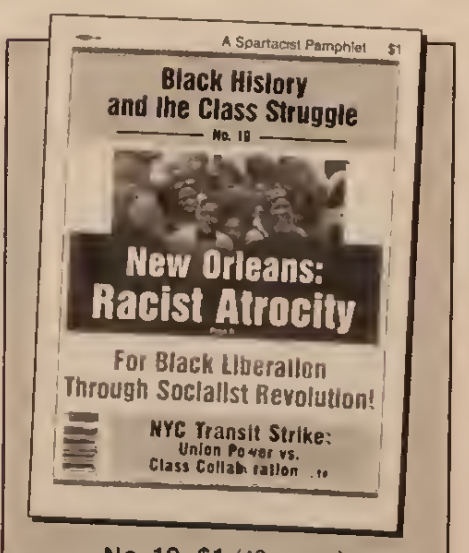
One of the main slogans of the marches has been: "Today we march, tomorrow we vote," a clear attempt to steer anger at the Republican-led efforts to criminalize immigrants into the Democratic Party. But it was Clinton's 1996 immigration "reform" that allowed the deportation of even longtime permanent residents for the most trivial of offenses. It was Clinton's Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act that vastly expanded the racist death penalty and set up star-chamber courts to deport immigrants without even allowing their lawyers to see the "evidence," such as it was. It was Clinton's Operation Gatekeeper that further militarized the San Diego border, resulting each year in the deaths of hundreds crossing the border in remote desert areas.

The Democratic Party is a capitalist party, representing the class enemy. We fight for a revolutionary workers party. And on this point I will here comment: Do you want to know what the very reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO), for example, says about the immigrant marches? "Potentially, the movement can break the logjam of U.S. politics, in which the Republicans launch attack after attack with little or no response from the Democrats" (*Socialist Worker*, 31 March). That's what the ISO is really about: getting the Democrats to respond. For them the point of any movement is to pressure the Democrats to fight for the people. The Democrats may occasionally posture as the friends of labor, immigrants and blacks, the better to hoodwink them. But they are, no less than the Republicans, a capitalist party.

So on to the bills: HR 4437 is the bill, sponsored by Republican Congressman Sensenbrenner and passed by the House of Representatives in December, that would build the 700-mile wall and make it a felony to be an undocumented immigrant or provide any assistance to one. I've been taking classes on how to teach English as a Second Language, and someone made a presentation to my class noting that all of us would-be ESL teachers could wind up in jail. That certainly caught my attention!

What the rally organizers are mostly pushing are alternatives mostly based on bipartisan legislation proposed by Kennedy and McCain. Kennedy's Web site touts this bill as having "tough enforcement measures," and believe me, he isn't kidding. The bill would double the number of border patrol agents, add 5,000 immigration cops to hunt "illegals" in

continued on page 8



No. 19 $1 (48 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Pub Co., Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

Immigrants...

(continued from page 7)

interior states, require Homeland Security to build 20 concentration camps capable of holding 10,000 detainees, and add a hunch of high-tech stuff along the border. Its much-vaunted "path to citizenship" is practically unachievable: it includes significant fines and fees, requires impeccable English and no arrests in this racist society, and you can never have acted adversely to U.S. foreign policy. So, all of you out there who attended those antiwar rallies, you would certainly not be eligible for citizenship. And if Bush has his way, you may yet be declared an "enemy combatant."

The cornerstone of this bill—presumably the liberal part—is the "guest worker" program under which hundreds of thousands of immigrants would be assigned to, and at the mercy of, particular employers. Denied elementary rights, forced to slave in inhuman conditions, never able to become a citizen, then sent back. We've said it's a form of indentured servitude, and that's so clear. The current wrangling over immigration "reform" is entirely within the framework of capitalist interests. On the one hand are the right-wing anti-immigrant ideologues, including those Republicans who hope to ride anti-immigrant chauvinism in the November Congressional elections. On the other hand, there is a wide swath, which goes from the Bush White House and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to most of the Democratic Party, that speaks for those capitalists who depend on the labor of immigrant workers and are pushing various "guest worker" programs. The Kennedy-McCain bill speaks for California agribusiness and sweatshop owners from here to New York, whose slogan is "Use 'em, abuse 'em, and send them back."

California State Library

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly

Chinese workers in California, 1889, part of labor force that built transcontinental railroad. Graphic depicts 1880 anti-Chinese riot in Denver.

Mobilize Labor's Power!

The AFL-CIO leadership is opposed to "expanding" guest worker provisions. But they certainly don't call for citizenship rights, and they don't oppose further militarization of the border. And the Change to Win split-off, which includes the heavily Latino SEIU service employees and UNITE HERE hotel, restaurant and garment workers unions, is worse yet. They are for a guest worker program, and Anna Burger, the head of Change to Win, rants and raves about beefing up the border to prevent illegal immigration. The Teamsters bureaucracy, another component of Change to Win, is notorious for its chauvinist campaigns against Mexican truckers using U.S. highways. Let me comment that when NAFTA was first proposed in the early '90s, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy denounced it very much from the standpoint of gross, chauvinist protectionism.

All of these labor bureaucrats accept and defend the capitalist profit system and identify with the national interests of U.S. imperialism. They tie the unions to the class enemy through the medium of the Democratic Party. Daniel De Leon, an early American socialist, aptly called these bureaucrats the labor lieutenants of capital. Their class collaboration has led to defeat after defeat. It is the task of the revolutionary party to educate the workers so they can politically oust these misleaders and set the unions on the path of class struggle against the capitalists and their whole system.

A symptom of the grave weakness of the U.S. labor movement today was that there was no organized union presence and banners at any of the big immigrant rights rallies. An article in the *Los Angeles Times* (3 May) commented: "Organized labor's money, muscle and mobilizing expertise played an instrumental role in managing the myriad details involved in the two Los Angeles marches." That's true, labor put up the porta-potties and built the stage, and contributed money. The working class was present but it was not mobilized on a class basis. It was dissolved into the classless "people," and therefore the marchers did not express their power as a class. This was deliberate; the bureaucrats don't want organized labor to start thinking about expressing its demands through general strikes. And I will comment on the 12,000 longshoremen on the West Coast. When they vote, that's nothing. When they go on strike and shut down every port on the West Coast, that has immense social power. But the trade-union bureaucracy does not want that power mobilized.

What is needed in the U.S. is a class-struggle mobilization to organize the unorganized, including undocumented workers, into the unions with full rights and protections. The potential for this was seen in the strike by the supermarket workers right here in Southern California in 2003-2004. Had the union tops really tried to extend this strike nationally and enlist Teamster truck drivers to halt shipments to the supermarkets and warehouses, that strike could have been a resounding victory. Such a victory would have paved the way for a successful drive to organize Wal-Mart. That in turn would have had an immediate impact in Mexico, where Wal-Mart is the largest private employer.

During the grocery workers strike, when *la migra* rounded up 250 undocumented Wal-Mart workers, the Spartacist League said, "Free the rounded-up Wal-Mart workers! No deportations!" But the United Food and Commercial Workers bureaucracy, which says it wants to organize these workers, did nothing to mobilize the union on their behalf. Rising to the defense of such workers is the only way to undercut the company and their government in their anti-union maneuvers. Some years ago, the Spartacist League wrote an excellent piece called "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win." In it, we wrote, "No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle on the picket lines, in plant occupations." So true!

Earlier I spoke about the struggles in France, which has a considerably more combative working class. But the class struggle in itself does not solve the crisis of leadership. The union bureaucrats are happy to let the struggle stop and have planned no further strikes to support the students' demands, which virtually assures that the bulk of the law will be implemented. The union bureaucrats in league with the reformist workers parties even got into violence-baiting minority youth protesters, buying into the racist government campaign labeling such youth with the racist code word "hooligans." The leaderships of the opposition Socialist Party and Communist Party are seeking to use the crisis of the rightist government in order to put together a new popular front—that is, a class-collaborationist alliance with capitalist parties—to run in next year's elections and administer capitalism for the capitalists. In contrast, our comrades in France have intervened with a proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist program pointing to the need to fight for socialist revolution.

California: Immigration and Racist Reaction

I want to speak about several aspects of immigration to the U.S., centering on California, which still has the most undocumented immigrants of any state. The recurring pattern of capitalist countries, which is especially clear in the U.S., is that when there is a need for labor, when the economy is expanding, the capitalists attract and recruit workers from poor countries. But when the economy slows down, they deliberately incite anti-immigrant hysteria in order to cut off the flow of immigrants.

This is very clear from a tragic and important chapter of California history. When gold was discovered in California in 1848, there was an immediate demand for labor. There were no railroads connecting California with the more populous East Coast, and overland travel was very expensive. Work in the mines eventually dried up, but by then, after the Civil War, the American capitalists had embarked on a large and very necessary project: the building of the transcontinental railroad. The mine owners imported laborers from China, who were practically slave labor. It was mainly Chinese immigrants who built the western branch and Irish immigrants who built the eastern branch.

But once the railroads were built and the cost of transportation became much lower, there was a big flood of white Europeans into California. There was the beginning of a workers movement, and the local capitalists, many of them fabulously wealthy from the gold strikes, diverted the workers movement against the Chinese. In his book *Reconstruction, America's Unfinished Revolution*, Eric Foner writes: "In California, where indentured Chinese immigrants by 1870 constituted a quarter of the wage labor force, the agitation for their exclusion, more than any other issue, shaped the labor movement's development." So in the 1870s and '80s there was a series of violent anti-Chinese riots up and down the West Coast. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed, cutting off further immigration, which was not reversed until the 1940s. They no longer needed the Chinese, who at one point had been absolutely critical to the development of American capitalism.

I will comment that the bourgeoisie is capable of taking advantage of even the most tragic natural disasters to further its aims, as is clear in New Orleans today as they try to "whiten" the city. Let me give you an example you may not have heard about. In the *San Francisco Chronicle*, there have been endless articles about the 1906 earthquake, marking the 100 year anniversary. The *Chronicle* did not deem fit to tell us that the city fathers of San Francisco tried to take the occasion of the destruction of Chinatown in the earthquake to grab this valuable downtown land from the Chinese and move them to Hunter's Point, then the site of slaughterhouses. As Simon Winchester comments in his book *A Crack in the Edge of the World*:

> "By mid-April the Chinese legation in Washington had made it abundantly clear that no less a figure than the Dowager Empress herself, speaking from deep within the Forbidden City, had demanded that her people be housed where they had long wished to be housed. To underline the issue, the legation (which sent an official party to San Francisco) pointed out that the Chinese government owned title to land on Stockton Street, in the heart of Chinatown, and fully intended to rebuild its consulate there."

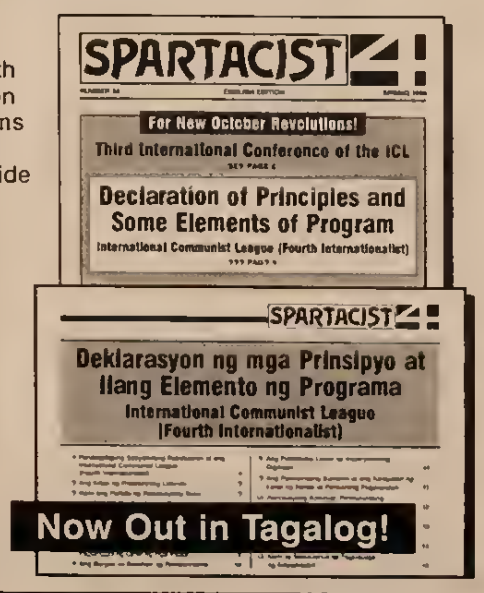
So in this case, the sanctity of private property and the threat of trade sanctions won out, and San Francisco Chinatown was rebuilt where it had been before.

ICL Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program

The Declaration of Principles of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) is a concrete expression of our purpose: to build national sections of a democratic-centralist international which can lead the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution.

Chinese	$1	Japanese	$2
English	$2	Polish	$1
French	$2	Portuguese	$1
German	$2	Russian	$1
Greek	$1	Spanish	$1.50
Indonesian	$1	Tagalog	$1
Italian	$1	Turkish	$1

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO,
New York, NY 10116



Let me continue with my point that the capitalists recruit immigrant workers when they need them and try to get rid of them when they don't. Amid the mass unemployment of the Great Depression of the 1930s, the U.S. repatriated nearly half a million Mexicans from the American Southwest. Some of these people incidentally had citizenship papers, but it didn't matter: they were still deported. And this was, after all, on land that the U.S. stole from Mexico in the 1840s. A workers government in the U.S. would return to Mexico certain predominantly Spanish-speaking areas along the border.

During World War II, when the 120,000 Japanese Americans, many of them working in the fields of California, were rounded up and put in the concentration camps, the growers suddenly discovered that they didn't have enough workers. We've written extensively about the internment, one of the darkest chapters of U.S. history. Out of the resulting labor shortage was born the *bracero* program, which, like the internment of Japanese Americans, was the product of the liberal Democratic Party administration of Franklin Roosevelt. Up to half of 4.5 million Mexican workers toiled in American agriculture over the 20 years of this program from 1942 to 1964. But they were not immigrants and had no right to become immigrants. They were considered permanent Mexican citizens, and they could be sent back by their employer at any time.

In the 1950s, when the *bracero* program was still going on, again over a million Mexicans and Mexican Americans were expelled from the U.S. in an operation whose racist name tells the whole story. It was called Operation Wetback! In

David Neiwert

August 2005: Fascistic anti-immigrant Minutemen vigilantes in Laguna Beach, California.

an interesting book called *Outlaws in the Promised Land*, the author makes the point that often immigration and deportation go on at the same time, and that the revolving door policy is very useful for the capitalists in intimidating people and keeping them from organizing. In 1960, Edward R. Murrow, the newscaster, did a documentary on the *bracero* program called "Harvest of Shame." It was an excellent exposé of the horrible conditions, but I read that Murrow was later very discomforted when he found out that the Soviet Union was showing the movie to demonstrate the evils of capitalism, which it did!

Former *braceros* and their families continue to fight both the U.S. and the Mexican governments for wages that were supposedly set aside and sent to Mexico for them to pick up when they got back there. The *bracero* program was legally abolished, mainly under pressure from the trade unions. But in a sense it still exists. What happens is that the contract worker without rights becomes the so-called illegal alien, also without rights. Let me make an obvious point: If the Pew Hispanic Center knows there are 12 million undocumented immigrants here, then the U.S. authorities certainly know they're here and allow them to be here. The government wants immigrants to be fearful and afraid to organize, but capitalists need them and the government knows that. Mexican immigrants, now as in the 1930s, remain the reserve army of labor for California agribusiness.

For United Class Struggle!

As revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin wrote in an article titled "Capitalism and Workers' Immigration" in 1913:

> "There can be no doubt that dire poverty alone compels people to abandon their native land, and that the capitalists exploit the immigrant workers in the most shameful manner. But only reactionaries can shut their eyes to the progressive significance of this modern migration of nations. Emancipation from the yoke of capital is impossible without the further development of capitalism, and without the class struggle that is based on it. And it is into this struggle that capitalism is drawing the masses of the working people of the whole world, breaking down the musty, fusty habits of local life, breaking down national barriers and prejudices, uniting workers from all countries in huge factories and mines in America, Germany, and so forth."

Today the immigrant worker, who often brings with him militant traditions of class war, is vital to reinvigorating the working class here, breaking down its supremely musty, fusty habits of local life and breaking down deeply ingrained national prejudices. Latinos from Mexico and Central America have turned "open shop" L.A. into a battleground of the class war. We welcome them; the U.S. working class needs all the help it can get! Mexican immigrant workers can also serve as a human bridge linking the struggles of the North American and Latin American proletariat. For class struggle on both sides of the border!

But our task is not easy. Near the end of his life, Friedrich Engels noted in a letter to the German American Marxist Friedrich Sorge that among the obstacles to forming a mass workers party in America was:

> "immigration, which divides the workers into two groups: the native-born and the foreigners, and the latter in turn into (1) the Irish, (2) the Germans, (3) the many small groups, each of which understands only itself: Czechs, Poles, Italians, Scandinavians, etc. And then the Negroes. To form a single party out of these requires quite unusually powerful incentives. Often there is a sudden violent élan, but the bourgeois need only wait passively, and the dissimilar elements of the working class fall apart again."

As Engels indicated, we have our work cut out for us, and our first step is a clear-eyed look at the problems. Which tendency—that toward working-class unity in the struggle against capitalist exploitation or that toward antagonistic divisions along racial and ethnic lines—will prevail in the historic long run? For class unity to prevail, it is necessary to build a revolutionary vanguard party modeled on the Bolshevik Party that Lenin built in the Russian tsarist empire. Liberals tend to condemn the concept of a vanguard party as elitism. But we are not alien to the working class, seeking to impose our goals from the outside. Rather, we represent in a conscious and consistent way the powerful inner tendency of the working class toward united struggle against capitalist exploitation, ultimately for socialist revolution. For this to succeed, we have to fight the powerful forces seeking to divide the working class along racial and national lines.

Arnott/LA Times

Time

Japanese Americans arriving at California internment camp, 1942. 120,000 Japanese were rounded up under World War II directive of Democratic president Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In the U.S., opposition to anti-immigrant racism must be intertwined with the struggle against black oppression. We must combat anti-immigrant chauvinism among U.S.-born black and white workers. It's gross to see, as I've heard reported, a few blacks here in L.A. joining these vigilante Minutemen. At the same time, immigrant workers must understand that anti-black racism must be defeated because it remains the touchstone of social reaction in the U.S.

We have described black people as an oppressed race-color caste, integrated into the U.S. capitalist economy while segregated at the bottom of American society. Black oppression is the cornerstone of American capitalism. The racist atrocity in New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina made this fact plain to the whole world. In fact, what was really clear was the impulse to genocide that the American bourgeoisie has toward black people. We stand for revolutionary integrationism, fighting against segregation and for the integration of black people into an egalitarian, socialist America. The slogan "Black liberation through socialist revolution" sums up our strategic tasks. This means confronting the unfinished business of the Civil War, which ended slavery but most certainly did not fulfill the promise of black liberation. Only workers revolution can fulfill that promise. Karl Marx, around the time of the Civil War, wrote, "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." This quote tells two important truths: first, that the fundamental division in society is class; second, that racism is a tool of the capitalist class to divide and rule the working class.

The opposite view, that race is the key divide, is expressed by the term "people of color," which has become fashionable among left-liberals and radicals. This is not simply a neutral description of ethnic groups that are deemed to be non-white. Behind the term "people of color" is a political outlook and implicit program. First, it says that no significant section of the white population, including white workers, can be expected to fight the racial oppression of people of color. Secondly, it holds that all people in the U.S. considered to be non-white have, or should have, common interests and a strong sense of solidarity with one another—or, to put it crassly, that a black auto worker or a Mexican agricultural laborer has fundamentally more in common with a Chinese American real estate mogul or an Indian doctor than with a construction worker of Irish or Italian lineage. We start from the opposite perspective: that is, a determined struggle to unite the multiracial proletariat in class struggle against the capitalist system.

The labor bureaucracy has long pushed "Buy American" protectionism that blames the Japanese worker or the Chinese worker, not the American bosses, of course, for the deteriorating living standards of the American working class. Of course, with China, it's more than simply pro-U.S. protectionism; it's that the labor bureaucracy shares the anti-Communist aims of U.S. imperialism's drive to turn the Chinese bureaucratically-deformed workers state into a colony of the U.S.

But if you want to know where protectionism leads, examine the case of Vincent Chin in the '80s, which kind of radicalized a generation of Asian youth. He was a young Chinese American man who was beaten to death, a few days before his wedding, by a foreman from an auto plant and his stepson who thought Vincent Chin was Japanese American. In their crazed, racist minds they thought he was responsible for the mass layoffs in auto in Detroit.

But they didn't originate this racist garbage. Anti-Japanese hysteria was pushed by the auto bosses, by the Democratic Party and by the top bureaucrats of the United Auto Workers. This was at a time when the union bureaucrats organized parties where they encouraged workers to smash Toyotas with sledgehammers (you can see a picture of this in *Workers Vanguard*) and where you didn't dare park a foreign car in a union parking lot. This was the labor sellouts' answer to layoffs—not plant takeovers or sit-down strikes, but blame the Japanese. The murderers of

continued on page 10

Get Your Copy of
CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES!

Just Out!

No. 34, Spring 2006

50¢ (24 pages)

Order from/pay to:

Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013-0099

Phone: (212) 406-4252
E-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net

Immigrants...

(continued from page 9)

Vincent Chin never spent a day in jail. Vincent Chin's mother eventually moved back to China, disgusted with the U.S. injustice system.

Let me give you another startling example of the kind of chauvinism that must be combatted. Cesar Chavez has become something of a left-liberal icon. But if you go back and look at old *Workers Vanguards*, you can read some very hard-hitting articles from 1973 and '74 about Chavez's class collaborationism, reliance on the Democratic Party and the Catholic church, and insistence on passive protest and consumer boycotts rather than class struggle—hot-cargoing of struck goods, solidarity strikes, etc. But the most shocking article is one from the 13 September 1974 *WV* [No. 52] titled "Chavez Finks on 'Illegal' Mexican Workers." This article reveals that Chavez, concerned that growers were deliberately using undocumented workers as scabs, was going around, not organizing these workers, but fingering them to federal agents. This information was available not just in the pages of *Workers Vanguard*, but also in the *San Francisco Examiner*. And it was commented on, in their typically whiny and somewhat dishonest fashion, by the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and the Maoist October League. This was totally well known at the time and is now totally covered up!

For Proletarian Revolution!

On the note of whiny and somewhat dishonest, let me talk about some of the left groups and their attitudes toward the current demonstrations. The reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO), Workers World Party and ANSWER and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have all signed up as cheerleaders for what is being dubbed the "new civil rights movement." Now, all these outfits editorialize against "guest worker" programs but refuse to raise the straightforward call for full citizenship rights. The ISO's maximum demand is "Amnesty Now," while the SWP calls for "permanent residency." Both of these demands would keep immigrants in second-class status. What is amnesty? It means that you will not be prosecuted for your "crime" of coming here and working like a dog and being exploited to the max. The amnesty of 1986 allowed *some* undocumented workers to become permanent residents and *some* of these to become citizens many years later. Workers World calls for full rights and amnesty, which is a deliberately confusing slogan designed to not offend liberals while sounding a little left. We say that anybody who made it here, by whatever means, has the right to full citizenship rights.

WV Photo

Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982: Thousands of protesters charge up Capitol Hill after stopping Ku Klux Klan march centrally targeting immigrant rights.

Most importantly, the reformists disappear the central role played by the capitalist politicians and the Catholic church in these demos. Here's a quote from *Workers World* [4 May] speaking of the May 1 demo: "By raising the banner of mass struggle and taking a path independent of both Republicans and Democrats, they are setting a tone of resistance, challenge and defiance that is so needed to show the true power of the workers and end this long period of retreat." I wish! But wishing doesn't make it so. There must be political struggle!

Let me take up one other question. At least in the Bay Area, a few anarchist types—not the main leaders of these demos, by any means, but a few anarchists—have heen raising the liberal utopian slogan, "Open the borders." This implies illusions that there can be the abolition of national states under capitalism. It implies that the state, which in our Marxist view is armed bodies of men—cops, *la migra*, army, courts, and prisons—whose function is the suppression of the working class in the interests of the capitalist class, can somehow be reformed away or be made to serve our interests. No, it can't; it must be overturned, and a workers state established.

The slogan "Open the borders," if applied to small, neocolonial or underdeveloped countries, can be downright reactionary: Should Aztec leader Montezuma have welcomed the Spanish conquistadors with open arms? Or should the Mexican regimes in the early 19th century have allowed unfettered American immigration into what is now the American Southwest and California? But applied to imperialist powers like the U.S., which are the only ones really capable of defending their borders, it is fatuous utopianism. Capitalism cannot provide economic well-being and freedom for the people of the world. We understand that unlimited immigration and the destruction of national frontiers will become a reality only under socialism, as a result of the abolition of material scarcity.

It is through united class struggle that the divisions between white and black workers, and between the native-born and immigrants, can be overcome. A model effort in this regard was the November 1982 labor/black mobilization in Washington, D.C., initiated by the Spartacist League, which stopped the race-terrorist KKK. Many people here have probably heard of that demo, but a lot of people don't know or don't remember that the Klan was marching against immigrants and against some kind of minor amnesty proposal. But because it was the Klan and because we provided some revolutionary leadership, 5,000 people, mostly black, came out and stopped them. Previously that same year in Chicago, when the Nazis were going after gays, we organized a labor/black mobilization that stopped these fascists. Now there is plenty of anti-gay prejudice among white and black workers, but with communist leadership, working people can overcome these prejudices and he mobilized to fight on the grounds that "an injury to one is an injury to all"—and also on the basis of the understanding that the ultimate target of any kind of fascist movement in the U.S. is always blacks.

Finally I want to talk ahout the 9 February 2002 demo in which we organized labor to flex its muscle in defense of immigrant brothers and sisters targeted under the U.S. rulers' "war on terrorism." This was right after 9/11 and there was a lot of hysteria. So it was difficult, but some 300 unionists, immigrants, blacks and youth rallied in downtown Oakland in opposition to the USA Patriot Act, the Maritime Security Act and the anti-immigrant witchhunt. At the core of this demonstration were over 30 dock workers from the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10. They joined transit workers, water utility workers, printers, Hispanic day laborers, Asian and Near Eastern immigrants and college and high school students to declare that the U.S. working class will fight to defend all the oppressed against their common capitalist class enemy.

It took a fight to put this demo together, a political fight. For one thing, the ILWU International does not oppose the Maritime Security Act, which is directed at all port workers. The ILWU bureaucracy buys into the "war on terror." They want it reformed a little, and mostly they want it applied to the immigrant port truckers whom the bureaucracy points to as the "real security risk." So it was a very conscious choice for these black longshoremen to come to the demo, and we had a lot of discussions at the longshore hall about why it was important for black workers to defend immigrants. When people came, the most popular chant was, "Asian, Latino, black and white, workers of the world unite!" You could see every one of those kinds of workers at the demo, and you could see they really meant what they said. So it was small, but impressive.

It had an effect around the world, too. Our Mexican comrades said that the people they were talking to were just amazed hy this demo, which cut against the very common idea in Mexico and other Third World countries that there are no classes or class struggle in the U.S. With its internationalism, it cut against Mexican nationalism—the "we Mexicans must stick together" rhetoric that the Mexican bourgeoisie uses to bind the exploited to their exploiters. The ICL got letters from countries where we have no sections, from people who had just heard about the protest and were congratulating us on this stance of defense of immigrants against the predatory U.S. government. It was a small demo, but I think that in some ways it showed the way forward and how the multiracial working class of this country *can* be organized.

In conclusion, our model is the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. It replaced the rule of the capitalists and landlords with that of the working class and raised high the banner of world socialist revolution. Despite the Stalinist degeneration that ultimately opened the door to capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-1992, the Soviet Union demonstrated the power of a planned, collectivized economy in providing employment, education, health care and decent living conditions. We continue to stand for and fight for the liberating principles of the Bolshevik Revolution. And on the subject of this talk, the principles were very clearly stated in the 1918 founding constitution of the Soviet workers state:

> "Article 20: Acting on the principle of the solidarity of the toilers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic shall grant all political rights enjoyed by Russian citizens to foreigners resident within the territory of the Russian Republic for purposes of employment and belonging to the working class or to the peasantry not employing hired labour. Local soviets shall be authorized to confer upon such foreigners, without any troublesome formalities, the rights of Russian citizenship."

This straightforward assertion was simply the concrete application of the basic Marxist principle that the workers of the world must unite against their oppressors.■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Free Mumia...

(continued from page 3)

be mentioned in a simple declaration of solidarity.

For more than 24 years, Mumia has been locked away for a crime he did not commit. His innocence is internationally recognized. Mumia, former Black Panther militant, committed journalist, is a victim of a racist frame-up orchestrated by the FBI and the American government. Numerous support campaigns led by youth and workers across the world have made known the case of Mumia and of Afro-American prisoners in the U.S.

Not all Parisian rail workers know who Mumia Ahu-Jamal is. This is why we, SNCF [French national railroad system] workers in commercial services (ticket offices) and in the engine and driver section, will take the opportunity of this initiative to commit ourselves to making the case of Mumia and other political prisoners known in the workshops, in our train stations and workplaces.

We will continue to mobilize against the repressive terror of the racist and capitalist governments that lock away and repress minorities, trade unionists (as is the situation of one of our own members) and those participating in the social movements. We recall that during the movement against the CPE [anti-youth First Employment Contract bill], prison terms (such as in Rennes), suspended sentences and heavy fines were handed down to youth from the ghettos, students, high school students and trade unionists.

We, workers and trade unionists, will continue to mohilize for Mumia and for others.

Immediate and unconditional freedom for Mumia and for Afro-American prisoners!

Long live international workers solidarity!■

Spy Network...

(continued from page 1)

domestic and international communications." A business executive told the *Los Angeles Times* (25 December 2005) that the NSA has a direct hookup into AT&T's massive database, codenamed Daytona, of nearly *two trillion* phone records. The next month, the Electronic Frontier Foundation (EFF) launched a class-action lawsuit against AT&T, charging the company with illegally giving the government access to its customers' communications and records. The EFF is also seeking an injunction against the spying. *USA Today* subsequently reported that these companies include not only AT&T but MCI (now part of Verizon) and Sprint.

Following the announcement of lawsuits against several of the companies, *USA Today* (11 May) reported that AT&T, Verizon and BellSouth had contracted to give the NSA access to records of every phone call made through their systems. BellSouth has since denied that it provided any such records, while a number of wireless companies have either denied handing over records to the NSA or refused to comment. But *USA Today* is sticking by its story. And now, in a *New Yorker* (29 May) article titled "Listening In," Seymour Hersh cites a security consultant working with a major telecommunications company that had "set up a top-secret high-speed circuit between its main computer complex and Quantico, Virginia, the site of a government-intelligence computer center." The source said, "What the companies are doing is worse than turning over records." He continued, "They're providing total access to all the data."

The government is tracking phone calls made by journalists from the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and ABC News as part of "investigations" into such leaks as those that exposed the NSA's domestic spying. Attorney General Alberto Gonzales is threatening to prosecute journalists for revealing government secrets.

NSA, Telecom Old Tricks

So secretive that it was nicknamed "No Such Agency," the NSA is by far the largest of the U.S. spy agencies, with some 40,000 employees and operations that span the globe. The NSA's partnership with the recombinant offspring of Ma Bell—the Bell Telephone monopoly broken up in the 1980s and now recoalescing in a series of mergers—brings to mind the 1967 satirical movie *The President's Analyst*, starring James Coburn and Godfrey Cambridge. In the movie, it turns out that The Phone Company runs the world and its robotic executives scheme to implant devices in everyone's brain. Exemplifying the tight relationship between the phone companies and the state, in 1994 under Clinton the FBI successfully pushed for the Communications Assistance for Law Enforcement Act, which requires that digitally switched telephone networks be built with "back doors" to allow wiretapping.

Documents filed by the EFF in its suit against AT&T give us a glimpse into how the NSA-telecom partnership operates. The documents were courageously provided by Mark Klein, a retired AT&T technician with more than 22 years' experience. After Klein submitted an April 6 statement summarizing his evidence in the lawsuit, *Wired News* published it on its Web site, along with a document Klein wrote in January 2004 detailing what he saw while working in AT&T's downtown San Francisco hub.

According to Klein, in 2002 an NSA agent visited his worksite to interview a management-level technician for a "secret job." The following January, Klein witnessed the construction of a new room in the company's downtown central office, off-limits to the regular workforce of union technicians, where equipment was installed by the person interviewed by the NSA. Klein observed in his 2004 document, "The telltale sign of an illicit government spy operation is the fact that ***only people with security cleoronce from the National Security Agency can enter this room***" (emphasis in original).

Klein writes that later in 2003, "I learned that fiber optic cables from the secret room were tapping into the WorldNet [AT&T's Internet service] circuits by splitting off a portion of the light signal." Klein explained that in order to monitor fiber-optic signals, which conduct light rather than electricity, devices called splitters must be installed. For this purpose, a special cabinet was built. Circuits from the "Peering Links" that connect WorldNet to the rest of the Internet are fed into the cabinet, where the light signal is split into two signals, one of which is diverted to the secret room. Among the links tapped is "Mae West," one of two key Internet nodes in the U.S. According to Klein, this means that "it's not just WorldNet customers who are being spied on—it's the entire internet." In the course of his work, Klein learned of similar cabinets in other cities, including Seattle, San Jose, Los Angeles and San Diego.

Klein obtained an equipment list for the secret room, which was submitted as part of the lawsuit and is posted on the *Wired·News* Web site. The list includes an item called the Narus STA 6400—equipment and associated software designed to sift rapidly through vast quantities of Internet traffic, select Web pages, e-mail or other content based on pre-programmed criteria, and play back the content of those communications. According to the manufacturer, Narus, its product is designed to help "law enforcement agencies to conduct authorized electronic surveillance." On Narus' board sits William P. Crowell, a former deputy director of the NSA. According to the Narus Web site, Crowell has served on the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) Task Force on Terrorism and Deterrence since the September 11 attacks.

Klein noted that these devices were installed by AT&T at the time of the notorious Total Information Awareness (TIA) program, which was run by convicted Contragate criminal John Poindexter, operating out of DARPA. As Poindexter described it, the TIA would give the government "instant access to information from Internet mail and calling records to credit card and banking transactions and travel documents, without a search warrant" (*New York Times*, 9 November 2002).

Following a public outcry, Poindexter resigned and Congress made a show of cutting off funding for the project. But as is now abundantly ·confirmed, the core of the TIA is alive and well. Funding has simply been shunted to other agencies, including the NSA. Congress went through the pretense of cutting off funding for another TIA-type project, CAPPS II, which aimed to "data mine" commercial databases of personal information on airline passengers (see "Big Brother in the Skies," *WV* No. 818, 23 January 2004). That program has continued under another name, "Secure Flight." These programs add a number of new installations, such as at the AT&T site in San Francisco, to the NSA's vast, global network of satellites, listening stations and supercomputers. The NSA even has at its disposal the nuclear-powered submarine USS *Jimmy Carter*, specially retrofitted for tapping other countries' undersea fiber-optic cables.

The government and AT&T are doing their best to quash the EFF lawsuit. AT&T moved to suppress the Klein documents on the grounds that they are "proprietary." On May 17, a judge in San Francisco denied AT&T's claim but kept the documents under seal. *Wired News*, however, has just published a complete set of Klein's documents online. Meanwhile, the government seeks to dismiss the whole suit on the grounds that even to consider it would jeopardize "national security." A hearing on the issue is scheduled for June 23.

Government lawyers rely on a legal doctrine of "state secrets" that the Bush administration seeks to greatly expand. That doctrine has been applied in the past to try to suppress evidence of the government's surveillance and dirty tricks against its opponents, from the NSA's spying on pediatrician and Vietnam anti-war figure Dr. Benjamin Spock to the Nixon administration's warrantless wiretapping of Pentagon Papers leaker Daniel Ellsberg, and FBI programs directed against·leftists. A recent chilling example was the dismissal earlier this month of a lawsuit against the CIA and private security companies by Khaled al-Masri. A victim of the government's rendition of "terror suspects," al-Masri, a Lebanese-born German national, was seized in late 2003 and imprisoned and tortured for nearly five months in Afghanistan before being released in Albania without explanation. In dismissing the suit, the court intoned that "in the present circumstances, al-Masri's private interests must give way to the national interest in preserving state secrets."

Paramount Pictures

The Phone Company plots world domination in 1967 film *The President's Analyst*.

In the defining 1953 Supreme Court case *United States v. Reynolds*, the court ruled that "state secrets" prevented a lawsuit by the widows of civilians killed when the Air Force bomber they were on crashed. According to the ruling, the relevant Air Force documents could not even be examined by a judge to determine if any state secrets were involved. When the documents were declassified and released 47 years later, they contained no secrets but much evidence of negligence (Federation of American Scientists *Secrecy News*, 26 January 2004).

Government Surveillance and the Imperial Presidency

The cozy relationship between government snoops and the communications industry goes back to one of the NSA's ancestors—a secret outfit known as the Black Chamber that worked under military intelligence—which got Western Union to turn over copies of international telegrams in 1919. Following World War II, the Signal Security Agency, the NSA's direct predecessor, arranged for Western Union and International Telephone and Telegraph to do likewise in a project codenamed Operation Shamrock that soon extended to all the big telecom companies. The NSA itself was founded in 1952 by secret order of Democratic president Harry Truman primarily to spy on the USSR during the Cold War, part of U.S. imperialism's drive to destroy the Soviet degenerated workers state. An immediate precipitant for its formation was the complaint from military and government leaders about the quality of communications intelligence during the Korean War.

The NSA's domestic spying underwent a big expansion under the Johnson administration in 1967 and again under Nixon, as the government targeted radicals, Vietnam antiwar activists and black militants, based on "watch lists" of citizens given to the NSA by the FBI, CIA and other agencies. Following the Watergate scandal, and under the impact of the social struggles of the 1960s and early '70s, some of this history came out in the investigation and hearings of the Senate's 1975-76 Church Committee. President Ford extended executive privilege to shield those involved from testifying on the recommendation of his chief of staff, one Dick Cheney, and his Secretary of Defense, one Donald Rumsfeld (*Baltimore Sun*, 12 May). Spying continued, with some cosmetic changes. In 1978, the Carter administration signed the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). Billed as a barrier to NSA/CIA domestic spying, FISA in fact codified such surveillance by adding a veneer of legality. While FISA is now invoked by liberals as a check on the nation's secret police, in 27 years, the secret FISA court that is supposed to vet requests for wiretap warrants has turned down only *five* of nearly *20,000* wiretap applications!

The current expansion of the government's repressive apparatus is a significant escalation in the war against the rights of working people and the oppressed. The NSA's invasion of privacy can carry drastic consequences. Now, if you are singled out and labeled a terrorist based on "classified" evidence, the government claims the right to "disappear" you as an "enemy combatant" with no legal recourse. The "war on terror" has accelerated the drive toward unfettered power by the executive branch. Much of the constitutional power originally vested in Congress has increasingly been transferred to the "imperial presidency," corresponding to the needs of U.S. imperialism to assert itself as cop of the world.

Whether the capitalist rulers prevail in their attempts to shred the rights of the population will be determined in the final analysis by the level of class and social struggle. The working class, due to its relationship to the means of production, has enormous potential social power that must be brought to bear in struggle against the capitalist class. But the current misleadership of the U.S. labor movement is an internal obstacle to such struggle. Wedded to the capitalist politicians who pose as "friends of labor," the union bureaucrats have signed on as auxiliaries in the "war on terror," whose ultimate domestic target is the organized working class. The spearhead of this "war" is abroad; at home, the population gets the shaft.

Instead of organizing the largely immigrant port truckers, the Teamsters tops are rallying for increased "port security," one of whose targets would be just such immigrant workers. The "progressive" International Longshore and Warehouse Union bureaucrats call for implementing the Maritime Transportation Security Act and its mandated "background checks" of waterfront workers, which would directly threaten blacks and Latinos who have been on the receiving end of racist cop harassment. Such chauvinist class collaboration is in the sordid tradition of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's embrace of the Cold War against the Soviet Union. An instrumental part of that decades-long campaign was the notorious American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), which worked with the CIA to destroy militant, left-led unions, especially in Latin America. The AIFLD was the brainchild of Joe Beirne, longtime president of the Communications Workers of America, the main telecom union.

As Marxists, we expect that the capitalist state will continue to eavesdrop on "persons of interest" to them—mainly those who oppose bloodsoaked capitalist rule. "Illegal" or not, spying, harassment and repression are the norm for the capitalist state, whose function is to defend capitalist profits and rule. As we wrote in "NSA/FBI Spying and the War on Our Rights" (*WV* No. 861, 6 January): "Short of the overthrow of capitalist rule, none of the rights and gains that working people hold dear are secure. What's needed is a thoroughgoing socialist revolution led by a multiracial workers party to establish the rule of the working class and usher in a society based on production for human needs not profit."■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Labor and the Fight for Immigrant Rights

Facing a barrage of calls from the Republican right to crack down on "illegal aliens," President Bush last week announced his intention to deploy some 6,000 more National Guardsmen to help police the border with Mexico. While Democratic Party politicians have been prominent in recent protests against a Republican House bill that would criminalize all undocumented immigrants and those who provide them assistance, the Democrats have joined with many Republicans in pushing through an alternative package of repressive measures. Last week, the Senate voted overwhelmingly to add nearly 400 miles of border walls, along with 500 miles of vehicle barriers, and, in a 99-0 vote, to deny the possibility of citizenship to those who have been convicted of criminal offenses or have ignored deportation orders.

By a nearly two-to-one margin, the Senate also tacked on an amendment to its pending immigration bill recognizing English as the national language, specifically denying any right for government agencies or officials to provide information or services in other languages. As Marxist opponents of chauvinist bigotry, we stand for full equality of all languages in all spheres of public life, defending, for example, bilingual education. No to "English-only" laws!

The government's moves to step up the militarization of the border have provoked a storm of outrage in Mexico. With the July presidential elections looming, even Mexico's right-wing president Vicente Fox, who used to parade his friendship with Bush, has felt compelled to issue an official protest against the border wall and National Guard proposals. Fox's government has also called for an investigation into the May 18 killing of a Mexican driver by two federal agents in California near the border crossing.

We print below a presentation, edited for publication, by Spartacist League spokesman Diana Coleman at a May 6 forum in Los Angeles. Her presentation began with the Woody Guthrie song, "Plane Wreck at Los Gatos (Deportee)."

* * *

"The crops are all in and the peaches are rott'ning,
The oranges piled in their creosote dumps;
They're flying 'em back to the Mexican border
To pay all their money to wade back again...

"The sky plane caught fire over Los Gatos Canyon,
A fireball of lightning, and shook all our hills,
Who are all these friends, all scattered like dry leaves?
The radio says, 'They are just deportees'."

Kontos/Polaris (inset), Getty

Top: People arrested trying to cross border from Mexico. Immigration cops patrol border wall, Nogales, Arizona. Below: Oxnard, California protest, part of massive nationwide May Day demonstrations for immigrant rights.

Osman/LA Times

This is a song by Woody Guthrie written in 1948. Like many of Guthrie's songs, it was written about a real incident: that is, a plane that left from the Oakland airport, carrying unnamed immigrants who were being deported, crashed in the California hills, killing all aboard. As the song says, "The radio said they were just deportees." I will comment that this was under the administration, not of a Republican, but a Democrat, Truman. And the *bracero* program, the work program of indentured servitude that Guthrie is speaking of, was started by that icon of Democratic Party liberalism, against whom all others are measured, Franklin D. Roosevelt. The question of the Democratic Party is going to come up several times in the course of this talk.

As millions of impoverished Mexican and Central American immigrants risk their lives to find some means of livelihood in the U.S., the racist U.S. imperialist rulers are proposing a spate of new anti-immigrant measures and seeking to blame the immiseration of the U.S. working class on immigrants. *All* of the proposals are anti-immigrant. Needless to say, the government's war on immigrants has given the green light to armed, fascistic, extralegal vigilante mobilizations against immigrants.

These racist proposals, particularly the giant wall proposal, which is a monstrosity similar to that built by the Zionist state in the West Bank, have provoked massive outrage in the U.S., Mexico, and even El Salvador. Millions marched on this May Day, which we think is a good sign. We wish people would start marching on May Day. After all, it's a workers' holiday that started here in the U.S. The Spartacist League/U.S. and the Grupo Espartaquista de México, both sections of the International Communist League, put out a joint statement [reprinted in *WV* No. 867, 21 March] which we have been handing out in mass quantities to the immigrant rights demos. The statement calls for unity in struggle of the U.S. and Mexican working class, no deportations, full citizenship rights for all immigrants, and socialist revolution on both sides of the border.

Across the Atlantic, in France, after more than two months of mass protests and widespread strikes, the French government had to scrap the First Employment Contract (CPE), which was also an attack on immigrants and the children of immigrants. The CPE stipulated that workers under 26 years of age be subject to a two-year probationary period, during which they could be fired without any cause. This threatened job security and hard-won union gains for all workers, especially minorities. It was particularly directed against minority youth in the suburbs, who are victims of cop terror,

continued on page 7

Break with the Democrats!
Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 872 | GCU C-701 | 9 June 2006

U.S. Out of Iraq, Afghanistan Now!

U.S. Marine Corps

Read/WPN

Haditha: U.S. Marines on patrol, April 1; relatives and neighbors mourn over bodies of victims of November 2005 massacre by Marines.

U.S. Imperialism's Massacre in Haditha

War crimes and atrocities against civilians are integral to imperialist wars of conquest and occupation. U.S. imperialism's dirty colonial war against the heroic workers and peasants of Vietnam was historically stamped by the 1968 My Lai massacre. The U.S. occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq have produced the torture chambers of the Abu Ghraib and Bagram prisons. The Iraq occupation is now also stamped by the slaughter of men, women and children that occurred on 19 November 2005 in Haditha.

The Haditha massacre is a graphic and bloody illustration of what the U.S. has been carrying out in Iraq for three years —an endless succession of atrocities, from the leveling of Falluja and other cities to widespread bombing of homes and the shooting of random Iraqis. The Haditha massacre, in which U.S. Marines murdered at least 24 people, has been confirmed by too many sources for the Bush administration and the Pentagon brass to keep a lid on it. The military has ordered two investigations—one into the massacre and a separate one into its coverup. This came after *Time* magazine earlier this year presented military officials in Baghdad with the findings of its own investigation. *Time* interviewed survivors of the massacre after being presented with a videotape made by an Iraqi journalism student at Haditha's hospital and inside victims' houses. *Time* published the story, "One Morning in Haditha" in its 27 March issue.

Even Iraq's puppet government, which runs anti-Sunni death squads out of the interior ministry, denounced the Haditha massacre, saying it would conduct its own inquiry and demand that U.S. officials turn over their investigative files. Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki said that violence against civilians had become a "regular occurrence" by U.S.-led coalition forces who "do not respect the Iraqi people. They crush them with their vehicles and kill them just on suspicion" (*New York Times*, 3 June). Iraq's own ambassador to Washington announced that, in a separate incident, Marines had gunned down his cousin in his home.

A March 15 raid on a home in the Iraqi town of Ishaqi that left as many as 13 Iraqi civilians dead has already been whitewashed by the U.S. military, which announced that it had found no wrongdoing by the commander who led the raid. In a May 30 incident, U.S. soldiers shot to death two women, Nahiba Husayif Jassim and Faliha Mohammed Hassan, as they raced to the hospital for the delivery of Nahiba's baby. Meanwhile, military prosecutors are preparing murder, kidnapping and conspiracy charges against seven Marines and a Navy corpsman for the fatal shooting of an Iraqi in April in Hamandiyah, west of Baghdad.

The killings in Haditha last November were methodically carried out over a period of three to five hours. In retaliation for a roadside bombing that killed a U.S. soldier, Marines went on a rampage, bursting into homes and gunning down residents. Their victims—some of whom were finished off execution-style with a single shot to the head—included women, infants and an elderly man in a wheelchair.

The Marines began their killing spree at the home of Abdul Hamid Hassan Ali, an 89-year-old amputee. They shot him and then turned their guns on his three sons and their families. The man's death certificate says that he took nine rounds to the chest and abdomen. His seven-year-old grandson described seeing his mother fall to the ground, dying. The boy's aunt, Hibba Abdullah, snatched her baby niece off the floor and ran from the house. Abdullah's husband also slipped out of the house and ran to warn his cousins nearby. As he returned, he ran into the Marines and died in a hail of gunfire.

The Marines then moved to the house next door, where customs official Younis Salim Nusaif lived with his wife, Aida Yassin, and their six children. Yassin was bed-ridden, so her sister had come to stay with the family and help with housework while she recuperated. All were slain—the parents, the visiting sister, and five children ranging in age from four to 15. The only survivor, a 12-year-old girl, later recounted how she lay on the ground, pretending to be dead, while her sister's blood gushed over her. "I was wishing to be alive," she said. "Now I wish I had died with them" (*Los Angeles Times*, 1 June). Moving to a third house, the Marines burst in on four brothers and gunned them down. The final victims were four university students and their taxi driver, who arrived on the scene by chance.

According to the *Washington Post* (27 May): "The remains of the 24 lie today in a cemetery called Martyrs' Graveyard. Stray dogs scrounge in the deserted homes. 'Democracy assassinated the family that was here,' graffiti on one of the houses declared." Some accounts attest to warplanes dropping 500-pound bombs on houses. After the Marine Corps paid $38,000 in compensation to relatives of some of the victims, Marjorie Cohn, president-elect of the National Lawyers Guild, wrote in a column in the Web publication *truthout* (30 May): "These types of payments are made only to compensate for accidental deaths inflicted by US troops. This was a relatively large amount, indicating the Marines knew something was not right during that operation."

For the U.S. occupiers, Iraqi life is so cheap that the Pentagon does not bother to keep track of the number of Iraqi dead. Putting together the first Gulf War, the years of sanctions imposed by the United Nations and enforced mainly by the Democratic Clinton administration, and the present war and occupation, the number is staggering: nearly two million people out of a population of 25 million.

In its devastation of semicolonial Iraq, U.S. imperialism has taken one of the more advanced countries of the Near East and turned it into a living hell: whole towns laid to waste; entire families annihilated; imprisonment and torture at the hands of the imperialist occupiers; death-squad killings, communalist bombings and attacks that purposely target civilians as they try to go about their daily lives. ***For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Iraq and Afghanistan!*** There will be no reckoning for the crimes perpetrated by U.S. forces in Abu Ghraib, Haditha and elsewhere in Iraq and Afghanistan short of the defeat of U.S. imperialism through workers revolution.

War Crimes and Liberal Apologists

Marjorie Cohn's article also noted that John Murtha—Democratic Party hawk turned bourgeois defeatist on Iraq—both

continued on page 6

7 25274 81030 7 23

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905

SEE PAGE 8

Exchange on NYC Transit Strike

25 December 2005

Comrades,

Bouncing around things within my own small world is not conducive to clear thinking. This letter is written in the hopes I can gain some clarity and thereby be better able to carry forward with a correct revolutionary perspective.

In reading your recent leaflet directed to the striking transit workers of TWU Local 100 (20 December 2005) I'm confused not by what is said but what is left unsaid. You rightly call for the ranks of labor to rally behind and with the TWU in a struggle to smash the capitalist Taylor Law and to lead a fight against the continuing attacks that are destroying our health and pension benefits and any job security we have left. You stridently point out the need for labor to break from the twin parties of racism and war and build a workers' party that struggles for power.

What I find confusing is that you call for all of this while we know the leaders of TWU Local 100 and the rest of NYC labor are ensconced in the Democratic Party cesspool and for all I know Roger Toussaint, President of TWU Local 100, is a functionary in that party. Expecting types such as this to take on Wall Street and the bourgeois State is expecting a pig to fly because it faces the roasting pan.

For sure you point out the need for mass picket lines and elected strike committees but who is going to facilitate this? Now if someone in the union were putting out such a leaflet, this would make more sense. As it is one wonders who you expect to lead such actions?

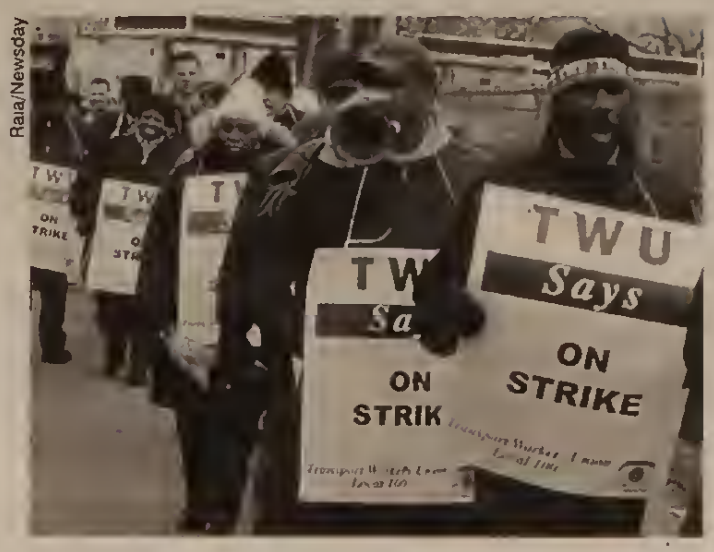
In the present period, with the corporate media having blanket control of information to the masses, it is imperative that any transport union facing strike action in an urban area needs to prepare the masses in advance. Not possible you say? Well shouldn't you tell the membership that this is a requirement of leadership in the absence of a revolutionary workers' party? With jail time and fines as a club Toussaint folded quicker than iron from a back yard furnace yet your leaflet makes no mention of this possibility. Again the need for TWU members to do something other than paying dues and agitating in the train stations and maintenance yards. Just my opinion of course.

Looking on the arena from 3,000 miles away I'd say Toussaint and his cronies were forced to call a strike for fear that if they didn't they would be unable to control the ranks. Hell even the Democratic Party has to pose as a defender of the working stiff once in a while. Better to get in a fight knowing you're going to lose than be flat footed, sucker punched and look like a chump. I'd even guess the MTA had similar thinking. The capitulation in Dec. 2002 by this same TWU leadership still rankled the ranks and the attempt by the MTA to eliminate conductors from trains and station agents from the booths threatened the rank and file and riding public directly yet you made no mention of this in the leaflet.

A steady user of the New York subway system is acutely aware that upgrading and refitting are desperately needed and this would take huge amounts of labor and time to do. The MTA is aware of this and knows that cuts will have to be made to allow this to just begin. Of course they expect the workers and the riding public to bear the costs of these burdens. In reality only a workers revolutionary government can correct and improve the mass transport system of New York City and most of the metro areas of this country. This fact needs to be hammered into the ranks' minds as a practical reason for the need for a workers' party.

As I said views within and from my narrow window are often restricted and unclear. I call on your experience and knowledge in the hopes to gain insight and wisdom.

Yours in struggle
Freedom Now For All Class War Prisoners & A Socialist World!
C. M.
San Francisco, CA



Raia/Newsday

December 2005 NYC transit strike picket line.

***WV* replies:** This letter was received shortly after the three-day strike by New York City transit workers had ended. It raises questions that merit consideration, at the heart of which is the relationship between our small revolutionary propaganda group and the trade unions. In belatedly printing this letter, we raise one important consideration in response.

The Spartacist League leaflet addressed questions of strategy and political program posed in the strike, raising in that regard criticisms of the policies of the union leadership. Our posture was to close ranks in defense of the union and its leadership against the bosses and the capitalist state, which were screaming for the head of TWU Local 100 president Roger Toussaint, the leader of the strike. The leaflet did not directly attack Toussaint. Since we could not point to an alternative leadership of the strike, to do so would only have served to weaken the strike. The leaflet and an article assessing the strike appear in *WV* No. 861 (6 January).■

1905: Dress Rehearsal for October Revolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

In describing the principal stages in the development of the Bolshevik Party, V.I. Lenin pointed to the rich experience acquired in the 1905 Revolution in Russia. That experience, combined with a foundation in Marxist theory and the steeling of its cadres in the years of reaction (1907-10), was crucial in preparing the Bolshevik Party to lead the proletariat to power in the October Revolution of 1917.

All classes came out into the open. All programmatical and tactical views were tested by the action of the masses. In its extent and acuteness, the strike struggle had no parallel anywhere in the world. The economic strike developed into a political strike, and the latter into insurrection. The relations between the proletariat, as the leader, and the vacillating and unstable peasantry, as the led, were tested in practice. The Soviet form of organisation came into being in the spontaneous development of the struggle. The controversies of that period over the significance of the Soviets anticipated the great struggle of 1917-20. The alternation of parliamentary and non-parliamentary forms of struggle, of the tactics of boycotting parliament and that of participating in parliament, of legal and illegal forms of struggle, and likewise their interrelations and connections—all this was marked by an extraordinary wealth of content. As for teaching the fundamentals of political science to masses and leaders, to classes and parties alike, each month of this period was equivalent to an entire year of "peaceful" and "constitutional" development. Without the "dress rehearsal" of 1905, the victory of the October Revolution in 1917 would have been impossible.

—V.I. Lenin, *"Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder* (1920)

On Bible-Thumping Bigots

19 May 2006

Regarding "Britain: Anti-sex Witchhunt": The "sexual revolution" of the 60's and 70's is being assaulted by the "anti-sex counterrevolution", spearheaded under the slogan of "family values". I refer you to the cover story in New York Times Magazine of this weekend past, entitled "The War on Contraception". A good source for information on this front is gay sex columnist Dan Savage, who periodically updates the attempts of Bible-thumping bigots to push us back to the Victorian Age. It would be foolish of us to underestimate their power, when close to 40% of the US population describe themselves as "born-again Christians". My objection to "Biblical morality" is that there is no such thing! The Jews were a primitive, barbaric people and anyone who takes their crude attempts at a system of ethics as a basis for governing ourselves today is nuts! And the fact is, the Bible-thumpers don't! They make something up that suits their agenda and find a verse to support it—agenda first, Bible afterwards. It is all nonsense.

However, the results of this nonsense have to be taken seriously—the gains of the sexual revolution have to be defended. I have my electronic typewriter to engage in this matter, and it is not clear to me what other means could be brought to bear—you are the Workers Vanguard, so you know better than me how to defend revolutionary gains. In all events, the values of the family are not our values, nor is the family itself a value we wish to preserve.

Yours,
C. O.

CORRECTION

In "Government Spy Network Exposed, Again" (*WV* No. 871, 26 May), *WV* editorial introduced a factual error, which was drawn to our attention by a reader on the West Coast. In the article, we wrote: "The 'progressive' International Longshore and Warehouse Union [ILWU] bureaucrats call for implementing the Maritime Transportation Security Act [MTSA] and its mandated 'background checks' of waterfront workers, which would directly threaten blacks and Latinos who have been on the receiving end of racist cop harassment." In fact, while the ILWU leadership calls for the implementation of particular sections of the MTSA, it opposes background checks of longshore workers "on the grounds that employers might dismiss longshoremen because of previous convictions that have no bearing on security," as a 24 April *Journal of Commerce* article put it.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Rey Bishop

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 E-mail address vanguard@tlec.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

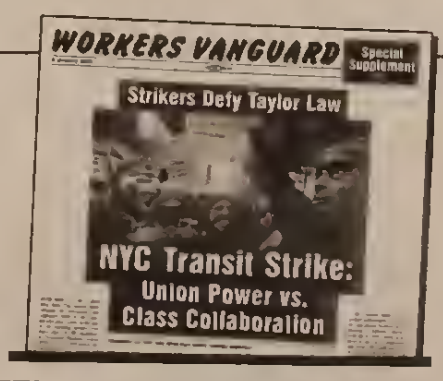
The closing date for news in this issue is 6 June.

No. 872 **9 June 2006**

Special *WV* Supplement on NYC Transit Strike
6 January 2006

10¢ each — bundles of 25: $2
bundles of 50: $3

Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Imperialists, Zionists Starve Palestinians

EPA photos

Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert rapturously received by U.S. Congress, May 24. Desperate poverty in Gaza intensifies as imperialists, Zionists strangle economy.

Since the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas took office in March, a U.S.-led international imperialist boycott has been starving the Palestinians for the "crime" of exercising the "democracy" that George Bush trumpets he is bringing to the Near East. In response to Hamas' electoral victory in January, the Israeli government has cut off the monthly transfer of some $55 million in taxes and other fees it collects on behalf of the Palestinian Authority. For their part, the United States imperialists have suspended the transfer of millions of dollars in annual aid to the already impoverished Palestinians. Also suspending aid are the European Union (EU) imperialists, whose posture as "peacemakers" in the Near East has been replaced by a drive to punish the Palestinians for electing Hamas. Meanwhile, the Arab bourgeois regimes, supposed "friends" of the Palestinians, have abandoned the Palestinian masses to starvation—even the paltry $70 million promised by the obscenely wealthy oil sheikdoms of Saudi Arabia and Qatar has yet to find its way to the Occupied Territories.

As Israeli journalist Amira Hass put it in *Ha'aretz* (21 April): "Every day another country announces that it is canceling the economic aid that over the past five years has become the Palestinian nation's oxygen." Although "humanitarian" aid has recently been allowed, the infrastructure to administer it is in collapse. The United Nations predicts that 70 percent of Palestinians will be jobless by the end of the year, and one UN representative warned, "Many families are being forced to reduce their number of meals to just one a day." Already, more than half of Palestinian children suffer from malnutrition.

"I don't know how we're going to cope.... Before, we were in crisis management, now we are in disaster management," reports the director of Shifa, Gaza's largest hospital. Patients have already perished for lack of medicine. There are dwindling anesthetics for surgery, and cancer patients are sent home to die. A massive public health crisis, including the spectre of cholera, looms as garbage piles up and sewage systems collapse. Even before the January elections, the Karni crossing—the main checkpoint for transporting all commercial goods and medicines into Gaza from Israel and for exporting goods out of Gaza—had been (and still is) closed more than half the time.

The all-sided pounding of the Palestinians in the wake of Hamas' electoral victory must be put in the broader context of imperialist machinations in the region. As it maintains its occupation of Iraq, the U.S. threatens Iran with sanctions and attack if it proceeds with its nuclear program, while annually giving Israel, armed with over 200 nuclear weapons, billions in military and financial aid. Israel has announced it will participate fully for the first time in NATO naval exercises in the Black Sea, "as part of preparations for a possible showdown with Iran," as Reuters (29 May) put it. ***Defend the Palestinian people! Israeli troops, settlers out of all the Occupied Territories! Down with U.S. aid to Israel! U.S. out of Iraq—hands off Iran! Down with the U.S./EU/Israeli embargo against the Palestinians!***

With Hamas in office, the war against the Palestinians has now been made synonymous with the "war on terror." The day before recently elected Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert addressed a joint session of Congress, receiving no less than 16 standing ovations, the U.S. House overwhelmingly passed the "Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2006," which called for an international boycott of the Palestinians. Olmert earned his spurs in 1996 when, as the Likud mayor of Jerusalem, he oversaw the massacre of at least 62 Palestinians and the wounding of hundreds more who were demonstrating against the opening of an ancient tunnel under a wall of the Al Aksa mosque in the heart of Arab East Jerusalem (see "Zionist Bloodbath," *WV* No. 653, 11 October 1996).

Indeed, as Olmert spoke of "peace" before Congress on May 24, Israeli troops invaded downtown Ramallah, the seat of the Palestinian Authority, in broad daylight, killing four and injuring some 70 people. On May 30, the Israeli military killed four more Palestinians in its first deep military incursion into Gaza since last summer's exit. Israel's "disengagement" from Gaza has in fact allowed the Zionist rulers to more effectively tighten their grip around this congested bit of land and the 1.3 million Palestinians trapped in it.

The election of Hamas is bad news for women, Christians and secular Palestinians. It is also a gift to Israel's rulers, who have used it to pursue their policies without the pretense of "negotiations." Upon his election, Olmert declared that Israel's permanent borders would be unilaterally set by 2010. Kadima, which Olmert currently leads, was founded by now comatose ex-prime minister Ariel Sharon—the man responsible for the slaughter of some 2,000 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon in 1982—working in collaboration with longtime Labor Party leader Shimon Peres. Kadima adopted the line of Labor Zionism that it was necessary to carve up the Occupied Territories (as opposed to annexing them entirely) in order to ensure that Israel maintain a Jewish majority. Today, Kadima is in coalition with the thoroughly bourgeois Labor Party, whose head, Amir Peretz, is the Minister of Defense. An example of the racist and exclusivist nature of the Zionist state can be seen in the Israeli High Court decision in May upholding a law that denies Palestinians from the Occupied Territories who are married to Israeli citizens the right to live in Israel with their spouses.

Hamas' victory has also been used by the Zionist rulers to further their strategy of divide and rule—of fomenting (if not directly provoking) warfare among Palestinian factions. The turf warfare between Fatah and Hamas supporters is exacerbated by the quest for sinecures in the Palestinian Authority's multitudinous security services—overwhelmingly dominated by Fatah supporters—which were set up by the 1993 Oslo "peace" accords for the purpose of policing the ghettoized Palestinians for Israel. In the 1980s, Israel promoted Hamas as a counterweight to the secular Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) (see "U.S./Israel Tighten Screws on Palestinians," *WV* No. 864, 17 February). Now, Israel has announced that it will allow a shipment of arms to the personal guard of Palestinian Authority president Mahmoud Abbas, supposedly to protect him against threats by Hamas supporters.

The ostensible reason for the starvation embargo against the Palestinians is that Hamas refuses to recognize the state of Israel or renounce suicide bombings. The first is a bogus pretext given that Hamas has no means to do anything about Israel's existence and has in fact repeatedly sought negotiations with Israel since the elections. But now, as part of the pressure on Hamas, Palestinian Authority president Mahmoud Abbas is cynically planning a referendum in the Occupied Territories because of Hamas' refusal to accept a document that essentially endorsed the PLO's "mini-state" program—i.e., a two-state "solution," with a Palestinian statelet in the West Bank and Gaza.

As for suicide bombings, indiscriminate terror against Israeli civilians is a crime from the standpoint of the proletariat. However, the terrorism of Hamas and others pales in comparison to the daily state terror perpetrated by the most militarily powerful regime in the region against a largely defenseless people. Israel has made the slaughter of Palestinians, including children, a regular occurrence.

The situation of the Palestinian masses is desperate. The fundamental basis of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict is that two interpenetrated peoples lay claim to the same piece of land. Under capitalism, the exercise of self-determination by one will necessarily be at the expense of the other. The key to the national liberation of the Palestinians lies in the overthrow of capitalist rule in Israel through Arab-Hebrew workers revolution and throughout the region. Only in this way can the right of return for the millions of Palestinian refugees throughout the Near East be exercised. Any other "solution" will only deepen and intensify the Palestinians' oppression.

When the PLO nationalists became isolated after the 1991-92 collapse of the Soviet Union, which had provided the PLO with financial and political aid, they accepted the Oslo accords, which did not "offer even the most deformed expression of self-determination," as we wrote in "Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto" (*WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993). We warned: "By its act, the PLO has invited fundamentalist reactionaries like Hamas to pose as the only fighters against the Zionist occupation. Petty-bourgeois Arab nationalism has been shown to be the bankrupt and impotent dead end that it always was."

Under Oslo, the number of settlers mushroomed to nearly half a million, and the Zionists continued creating "facts on the ground," building the apartheid wall in the West Bank, an electric fence around Gaza and hundreds of military checkpoints. The growth of reactionary, anti-woman and anti-Semitic outfits like Hamas has also been one of the bitter fruits of Oslo and the PLO's political bankruptcy.

Most significantly, under Oslo, the Palestinians became marginalized from Israel's economy as the Israeli capitalists increasingly resorted to the use of migrant labor from Asia and elsewhere to replace the Palestinians. This has meant even greater poverty for the Palestinians, while making it easier for the Zionists to intensify the isolation of the Occupied Territories. With the growth of unemployment, hunger and destitution, many Palestinians face the prospect of starving or leaving—i.e., "ethnic cleansing" by attrition.

The fight for proletarian rule in the Near East requires a struggle to break the Hebrew proletariat from the grip of Zionist chauvinism and win them to the defense of the Palestinian people—an enormous task that will likely first require the victory of socialist revolution in one or another of the surrounding countries. Nonetheless, Israeli society is divided along class and national lines—including over one million horribly oppressed Palestinian Arab "citizens" of the state. There are also occasional but real expressions of sympathy with the plight of the Palestinians—such as the June 3 demonstration of some 2,000 Jews and Arabs in Tel Aviv against the occupation and the economic embargo. In turn, the Palestinians must also be broken from petty-bourgeois nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism. What is essential is the forging of Leninist-Trotskyist parties throughout the Near East to lead the struggle for the national and social liberation for all the peoples of the region through the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal has reached a critical juncture. Last December, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals put Mumia's case on a "fast track" for decision. Both Mumia and the prosecutors are appealing decisions made in 2001 by U.S. District Court judge William Yohn, who overturned Mumia's death sentence but upheld every aspect of his frame-up conviction. In a short time, even as soon as six months, the court could decide what is next for Mumia: death, life in prison or more legal proceedings.

A prize-winning journalist, a Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth, a supporter of the MOVE organization and a defiant opponent of racist state terror, Mumia was railroaded to death row in 1982 by Philadelphia's notorious cop and court frame-up machine on false charges of killing Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal has come to symbolize what the racist death penalty is all about. A legacy of chattel slavery, capital punishment in the U.S. is the lynch rope made legal.

Mumia is an innocent man. But innocence means nothing to the forces of "law and order," represented by both the Democratic and Republican parties, who want to see Mumia dead because they see in him the spectre of black revolution, a voice of defiant opposition to the racist oppression of black people that is a cornerstone of American capitalism. The state's quarter-century-long determination to carry out his foul murder is a warning to all who challenge vicious cop repression in the ghettos and barrios, to workers who stand up for their rights on the picket lines, to those who protest U.S. imperialist depredations in Iraq, Afghanistan and around the world.

Mumia is up against the vast resources of the capitalist state and its mouthpieces in the bourgeois press who howl for his blood. Court after court has barred the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot Faulkner, as well as the mountains of additional evidence of Mumia's innocence. With the execution last December of Stanley Tookie Williams, over substantial popular opposition, the bloody rulers sent a signal that they want Mumia next. California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger made this clear when, in denying clemency for Williams, he cited the fact that his book *Life in Prison* was dedicated to—among others—Mumia Abu-Jamal. To give an idea of what Mumia is up against: many of the Third Circuit judges testified for the reactionary Samuel Alito during his January Supreme Court confirmation hearings. Among the members of the Third Circuit is Marjorie Rendell, wife of Democratic Pennsylvania governor Ed Rendell, who was the Philadelphia D.A. during Mumia's frame-up trial and has spent his political life dedicated to seeing Mumia executed.

It was protests of millions worldwide, crucially involving trade unionists, that won a stay of execution for Mumia in August 1995. At the time, and over the next few years, Mumia's name was a household word. Articles about Mumia and his own written commentaries were a regular feature of the U.S. black press. Mumia's face was emblazoned on the T-shirts of student activists and ghetto youth; his name became a symbol in hip-hop for racist frame-up and also rolled off the lips of many union activists. Not today. A movement of millions was demobilized. This can be seen in the dwindling attendance at annual demonstrations on Mumia's April 24 birthday. Time is running short. Mass protest must be rekindled now—nationally and internationally.

Young Spartacus

13 May 2000: Revolutionary Contingent at San Francisco rally opposed reliance on racist capitalist courts and politicians in fight to free Mumia.

Mumia's freedom will not be won through reliance on the rigged "justice" system or on capitalist politicians, whether Democratic, Republican or Green. The power that can turn the tide is the power of millions—working people, anti-racist youth, death penalty abolitionists—united in struggle to demand the freedom of this innocent man. Crucial to this perspective is the mobilization of the labor movement, which gave a taste of its social power in New York City last December when striking transit workers crippled the financial center of U.S. capitalism.

Lessons must be drawn as to how Mumia's supporters were demobilized. The answer lies in the political program advanced by a host of liberal and reformist organizations that centered their protest actions around the call for a "new trial" for Mumia. That call represented a program of reliance on the racist capitalist courts which at every level have declared, as in the infamous Dred Scott case, that Mumia has no rights they are bound to respect.

Reformists' Faith in the Capitalist State

The call for freedom for victims of the capitalist frame-up system has historically been a staple of the workers movement: Free Sacco and Vanzetti, Free the Scottsboro Boys, Free Huey Newton, Free Angela Davis. The demand for their freedom expressed the belief that their imprisonment for even an hour was an outrage. Since 1995, the call to free Mumia has been explicitly rejected as the basis for major mobilizations by the reformists of the Workers World Party (WWP), Socialist Action (SA) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), among others.

At a January 1999 "Emergency Leadership Summit Meeting," representatives of SA, Solidarity, WWP, the RCP's Refuse & Resist, International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and others adopted a strategy and slogans for the April 24 "Millions for Mumia" demonstrations and beyond. Following a debate, the "free Mumia" slogan and opposition to the death penalty were rejected in favor of calling for a new trial. Solidarity's Steve Bloom approvingly wrote in *Against the Current* (March/April 1999): "Everyone who spoke from the podium sounded a similar theme: We must build a broader and more inclusive movement, one which reaches out to the American mainstream."

For the reformists, the "mainstream" included those who were agnostic on Mumia's innocence. At bottom, the "new trial" slogan was an appeal to bourgeois liberal forces who see Mumia's case not as the frame-up of an innocent man but as an isolated "miscarriage of justice," an aberration that threatens to stain the reputation of American "democracy."

To those liberal forces, Mumia is just another of the anonymous 3,300 men and women on death row, who should be provided all the trappings of "due process" before being sentenced to execution or life behind bars. Behind the attempts to limit the struggle for Mumia to a call for a new trial is a *political program* premised on reliance on the capitalist state—a program directly counterposed to a mobilization of working-class power for his freedom. The capitalist state and its courts are not neutral institutions but organs of repression against the working class and the oppressed. The reformists' approach dissipated the force of millions around the world who identified the fight for Mumia's freedom with the struggle against state terror and the fight against their own exploitation and oppression.

Since taking up Mumia's case in 1987, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have advocated pursuing all possible legal proceedings in Mumia's case. But we place all our faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatsoever in the justice of the courts. We realize that the courts will only respond if the pressure of the mass movement, particularly that of the labor movement, is brought to bear.

WV Photo

WWP's International Action Center calls for "new trial," sowing illusions in capitalist "justice" system that is intent on executing Mumia.

Although some opportunist "socialists" now raise freedom for Mumia in conjunction with calls for a "new trial," their politics remain in the framework of reliance on the bourgeois state. The Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, initiated by supporters of the International Bolshevik Tendency, organized a 2000 "Labor Conference for Mumia" that resolved to appeal to Clinton's Justice Department to investigate Mumia's case. The conference also resolved to lobby delegates to the Democratic National Convention to pass a motion calling for a new trial. Currently, WWP's International Action Center (IAC) Web site posts a petition to Pennsylvania's governor pleading that he direct the state attorney general to take over the case from the Philadelphia district attorney's office and "confess error" in the court.

Because the Beverly confession makes clear that Mumia's case consists of a conscious, racist, political frame-up of an innocent man, the response by bour-

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

CHICAGO

Live Music Fundraiser for Mumia Abu-Jamal

Featuring Funkadesi and Philadelphia Jazz Great Byard Lancaster

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

Thursday, June 15, 5 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Hot House, 31 East Balbo

(Harrison stop on the Red line)

Tickets $20

For more information: (312) 563-0442 or e-mail: chicagopdc@sbcglobal.net

TORONTO

Organizing Meeting and Video Showing

Featuring *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

Thursday, June 22, 7 p.m.

Trinity St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor St. West (west of Spadina)

For more information: (416) 593-4138 or e-mail: pdctoronto@bellnet.ca

Campaign Update

As Mumia Abu-Jamal's case has entered a legal "fast track" and his life is again in grave danger, the Partisan Defense Committee has initiated a new campaign to free Mumia that is winning important support in the U.S. and internationally. Several prominent authors attending a May 22-28 international PEN conference in Berlin, including Nobel prizewinner Nadine Gordimer, signed a statement issued by the PDC demanding "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now! Abolish the racist death penalty!" In Mexico, Subcomandante Marcos of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) signed the statement, giving his return address as "mountains of southeast Mexico." Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano has also added his signature.

Gordimer, a staunch opponent of South Africa's former racist apartheid regime, wrote one of her most famous books, *Burger's Daughter* (1979), in the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto uprising, during which black students and other protesters were slaughtered. Many of her books were banned in South Africa during that period. Others who signed the PDC statement at the PEN conference included Jiří Gruša—president of PEN international, an organization that defends writers against persecution—poet Chenjerai Hove of Zimbabwe and Israeli peace activist Uri Avnery of Gush Shalom.

The U.S. capitalist state, its cops and courts have wanted Mumia dead for decades. And today, Mumia's foes are also stepping up their efforts. We have previously reported that the Paris suburb of Saint-Denis named a street in honor of Mumia on April 29 (see "Mumia Honored in France," *WV* No. 870, 12 May). In response, the Philadelphia and national Fraternal Order of Police launched a counterattack, sparking renewed tirades against Mumia and his supporters by bourgeois politicians and the Philadelphia media. A resolution introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives (H. Con. Res. 407) and sponsored by several Pennsylvania Congressmen, both Democrats and Republicans, demands that the French government take action against Saint-Denis unless it changes the street name.

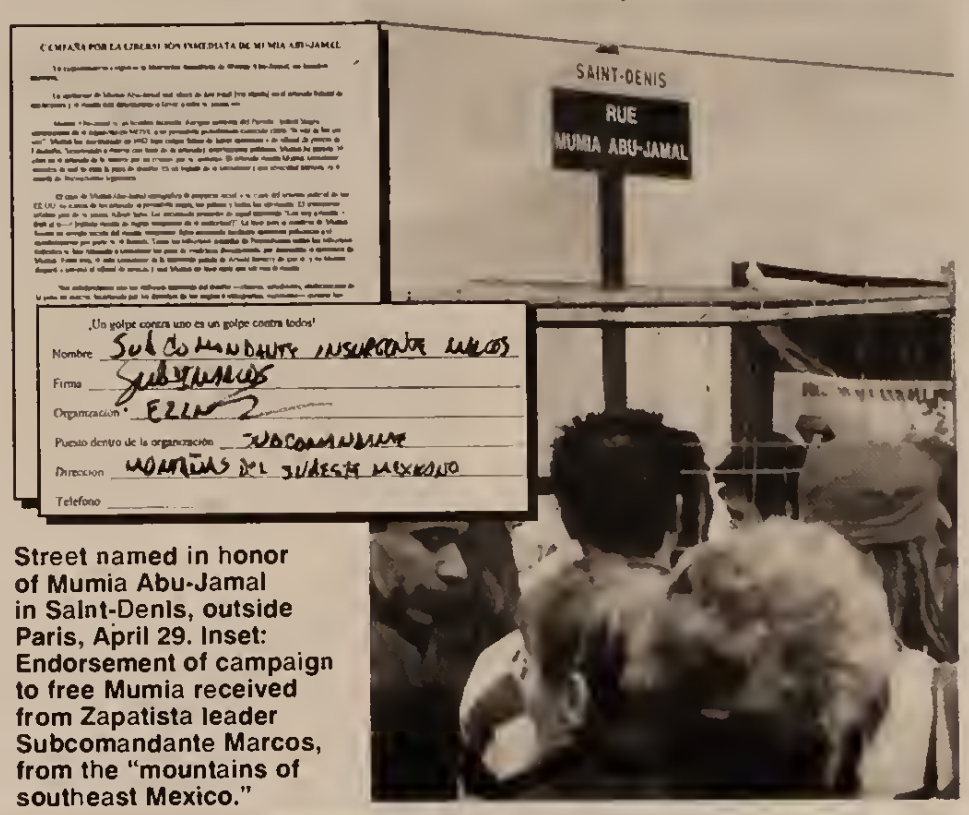
This sinister blowback points to the urgency of redoubling efforts to fight for Mumia. While favoring all possible legal proceedings on Mumia's behalf, the PDC launched its current campaign based on the understanding that it is only through mobilizing the social power of the working class in mass protest that Mumia's freedom can be won. Crucially important is winning active support for this campaign in the labor movement, in the U.S. and around the world.

Adding to numerous unions and trade union officials that have joined the fight for Mumia, the New York chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) recently signed the PDC statement. At the CBTU's May 24-29 international convention in Orlando, Florida, PDC representatives addressed several meetings, and over 60 labor officials and activists endorsed the statement. Among them were UAW members from the Detroit area, AFSCME officials from across the U.S., International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) representatives from southeastern ports and members of the Ontario Federation of Labor in Canada.

Additional signatories include Ken Riley, president of ILA Local 1422 in Charleston, South Carolina; Chris Silvera, Secretary Treasurer of Teamsters Local 808 in New York; and Mary Selvie, Chairman of the Chicago area UAW Region 4 Women's Committee. Internationally, labor activists from Germany, Australia, Sweden and Bangladesh have signed the PDC statement. The National Council of Trade Unions in South Africa has issued its own statement in defense of Mumia. In Britain, the Southwark Branch of the UNISON public service union and Mike Gallagher, secretary of the Poplar Branch of the University and College Lecturers' Union at Tower Hamlets College, London, have also issued statements.

Also last month, PDC representatives brought Mumia's case to a Labor Notes Conference in Detroit and to the International Longshore and Warehouse Union convention in Vancouver, Canada. The PDC also gave a presentation on Mumia's case to an event commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Black Panther Party in New York City. Focusing on urgently needed financial support for Mumia's defense efforts, a fundraiser on Manhattan's Lower East Side sponsored by the New York Labor Black League, which is fraternally associated with the Spartacist League, raised over $400. Meanwhile, campaign supporters in Chicago are building for a major June 15 jazz benefit. ***Join the campaign! Free Mumia!*** ■

Le Bolchévik



Street named in honor of Mumia Abu-Jamal in Saint-Denis, outside Paris, April 29. Inset: Endorsement of campaign to free Mumia received from Zapatista leader Subcomandante Marcos, from the "mountains of southeast Mexico."

geois liberals and their reformist tails to this evidence has ranged from outright hostility to indifference. In 2001, Mumia's former co-counsel Dan Williams published a lying book titled *Executing Justice* that derided the Beverly confession as "insane," dismissing any suggestion that the cops knowingly framed up Mumia. Dave Lindorff —a regular contributor to the radical/liberal *CounterPunch* who is often cited as an expert on Mumia's case—was an early and loud voice trashing the Beverly confession. In an afterword to his book *Killing Time* (2003), Lindorff asks himself whether Mumia actually shot Faulkner and answers "maybe." This didn't stop the International Socialist Organization from lauding Lindorff's book for "exposing the flaws in Mumia's case" (*Socialist Worker*, 16 December 2005). Over the past two years, *Workers World* has barely mentioned the Beverly confession, while *Socialist Action* has totally disappeared it.

The Court of Appeals ruled in December that Mumia could raise three issues on his appeal—the racially biased jury selection in his 1982 trial, the D.A.'s prejudicial summary argument that Mumia would have "appeal after appeal," and the grossly biased post-conviction state hearings before Judge Albert Sabo in the 1990s. These challenges should be heard in court. But every aspect of Mumia's case shows how much the capitalist rulers want him dead. Thus the harsh reality is that the Court of Appeals—like every other court in this case—has refused to hear the countless other violations of Mumia's rights or even consider the Beverly confession.

In a recent interview with the French Communist Party's newspaper, *L'Humanité* (25 April), Mumia said of the current appeal: "I have very little hope in a favorable decision from the Federal Court which has agreed to look at three points of the petition submitted to appeal by my lawyers." The reformists have a very different appreciation. The IAC hailed the December ruling as a "resounding federal court victory." Refuse & Resist posted an article by Lindorff headlined, "A Stunning Win for Mumia Abu-Jamal." Not to be outdone, Socialist Action's Jeff Mackler declared, "There are several possible outcomes. The worst—but least expected—scenario would be one in which Sabo's unconstitutional sentencing instructions are upheld, and Mumia faces execution" (*Socialist Action*, December 2005). This touching faith in the court process was the last statement on Mumia's case to have appeared in *Socialist Action*.

For Class-Struggle Defense!

In describing a late stage in the court proceedings that led to the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927, James P. Cannon, founder of the International Labor Defense, wrote:

> "The latest move should be suspected as another maneuver of the same sort, designed to give the outward appearance of still more scrupulous 'fairness' in the process by which the two labor fighters are to be burned alive.
>
> "Remember, also, that powerful influences of the exploiting class are being brought to bear for the carrying out of the death sentence, and that the final issue, just because it is an issue of the class struggle, and not merely an isolated instance of the miscarriage of their so-called 'justice,' will depend upon the power and might of the class forces set into motion on each side.
>
> "The great task, therefore, in the few fateful days remaining, up to the last

continued on page 7

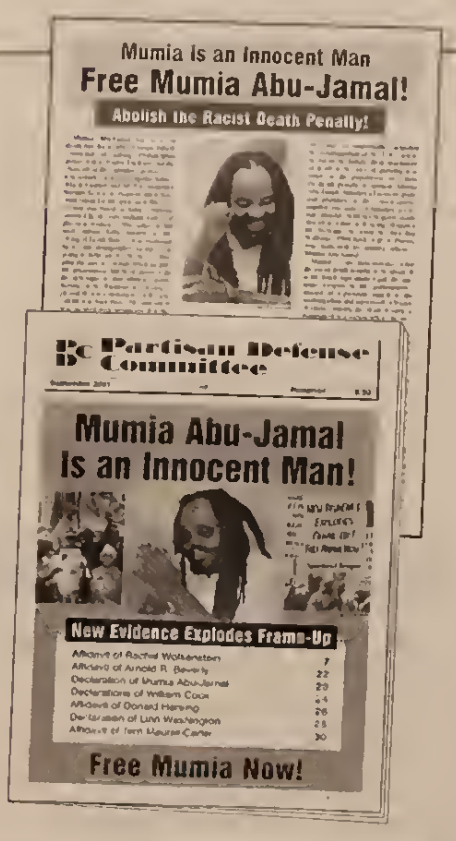
Join the Campaign!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 130 Morningside Drive, Suite 6C, New York, NY 10027.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of our pamphlet, *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* This 32-page pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom with the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for 50 cents. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from, make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



Partisan Defense Committee • e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net

P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099 .....(212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867 .....(312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462 .....(510) 839-0852

Cops, Corruption and the Imperial Presidency

May 21: FBI agents loading material seized in late-night raid of Congressional office.

"War on Terror" Hits Congress

On May 20, the FBI raided the Congressional office of Louisiana Democrat William Jefferson. The Feds' aim was to seize evidence to buttress their ongoing investigation of his alleged bribe-taking from a small technology company in exchange for his influence. Given that this is the first such incursion in the 217 years since the forms of rule that constitute this country's national government were established, it seems evident that the Bush administration sought this opportunity to further assert its right to do just about anything it pleases. Given the legions of crooks who inhabit Congress, it is hardly accidental that Bush's Justice Department selected a black Democrat as the test case to see if this would "play in Peoria," i.e., in racist America.

In the aftermath, all hell broke loose as Congressmen—Republican and Democratic—led by Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert reviled the raid as an attack on the vaunted "separation of powers"—executive, legislative and judicial—that ensures the mythic purity of American democracy. Bush sealed the seized papers for 45 days in the hope that these branches of bourgeois rule can figure out a way to just get along. The House Judiciary Committee is staging hearings on the FBI raid, which prompted E.J. Dionne Jr. to quip in his *Washington Post* (2 June) column: "The Judiciary Committee is clearly concerned with the rights of 435 House members and—give them the benefit of the doubt—100 senators. Someday, the committee will get around to thinking about the rights of the remaining 296,409,869 of us."

A *New York Times* (26 May) editorial excoriated Congressmen who have "played dead when the executive branch refused to provide it with information, answer questions or follow laws that the legislative branch has passed." The *Times* editors leave unmentioned their own cringing servility in parroting virtually every incredible tale—like Saddam Hussein's non-existent "weapons of mass destruction"—offered by the Bush administration to support the invasion of Iraq.

The outrage from Congressmen no doubt emanates in good part from the nightmarish possibility that their countless meetings with troops from the army of Jack Ahramoffs bivouacked in Washington will be beamed directly from their Congressional offices to FBI headquarters (think Tom DeLay). But while we are not against the prosecution of thieves, this raid is a recent example of the administration's efforts to use the powers it has accumulated to prosecute the "war on terror" to attack any of its perceived opponents. On May 23, a court decision freed four Connecticut librarians from a government-imposed gag that had forbidden them to reveal that the Feds had demanded lists of readers. And just last week, the chief spokesman for John Ashcroft when he was Attorney General accused Ashcroft's successor, Alberto Gonzales, of a "reckless abuse of power" for issuing subpoenas calling for *San Francisco Chronicle* reporters covering steroid use in baseball to reveal their sources. Thus the spectre is raised that reporters might he criminally prosecuted for publishing such "classified information" as, say, Barry Bonds' batting average.

The "balance of powers" was designed in an effort to contain within one body politic the various competing regional and economic interests of the owners, large and small, whose property rights are the foundation of bourgeois rule. The holy aura emanating from this "principle" fades when one recalls that at the birth of the American state, these institutions and the sacred Constitution itself were "balanced" to ensure that chattel slavery would survive. The Mafia has evolved similar checks and balances, including a court of elders to resolve internecine disputes. The only difference is that those whose rule is based on wage slavery have deemed the activities of the capos illegal. But while this "balance of powers" is in the service of hourgeois rule, the working class, nevertheless, must oppose the accretion of power to the imperial presidency, an accretion that ultimately points to a police-state dictatorship.

The Bush administration did not invent the proud presidential tradition of foisting lying representations onto the American people, although it is somewhat unusual in that it seemingly chooses *only* to lie. Nor is George W. Bush unique among presidents in his belief that executive power is absolute. Recall that during the Watergate hearings, Richard Nixon's staff argued that the president had the right to commit robberies while admitting they had not researched the question of his right to commit murder. In the FBI's COINTELPRO operation that resulted in the murder of 38 Black Panthers, the bourgeois state asserted its "right" to engage in assassination. What was different then is that hoth operations were covert by necessity, given the scope of the social struggles of that era. Today, Bush & Co. openly demand police-state powers. The contrived "war on terror" and the very real USA Patriot Act are used to buttress these demands, which have heen acceded to by both wings of the "property party," Democrats and Republicans alike.

It is not news that the institutions of the U.S. bourgeois state are cesspools of corruption. But for the working class and oppressed minorities, the real danger resides in the machinery of violence that is at the heart of this state—the cops, armed forces, courts and prisons. The "democratic" trappings provided by the rulers are merely a cover for the capitalist state, whose purpose is to ensure the continued rule of the tiny class of exploiters. While the working people must fight to defend every shred of democratic rights and other gains, freedom from oppression and exploitation will only come through the smashing of the bourgeois state through socialist revolution.■

Haditha...

(continued from page 1)

indicted and exonerated the Marines when he stated, "Marines over-reacted because of the pressure on them, and they killed innocent civilians in cold blood." Liberal *New York Times* columnist Maureen Dowd, a leading voice of the "anybody but Bush" crowd, picked the theme right up in her 3 June column: "The American military is not in the business of atrocity, even if an undeniable atrocity was committed and even if the war has become something of an atrocity." Dowd nauseatingly weeps for U.S. troops who are "under spectacular emotional pressure" and "not trained for a counterinsurgency."

News flash, Ms. Dowd: this is what counterinsurgency looks like. Far from an aberration, Haditha, Abu Ghraib, Samarra, Hamandiyah, Ishaqi are the result of conscious policies designed to secure the occupation of Iraq. Examples of this true face of imperialist "democracy" are innumerable. To name but a few: Following the 1898 Spanish-American War, which marked U.S. imperialism's emergence on the world stage, U.S. forces slaughtered up to half a million Filipinos between 1899 and 190. o suppress a nationalist uprising. In Latin America in the 1970s and '80s, U.S.-trained death squads were the tool of choice against leftist insurgents as well as Maryknoll nuns and any other perceived supporters of social justice. In Northern Ireland, the infamous Long Kesh wire cages and torture chambers were employed by the British imperialists against Irish Republican militants. Slaughter of women and children in No Gun Ri during the Korean War was official U.S. policy (see "Korean War Document Confirms: Massacre at No Gun Ri Was Official U.S. Policy," page 7).

And, of course, there was Vietnam. Unlike the war and occupation in Iraq, the Vietnam War was waged against insurgent workers and peasants struggling for a social revolution, whose fight became a catalyst for anti-imperialist struggles throughout the globe. Before its defeat on the battlefield, the U.S. military engaged in horrendous war crimes. The My Lai massacre of some 500 Vietnamese—which included mass rape, sodomy, torture and maiming prior to the killing—was infamous. Also, infamously, the U.S. ruling class pinned the blame on low-level "rogue" soldiers and amnestied the most senior officers involved. General Koster, the division commander in overall charge of the troops, watched the massacre from the air and radioed orders to Lieutenant Calley in the village. Calley was as high up in the chain of command as the U.S. government was willing to go. He served three and a half years of house arrest in his quarters at Fort Benning, Georgia, and was freed in 1974. His captain, Ernest Medina, was acquitted at a separate trial.

My Lai was just the tip of the iceberg. There was the CIA's "Operation Phoenix," a program of assassination in which thousands of Vietnamese were killed. In October 2003, the *Toledo Blade* won a Pulitzer Prize for a four-part series that revealed the atrocities committed by an Army platoon known as Tiger Force, which killed hundreds of unarmed men, women and children in a ***seven-month*** rampage through Vietnam's Central Highlands in 1967. In a subsequent article, the *Blade* (5 September 2004) summarized its revelations:

> "Soldiers hurled grenades into underground bunkers full of women and children. They shot elderly farmers toiling in their fields. They severed the ears of the dead to fashion into necklaces. One former unit medic told The Blade that soldiers 'would go into villages and just shoot everybody. We didn't need an excuse. If they were there, they were dead'."

For pro-imperialist liberals à la Dowd, such facts are surely inconvenient, especially as the Vietnam War was prosecuted first under Democratic president Kennedy and then escalated under Democratic president Johnson. The murderous history of both capitalist parties does not square with the liberals' painting of the atrocities in Iraq as simply the result of blunders by the Republican Bush administration.

Socialism or Barbarism

Dowd's column decried the loss of U.S. credibility: "They wanted everyone to be afraid of us, and now nobody's afraid. Certainly not the nutty president of Iran, whom the administration is forced to kowtow to, now that the American military is not a fearsome force in potentia, but a depleted, demoralized and disparaged force trapped in Iraq trying to police a civil war."

Such sentiments find an echo among "anybody but Bush" reformists like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). Take the petition signed by the ISO and the RCP-supported group "World Can't Wait" that counsels Bush and Cheney on the "most effective way to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons" (weapons inspectors rather than bombs) and implores these war criminals "to lead the way to peace, not war" (see "ISO, RCP to Bush: Disarm Iran, 'Lead the Way to Peace'," *WV* No. 870, 12 May).

In stark contrast to these bootlickers of imperialism, *Workers Vanguard* has forthrightly stated that in the context of the threats by U.S. imperialism, Iran ***needs*** nuclear weapons to defend itself

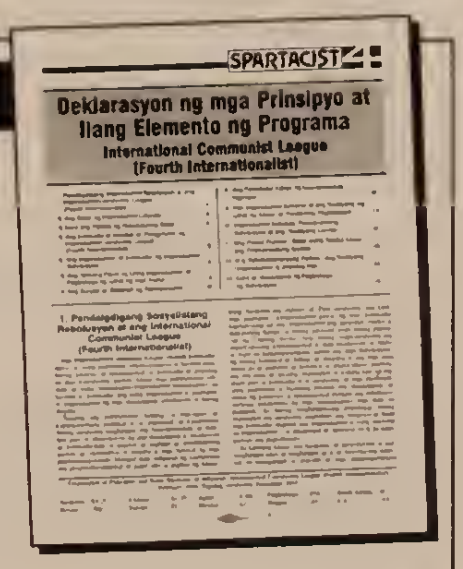
Now Available in Tagalog

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Adopted in 1998 at the Third International Conference of the ICL.

$1 (16 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377
GPO, New York, NY 10116


SPARTACIST
Deklarasyon ng mga Prinsipyo at Ilang Elemento ng Programa
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Korean War Document Confirms:

Massacre at No Gun Ri Was Official U.S. Policy

Early in the Korean War, in July 1950, some 400 Korean civilians—mainly women, children and old men—were machine-gunned to death by U.S. troops at the South Korean hamlet of No Gun Ri. Driven from their villages hy American forces and strafed hy U.S. warplanes, the desperate peasants had sought shelter beneath a railroad hridge. There they were methodically slaughtered hy soldiers of the First Cavalry Division. After the massacre was exposed in a series of Pulitzer Prize-winning articles by the Associated Press in 1999, a Pentagon investigation concluded that what happened was "not a deliberate killing" hut rather "an unfortunate tragedy" carried out by panicky soldiers acting without orders. That transparent lie has now been demolished by a recently revealed document proving that U.S. forces in Korea had a policy—decided at the highest levels of the government and the military—to kill civilians fleeing the fighting.

The document, a letter by the U.S. ambassador to South Korea, John Muccio, to Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk, states: "If refugees do appear from north of US lines they will receive warning shots, and if they then persist in advancing they will be shot" (AP, 29 May). Muccio's letter reported on a meeting of top U.S. military officers and South Korean officials that took place on 25 July 1950—the day before the bloodbath at No Gun Ri. The letter was discovered in the U.S. National Archives by former Harvard historian Sahr Conway-Lanz.

The 1950-53 Korean War, led by U.S. imperialism in the guise of a United Nations "police action," was an attempt to smash social revolution on the peninsula, and beyond that to "roll back" the Chinese Revolution of 1949. Capitalist rule had been overthrown in the northern half of the Korean peninsula following liberation from 35 years of Japanese colonialism at the end of World War II, as the power of the local capitalists and landowners was broken under the Soviet military presence and the newly installed regime of Kim Il Sung. The Korean peninsula was partitioned between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the North and the Republic of Korea in the South, a capitalist police state under American military occupation. Despite the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, the overthrow of capitalism in the North was a historic defeat for imperialism and a victory for the working people of Asia and the world.

During the war, North Korean forces were backed by the Chinese People's Liberation Army. U.S. imperialism devastated the Korean peninsula, killing more than three million people and nbliterating whole cities. Washington considered nuking China and Korea but was deterred hy Soviet military might, including its newly developed nuclear arsenal. In the end, the U.S. could only achieve a stalemate at the 38th parallel in what was widely viewed as a defeat for U.S. imperialism in this first battle of the Cold War. The Korean War was ended in a "truce," and the U.S. has refused to sign a peace treaty affirming North Korea's right to exist ever since, maintaining a massive military presence in the South.

The 1999 AP series revealed that No Gun Ri was but one of a number of mass killings of civilians carried out by the U.S. imperialists, infused as they were with racist hatred of all Kneans. While interviewing veterans, the AP uncovered the following: a July 1950 mortar attack on several hundred refugees southeast of Seoul; the destruction of two bridges over the Naktong River in August 1950 as hundreds nf refugees streamed across; a January 1951 incendiary bomb attack that killed several hundred refugees in a cave near Youngchoon. This was on top of repeated strafing of refugee columns by U.S. warplancs. Since the 1999 AP reports, South Koreans have lodged complaints with the Seoul government regarding more than 60 other large-scale massacres of refugees hy the U.S. military during the Korean War.

Following the initial AP revelations, we wrote in "U.S. War in Korea Was Mass Murder" (*WV* No. 721, 15 Octoher 1999): "The bloodbath at Nn Gun Ri is the true face of imperialism, exposing as a cynical lie the 'human rights' pretensions used by the U.S. and its allies to veil their military depredations from Kosovo to East Timor." Linking the No Gun Ri killings to the notorious 1968 My Lai massacre, in which over 500 South Vietnamese villagers were raped, tortured and massacred by American troops led by Lieutenant William Calley, we stressed: "Horrific as these particular slaughters were, they were only a drop in the ocean of carnage perpetrated by the U.S. imperialist rulers in their counterrevolutionary wars against the Korean and Vietnamese people."■

and deter U.S. attack (see "Imperialists Threaten Iran," *WV* No. 869, 28 April). We call for the military defense of semicolonial Iran against imperialist attack. At the same time, we give not an iota of political support to the reactionary Islamic fundamentalist regime in Tehran.

We also called for military defense of Afghanistan and Iraq against U.S. attack, but extended no political support to either the barbaric Taliban or to Saddam Hussein's murderous capitalist regime, a one-time ally of the U.S. Today, we say that every blow struck against the imperialist occupiers of Iraq and Afghanistan is in the interests of the world working class. But we are in sharp political opposition to the religious fundamentalists and bourgeois nationalists, who, in addition to launching insurgent strikes against the U.S., are often also deliberately hitting civilians.

For the Democratic Party and other bourgeois critics of the Bush gang, the Afghanistan war, unlike the Iraq war, is a just response to the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. A common criticism made by Democrats of the Iraq war is that it diverts attention and resources from the "war on terror"—the rulers' pretext for imperialist rampages around the world and for a massive assault on democratic rights at home. At an April 29 demonstration in New York against the occupation of Iraq, some protesters carried signs distributed by the liberal outfit "Working Assets" that read, "Osama bin Forgotten."

The mass killings and torture inflicted by U.S. forces on the Iraqi people are also standard operating procedure in Afghanistan. After a May 29 traffic accident involving a U.S. military convoy killed five people in Kabul, anti-U.S. riots broke out all through the capital. At least a dozen people, including a seven-year-old boy, were killed as U.S. troops and Afghan forces fired on protesting crowds. The barbaric face of the "war on terror" is also revealed by the conditions of those incarcerated without trial at Guantánamo Bay, where many of the at least 460 prisoners have repeatedly engaged in hunger strikes, protests and suicide attempts. U.S. out of Guantánamo! Free the detainees now!

Speaking for ruling-class liberals who complain that the Bush administration is ruining U.S. imperialism's prospects, Frank Rich wrote in his *New York Times* (4 June) column: "On Thursday the latest American-backed Iraqi prime minister, Nuri Kamal al-Maliki, whom Mr. Bush is 'proud to call' his 'ally and friend,' invited open warfare on American forces by accusing them of conducting Haditha-like killing sprees against civilians as a 'regular' phenomenon. If this is the ally and friend we are fighting for, a country that truly supports the troops has no choice but to start bringing them home."

Ronald Haeberle

1968 My Lai massacre: indelible symbol of U.S. war against Vietnamese Revolution. American defeat was victory for workers, oppressed of the world.

Following in the footsteps of such Democratic Party liberals are the reformist left and its various antiwar coalitions. Having refused to forthrightly call for the defense of Iraq (much less Afghanistan) against the U.S. onslaught, these coalitions commonly raise the call to "Bring the Troops Home." Thus the April 29 antiwar demonstration in New York City was centrally called around the slogans: "End the war in Iraq—Bring all our troops home now!" Such demands, meant to evoke sympathy for U.S. troops, serve to clean up the image of U.S. imperialism. These are not "our troops"! The pictures of the slaughtered in Haditha, the images of Falluja leveled, the photo of Lynndie England, dog leash in hand abusing a naked Iraqi prisoner—all are graphic reminders of the routine brutality meted out by imperialism's military enforcers.

The reformists' tailing of imperialist liberals does not fall from the skies. During Cold War II, the bulk of the left signed on to the imperialist "human rights" crusade against the Soviet Union launched by Democrat Jimmy Carter. Carter seized on the Soviet Union's unambiguously progressive intervention into Afghanistan, and the U.S. funneled billions in aid to the *mujahedin* Islamic reactionaries. Uniquely, the International Communist League (then the international Spartacist tendency) declared: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" The bulk of the reformists went on to cheer Boris Yeltsin's 1991-92 imperialist-backed counterrevolution within the Soviet degenerated workers state itself.

We fought to the end in defense of tne Soviet Union and the gains of the October Revolution against capitalist counter revolution. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR has produced a far more dangerous world where the U.S. imperialists feel unconstrained in their attacks at home and abroad. As proletarian internationalists in the U.S., we seek to win workers and youth to the understanding that the most bloodthirsty danger to humanity is the U.S. imperialist ruling class, represented by both capitalist parties. We fight to build a revolutionary workers party dedicated to the overthrow of this barbaric system and to the establishment of workers rule. This is the road to realizing V.I. Lenin's profoundly humanist view of thc "socialist system of society, which, by abolishing the division of mankind into classes, by abolishing all exploitation of man by man, and of one nation by other nations, will inevitably abolish all possibility of war."■

Free Mumia!...

(continued from page 5)

> minute of the last hour, is "to put all energy, courage and militancy into the organization of mass demonstrations and protest strikes. All brakes upon this movement must be regarded as the greatest danger. All illusions which paralyze the movement must be overcome. All agents of the bosses who try to sabotage and discredit the protest and strike movement must be given their proper name."

The road to victory in Mumia's case begins with the understanding that the class enemy is determined to carry out his execution. The multiracial working class has every interest in fighting against that outcome, which would further bolster the machinery of capitalist state violence whose ultimate target is the working class.

If labor's power is to be brought to bear on behalf of Mumia, it must be mobilized independent of the very forces of the capitalist state that framed up this innocent man. Based on the only significant integration in racist America, the trade unions have the social power and potential to become battalions in the struggle against exploitation and racist oppression. If undertaken with a mobilization of the union movement, the fight to free Mumia would be a first giant step in that direction. Integrated unions representing millions of workers have gone on record in support of Mumia. That these millions have not been mobilized ***in actian*** to combat this racist frame-up is the responsibility of the pro-capitalist labor misleaders, who fear calling their members into action to defend their economic interests, much less in defense of blacks, immigrants and others cast off to starve in the streets or locked away in prison hellholes.

The fight to free Mumia and all class-war prisoners is an integral part of our struggle to forge a Leninist vanguard party to lead the working class in socialist revolution. Such a party must act as the champion of all the exploited and oppressed, recognizing that the liberation of labor from the chains of capitalist exploitation is inextricably linked to the fight for black freedom. ***Free Mumia naw! Abalish the racist death penalty!***■

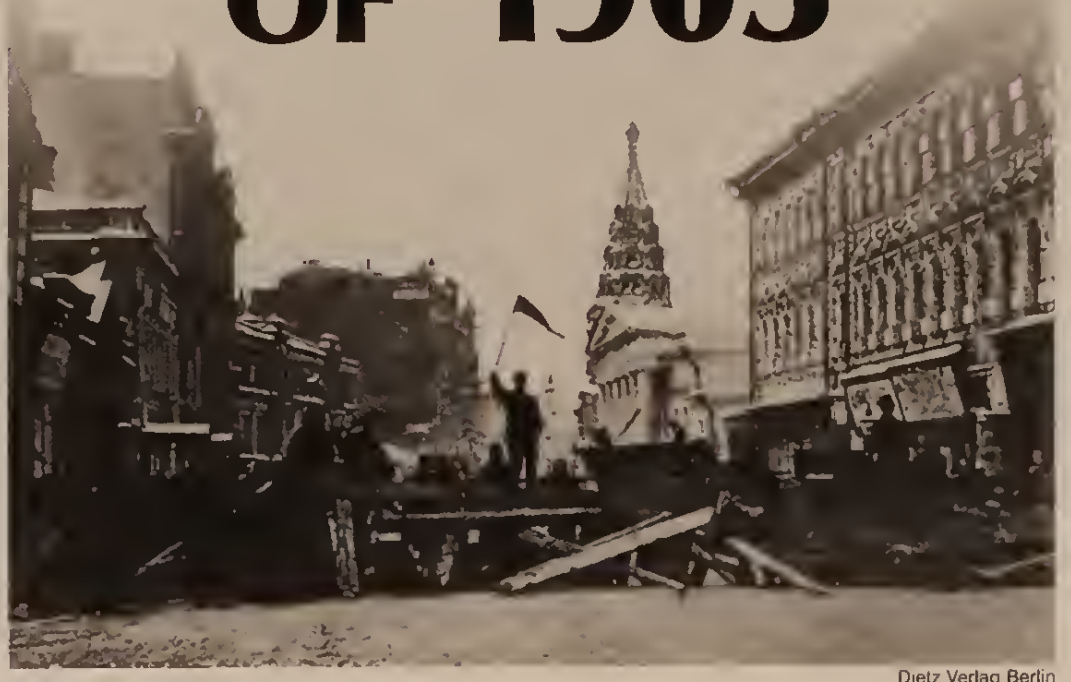
Young Spartacus

The Russian Revolution of 1905

We print below, edited for publication, an educational given by comrade Sam Kirk at the Spartacus Youth Club "Youth Maintenance Work-In" on 18 June 2005.

I had one big "problem"—that was a good one to have—in preparing this class. This same material has already been covered in excellent classes given by comrades George Foster and Joseph Seymour some years ago [see: "Prelude to the Bolshevik October: The Russian Revolution of 1905," *WV* Nos. 288 and 289, 11 September and 25 September 1981 and "Lenin and the Vanguard Party" in the Spartacist pamphlet of the same name, 1978]. So don't expect to hear a lot that is new if you did the reading. But just because it exists on paper isn't enough. Every generation must tackle the key questions of revolution and party building for itself. Marxism is not a religion where revealed truths are handed down by the "chosen." It takes a lot of work to assimilate the experiences of the past in order to shape our current tasks.

We study the 1905 Russian Revolution not simply because it was, in retrospect, the prelude to the first successful workers' revolution in history, the October Revolution of 1917. The 1905 Revolution was world-historic in its own right. As Lenin laid out in his January 1917 "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution," this was the first time in history that the industrial working class played the leading role in a revolution. What began as a workers political protest to pressure the tsar rapidly escalated in the course of the year to mass political strikes, mutinies, the formation of soviets and armed uprisings that fought for power.



Dietz Verlag Berlin

Revolutionary barricades in Moscow, 1905.

Bolshevism vs. Menshevism

While the Russian Revolution inspired many, its mechanisms were not widely understood. The world saw the working class fighting, but did not have a programmatic understanding of the political disputes within the leading, most dynamic party of the revolution, the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP). The RSDLP emerged as the premier force for a revolutionary wing of the Second International and was really two parties, the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions.

The RSDLP was formally founded in 1898 in a tiny meeting in Minsk under constant threat of police repression. The Second Congress in 1903 was essentially the founding congress of a coordinated national revolutionary movement in Russia representing the consolidation of disparate local groups around an agreed-upon program to be applied in a regular paper, *Iskra*, the political scaffolding around which the party would be built. The 1903 Congress resulted in an unexpected split between two shadings of the party—informally referred to as "hards" and "softs"—that became the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks respectively. The immediate catalyst for the split was the definition of party membership and the composition of the *Iskra* editorial board. But underlying this were deeper political differences that were not fully expressed at the time.

In "Lenin and the Vanguard Party," comrade Seymour gives a compelling description of the Bolshevik faction in 1904:

> "Above all it represented a firm commitment to revolutionary social democracy [communism], particularly the leading role of the proletarian party in the struggle against tsarist absolutism. It further represented an intransigent attitude toward demonstrated opportunists, like the Economist leaders, and a distrustful attitude toward their possible conversion to revolutionary politics. Lenin was committed to a centralized, disciplined party, and consequently intransigently hostile to the circlism-cliquism characteristic of the Russian social-democratic movement."

We would do well to live up to this!

In February 1904, Russia entered into its losing war against Japan after the Japanese navy trapped Russia's Pacific Fleet in Port Arthur (today Dalian) in Manchuria. The potential military defeat of the autocracy raised the possibility of some kind of internal reform in Russia. The Russian liberal bourgeoisie, which had a growing economic power but was subject to the whims of the autocratic political system and tied to the more powerful European capitalists, understood on some level that Russia's defeat in the Crimean War of 1854-56 had led to the tsarist reform of 1861 that had semi-emancipated the serfs. That reform was part of a program that built up capitalist relations in Russia in an effort to strengthen the state against its imperialist enemies.

Seeing a chance to push forward its own interests, the liberal bourgeoisie embarked on a mildly defeatist course during the war, epitomized by the *Zemstvo* [provincial council] "banquet campaign." If it doesn't sound very revolutionary, you're right. These nobility-run, largely peasant assemblies meekly called for a national representative assembly and greater civil liberties. The method of the bourgeoisie was meetings, banquets and petitions, but these developments were symptomatic of deeper stirrings in society.

One important result of the *Zemstvo* campaign of 1904 was that it fleshed out the reformist impulses of the Mensheviks. On the eve of the revolution the Mensheviks wrote:

> "If we take a look at the arena of the struggle in Russia then what do we see? Only two forces: the tsarist autocracy and the liberal bourgeoisie, which is now organized and possesses a huge specific weight. The working mass, however, is atomized and can do nothing; as an independent force we do not exist; and thus our task consists in supporting the second force, the liberal bourgeoisie, and encouraging it and in no case intimidating it by presenting our own independent political demands."
>
> —Quoted in Gregory Zinoviev, *History of the Bolshevik Party: A Popular Outline* (1923)

Lenin ridiculed the timid bourgeoisie, and the Mensheviks charged him and the Bolsheviks with intimidating the liberals. Lenin shot back that the Mensheviks were therefore guilty of being intimidated by the shadow of the intimidated liberals! In the RSDLP, what had begun as heated fights on secondary questions had crystallized into a fight over the central role of the working class in the revolution. The Mensheviks' self-relegation to cheerleaders for the liberals provided a much clearer line of political demarcation between Bolshevism and Menshevism than had existed since the 1903 split. "A process of consolidation began within Bolshevism and like a sponge soaking up water it began to draw in the most revolutionary elements in social-democracy of that time who had finally become convinced of its correctness" [Zinoviev, *History of the Bolshevik Party: A Popular Outline*].

Police "Socialism"

Any discussion about January 9, the beginning of the 1905 Russian Revolution, must address the radical Russian Orthodox priest Father Gapon. His movement was a second failed attempt inspired by the Russian secret police forces to undercut social-democratic influence in the labor movement by organizing workers into secretly police-led unions based on a reactionary program. This supplemented tsarism's preferred method of dealing with the working class, which was bloody repression of any attempt to organize and fight. Gapon's movement was more independent of direct state control than an earlier attempt by Sergei Zubatov, the chief of the Moscow secret police who set up workers societies under police control. The way the Bolsheviks dealt with Zubatovism was to expose the reactionary nature of his societies and, at the same time, to support them when they took part in leading strikes. After Zubatov's societies led several strikes, Zubatov was informed by his masters that his experiment was over. Nevertheless, he directly influenced Father Gapon.

Gapon set up his Assembly of the Russian Factory and Mill Workers of the City of St. Petersburg at about the same time as the war began against Japan. Membership was open to Russian and other Christian subjects of the empire. The Ministry of the Interior approved the statutes of the organization. At the same time, in order to be attractive to the masses, Gapon quietly gathered around himself former Social Democrats, and they came up with a secret "Program of the Five" which had elements of the Social Democracy's minimum program.

In the second half of 1904 events accelerated. A bomb thrown by a member of the Social Revolutionary party killed the notorious anti-Semitic Minister of the Interior, Vyacheslav Plehve. Plehve was an ultrareactionary who had been responsible for dissolving the Zubatov societies and supported the conservative wing of the *Zemstvo* movement. He was replaced by a tsarist "moderate." This, combined with total defeat at Port Arthur (the Pacific fleet was lost and 80 percent of the besieged troops killed) resulted in a very heated political atmosphere. Gapon's organization grew rapidly from a couple of hundred to several thousand industrial workers in the space of months. This was alarming, particularly to the factory owners of the city.

In retaliation for the growing influence of Gapon's Assembly, a handful of its active members was fired from the massive Putilov metal works in late December. Under extreme pressure to act, Gapon held mass meetings on how to respond and more than half the workers at the plant joined the Assembly. In the face of intransigence from management, Gapon found himself at the head of a strike that began on January 3 and was quickly joined by a large number of the workers in St. Petersburg.

In an effort to resolve this dispute by less confrontational means, Gapon produced a petition to be presented on Sunday, January 9, in person, most humbly, by the toilers of Russia to the tsar at the Winter Palace, the center of autocratic power. The content of the petition was

Swan

Hundreds of Russian soldiers, killed during Russo-Japanese War. Defeat of Russia in war shook tsarist regime, spurred revolutionary wave.

contradictory, with many supportable demands, like the eight-hour day and the separation of church and state, mixed in with total groveling before the tsar. Events snowballed. That morning, dressed in their Sunday best, well over 100,000 workers with their families, the bulk of the working population of the capital, began to gather at various meeting points around the city to begin the march to the Winter Palace located in the city center.

Bloody Sunday

Before we consider the fate of the march, let's consider the character of the local Bolshevik organization. This underground group had around 200-300 members, most of whom were in their twenties. One member of the Kiev group in his memoirs gave a general description of the local party organizations in Russia as "mostly callow youths, hotheaded and resolute but weakly linked to the working masses and uninfluential in the factories." Nevertheless, they constantly attempted to gain a hearing in the proletariat in the face of fierce state repression. A typical profile for a student activist was six months of semipublic work, followed by prison, exile and hopefully escape. To the extent that they had members in the factories, they were often apprentices and didn't have a lot of authority with the more skilled workers. As one Putilov

Y. Mebius

V.I. Lenin, 1900. Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod* with Lenin's January 1905 article "The Beginning of the Revolution in Russia."

worker put it, young workers who tried to talk politics were told to "learn first how to hold a hammer and use a chisel and a knife, and then you can begin to argue like a man who has something to teach others" [quoted in Gerald Dennis Surh, *1905 in St. Petersburg: Labor, Society and Revolution* (1989)].

The Social Democrats in the Narva District, which contained the massive Putilov works, had about 40 supporters out of a total of 30,000 workers, organized in a handful of underground study circles. The initial attitude of the Bolsheviks towards Gapon was to correctly denounce him as a suspicious adventurer, but also to underestimate the extent to which his Assembly was quickly gaining a hearing. Lenin waged a fight from afar to get the party to intervene in this movement aggressively.

Attempts to intervene in Gapon's Assembly prior to the Sunday demonstration were difficult. One Bolshevik, as soon as he identified himself as a party member, had his speech interrupted by Gapon who explained, "It is essential for all to see that this is not a revolutionary movement, but a peaceful procession to the tsar." He continued, "I have always respected you and considered you honest people. I bow to you, I bow low to you: do not bring friction into our movement. Let us go under one united banner of peace towards our sacred goal" [quoted in Walter Sablinsky, *The Road to Bloody Sunday* (1976)]. Gapon commanded that the Social Democrats march at the rear of the demonstration "to keep up the spirits of the crowd." This softcore censorship was combined with the hardcore version. Bolshevik agitators were often denied speaking rights at meetings of the Assembly, and were at times beaten up and their leaflets destroyed. For the demonstration itself, red banners were forbidden.

The Bolshevik Party Committee was correctly wary that the demonstration was a police trap. It was decided to send teams around to the various feeder points for the march with leaflets and banners, but to wait until the mood of the crowd was sympathetic. Typical of what was occurring around the city, at one such meeting point, only about a dozen party supporters showed up. The guy who was supposed to bring the banner never showed; he was an undercover cop. The marchers were not widely receptive to communist propaganda as they set off full of illusions that Gapon's way would win concessions. Red flags were not unfurled, leaflets not distributed. As the tens of thousands of workers marched to the center of the city by various routes, they were met by concentrations of troops who fired multiple volleys at pointblank range into the tightly packed crowds. Over 1,000 were killed and almost 4,000 injured in the day that is known to history as Bloody Sunday.

One definition of a revolution is when "the ruling class can no longer rule in the old way and the masses no longer want to live in the old way." From the moment the first shots were fired, Gaponism was dead. The masses went from bowing to the tsar to demanding his death. Openness to revolutionary propaganda exploded. By the afternoon of Bloody Sunday, red flags were flying and Bolshevik leaflets were being snapped up. Through explosive events, the political scene can change very dramatically in a short period of time. In this changing situation, all programs are considered and tested. All trends get their chance. It was the Bolsheviks who had the program that showed the way forward corresponding to the felt needs of the working class and, due to the events triggered by January 9, they gained a sympathetic hearing from millions of workers, students and soldiers. Among these, tens of thousands began looking to become revolutionary activists and were looking for a party to join.

Lenin was quite critical of the local Bolshevik leaders, the "committeemen," who were slow to react to new events. There is his famous [February 1905] letter to local party leaders Alexander Bogdanov and Sergei Gusev where he metaphorically called for "shooting on the spot anyone who presumes to say there are no people to be had" [i.e., no people to be recruited to the party]. Lenin got a lot of opposition to broadening the organization from the committeemen. The cadre of the Bolsheviks had become habituated to operating under the incredibly difficult conditions of underground work. It took Lenin's strong intervention from a distance to turn things around. Interestingly, Lenin had to carry out a related fight against a tendency to dismiss the influence of their leftist opponents.

With the disaster of Bloody Sunday, the tsar allowed the setting up of what was called the Shidlovsky Commission. This allowed the workers to elect representatives to come and grovel before the tsar. This committee was a farce, yet it is often cited as the origin of the idea of soviets. As in the soviets, representation was one delegate for 500 workers. The elections to the commission provided an opening for Social Democratic agitation at mass meetings. In gushing letters to Lenin, Gusev bragged: "Hurray! The PC [party committee] can be proud; its whole plan, all its resolutions, all the tactics it had worked out, even the details—all has gone through brilliantly." Lenin sent back a sarcastic letter that warned, "You are all too much of an optimist if you hope to get the better of the Peter Mensheviks so easily" [see Solomon Schwartz, *The Russian Revolution: The Workers' Movement and the Formation of Bolshevism and Menshevism* (1967)]. In fact, many workers entering the political struggle for the first time often saw little difference between the two factions..The committeemen flipped from a tendency toward abstention to bragging that political obstacles would evaporate with little struggle.

John Massey Stewart

Bloody Sunday: Tsarist troops open fire on workers demonstration on 9 January 1905, killing over 1,000.

It is important to understand that, at the time, their reformist opponents derisively called the Bolsheviks a "sect." Likewise, many of the histories of 1905, written from a perspective hostile to the building of a vanguard party, quote fights by Lenin with the committeemen. In defense of the committeemen, these were dedicated revolutionaries who were organizationally competent and politically hard. They organized thousands of workers on a communist basis. But they made mistakes and these were often corrected.

Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution

What every revolutionary was grappling with was the nature of the revolution in a country with a relatively small, but powerful, working class and a huge peasantry. The Menshevik position has already been discussed. It was tailism of the liberal bourgeoisie. First there would be a bourgeois revolution and then down the road an indefinite period, a workers revolution. This is known today as the theory of the two-stage revolution, and Stalinists and Maoists alike embrace its basic framework. The reality of this theory, as shown by the experience of many failed revolutions in the last hundred years, is that the workers hand the bourgeoisie the power during the first stage, and in the second stage the bourgeoisie drowns the workers in blood.

The position of the Bolsheviks was a strong rejection of this kind of tailism. They looked to the working class to form a revolutionary alliance with the peasantry in a joint struggle to bring down tsarism and fight for democratic demands. At the same time the working class would fight for socialist demands. The question of what role the peasantry would play was a huge question in a country where the working class was less than 10 percent of the population. At the end of his life, Trotsky summarized Lenin's position:

> "The backward Russian bourgeoisie is incapable of completing its own revolution! The complete victory of the revolution, through the intermediacy of the 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry,' would purge the land of medievalism, invest the development of Russian capitalism with American tempo, strengthen the proletariat in city and village and make really possible the struggle for socialism. On the other hand, the victory of the Russian revolution would give a tremendous impetus to the socialist revolution in the West, while the latter would not only protect Russia from the dangers of restoration but would also enable the Russian proletariat to come to the conquest of power in a comparatively brief historical period."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution" (1939)

Trotsky considered this perspective unrealizable and incomplete because it characterized the stages of the revolution incorrectly, but nevertheless the immediate operational conclusions for the general direction of the struggle were correct and the same as Trotsky's.

The limitations of Lenin's theory did not become operational in 1905 because the revolution did not go far enough. But when discussing the three concepts of the revolution, it's almost impossible not to consider what happened subsequently, in 1917. That is, Lenin dropped his analysis as outdated and in substance embraced Trotsky's position. But in 1905, Trotsky's theory, which became known as permanent revolution, by his own account "met practically no recognition" ["Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution"].

Trotsky rejected the idea of a two-class dictatorship as formulated in Lenin's position and instead conceived of the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry. He summarized his perspective of permanent revolution as:

> "The complete victory of the democratic revolution in Russia is conceivable only in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasantry. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which would inevitably place on the order of the day not only democratic but socialistic tasks as well, would at the same time give a powerful impetus to the international socialist revolution. Only the victory of the proletariat in the West could protect Russia from bourgeois restoration and assure it the possibility of rounding out the establishment of socialism."
>
> —Trotsky, "Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution"

Keep in mind that Lenin's main thesis, "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," was written in the summer of 1905 before the key battles of the proletariat had taken place. Trotsky's groundbreaking "Results and Prospects" was written as the revolution was winding down in 1906 and was based on his direct personal experience at the center of events.

At the time, Lenin's position provided the marching orders for *the* revolutionary party in Russia, the Bolsheviks. He emphasized that a general strike is not enough by itself. Along with it a fight for power through armed uprisings must be organized. The vanguard party doesn't just advocate revolution, but provides leadership. The Mensheviks denounced this as adventurism and rebellion and counterposed it to building consciousness. But even Rosa Luxemburg, who worked closely with Lenin beginning in 1905, took a long time to get beyond an idealization of the mass strike.

Keep in mind that although the activity

continued on page 10

1905...

(continued from page 9)

on the ground of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was at times similar, their purpose was different, especially the higher up you go in leadership. Both were energetic in trying to organize and lead the working class in strikes against the tsarist state. This points to the push from the ranks for unity between the factions that resulted from events of the year. Trotsky was certainly a spokesman for this tendency for unity as chairman of the Petersburg Soviet; it wasn't until 1917 that he fully gave up on unity between the factions and came over to the Bolsheviks.

The St. Petersburg Soviet

In May 1905, the Russian military was conclusively defeated by Japan. The Baltic Fleet that had been sent halfway around the world to save Port Arthur after the loss of the Pacific fleet, arrived five months too late. En route it was almost completely destroyed in a one-day battle in the Tsushima strait (located between Japan and Korea).

Following defeat on the seas and on the battlefield, in August the tsar finally agreed to a representative assembly, the Duma, which would be based on a limited franchise and be allowed to offer him nonbinding advice. This was met by most of society as a bad joke. The Bolsheviks proclaimed a boycott of the elections. Instead of quieting the political scene as intended, anger boiled over.

In September, the U.S.-brokered Treaty of Portsmouth was signed, codifying the overwhelming victory of Japan. In this case, the defeat of one's own ruling class in war was a good thing for the Russian working class. In October, a revolutionary wave shook tsarism to its foundations. The establishment of the Petersburg Soviet followed a series of strikes culminating in a general rail strike. Trotsky wrote movingly about the incredible unity of the rail workers who not only started but also stopped their strike with the highest discipline [see Trotsky, *1905* (1922)]. Now there was a working-class, revolutionary, representative body in the capital of the empire, the Soviet, largely based on workers in the war industries. The tsar had seen enough. Without meaningful reform, he faced overthrow. The October Manifesto was issued granting a constitution and giving the future Duma legislative power.

Fundamentally this was very little, but the liberal bourgeoisie had seen enough. As the proletariat appeared more and more as an independent force, the bourgeoisie more fully threw its lot in with the camp of open counterrevolution. Their embrace of the October Manifesto further exposed the Mensheviks politically.

The granting of the October Manifesto was coordinated with a nationwide, government-organized onslaught against the Jewish population. Historically in Russia, reactionary counterrevolution means pogroms (i.e., anti-Jewish pillaging and lynching). Lenin cites the figures of 4,000 murdered and 10,000 mutilated during the course of the revolution. Some pogroms occurred at the end of 1904 in a wave of pro-war patriotism; the Jews were ridiculously blamed for aiding Japan. Interestingly, 30,000 Jews served in the Far East for the Russian military. But the vast majority of the pogroms occurred between the issuing of the October Manifesto and the end of the Moscow insurrection in December (i.e., in two months).

The whipping up of hatred for Jews, carried out by the reactionary "Black Hundreds," was a conscious government attempt to derail the revolution. It was heroically opposed by Jewish socialist organizations, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks who organized armed defense guards. Importantly, industrial workers, especially the mainly Russian rail workers, played an important role in defending Jews. Significantly in Petersburg there were no pogroms because the working class showed its determination in advance to defend the Jewish population, arms in hand.

Swan

Novosti

Above: Revolutionary uprising in Odessa, 1905. Workers uprising intersected mutiny by sailors on battleship *Potemkin*, which docked in Odessa under a red flag in June.

Right: Workers demonstration in fall of 1905 with banners reading, "Workers of the World Unite!" "Russian Social Democratic Labor Party," "Down With the Autocracy!" and "We Demand a Constituent Assembly!"

An example of how backward nationalist consciousness can change rapidly under the pressure of revolutionary events can be seen on the question of Poland. The revolution inspired the struggles of the nationalities in the tsarist "prison house of peoples" where less than half the empire was Russian. The oppressor Russian nationalism fomented anti-Polish chauvinism and, in turn, the nationalism of the oppressed Polish nation was anti-Russian. This infected the working class. The revolution cut across this. Upon hearing of the events of Bloody Sunday, Warsaw and many other Polish cities erupted in general strikes led by communists. Polish communists, led by Feliks Dzerzhinsky (heroic future head of the Cheka [Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage formed to defend early Soviet workers state]), intersected the large number of Russian troops in Poland with internationalist propaganda. In November, when martial law was declared in Poland, the Russian workers repaid their class brothers when the Petersburg Soviet declared a general strike in defense of Poland! [See Robert Blobaum, *Feliks Dzierzynski and the SDKPiL: A Study of the Origins of Polish Communism* (1984).]

The experience of the St. Petersburg Soviet was a glorious step forward for the revolution. Under Trotsky's leadership a body was established that went beyond general strikes and provided an organizational structure for the proletariat to fight for power. Its conduct was heroic and revolutionary from beginning to end, including at the trial of its leaders after it was crushed, which was used as a platform for revolutionary ideas.

The Bolshevik committeemen had trouble dealing with this. They were not against soviets per se; in fact the Bolsheviks established the first one in June. Their problem was that they didn't want to support one that they didn't lead. They had similar problems with trade unions, which were rapidly being formed for the first time. Lenin intervened to the effect that leadership must be won in struggle, but that the soviets and unions can and should be built on the broadest basis. The committeemen saw the opportunists in the soviets and unwisely abstained because they were for a split with the opportunists. Tactics toward these new phenomena had to be hammered out in struggle.

The Moscow Insurrection

The Moscow insurrection of 7-19 December was a general strike that grew into an armed uprising. Lenin considered it the high point of the revolution, which unfortunately was characterized by the masses having a leadership that lagged behind them. That is, events moved a step faster than the leadership of the working class on the ground was prepared to go.

There is the example of the confrontations with police at the Fielder Academy where groups of students and workers were holding constant meetings. All over the country the universities were centers of working-class organizing and political discussion. The gendarmes, after being surprised at meeting armed resistance, regrouped and shelled the school, slaughtering several students, and carried out mass arrests. It is one thing to have a political line for armed struggle and another to carry it out in the face of a hostile and organized state. There were pitched battles all over the city, barricades going up and fighting units giving battle. There was a battle for the loyalty of the troops, with Lenin estimating 5,000 loyal to the government and 10,000 wavering.

In his balance sheet of the events, Lenin cited Marx that "revolution progresses by giving rise to a strong and united counterrevolution, i.e., it compels the enemy to resort to more and more extreme measures of defense and in this way devises even more powerful means of attack" ["Lessons of the Moscow Uprising," 29 August 1906]. The masses were learning from their own experience Lenin's point that the general strike was not enough. The question was posed: Who was going to rule? How were they to accomplish the revolution? Lenin was very insistent that revolution is an art and needs to be coordinated, specifically by developing tactics of guerrilla warfare supported by the proletariat.

To get a sense of how serious the Bolsheviks were, look at the example of Leonid Krasin. He was politically the most senior Bolshevik leader in Petersburg and a consummate professional revolutionary. Among other things he organized the production at a high technical level (he was an accomplished engineer) of grenades and trained the fighting units in their use. He organized and ran technical/defense squads. One of these squads was prepared to blow up the railway to Moscow from Petersburg (thereby preventing the dispatch of the troops that eventually put down the Moscow uprising), but the team was unsuccessful at carrying out its mission. Bolshevik Party cadres were deadly serious about an armed uprising, but they were dealing with young and untested forces [see Timothy O'Connor, *The Engineer of Revolution: L.B. Krasin and the Bolsheviks, 1870-1926* (1992)].

The Moscow uprising was put down in just over a week of fighting. Strikes shut down the city. Fighting units and barricades were met by troops and artillery. Over 1,000 were killed and the uprising was followed by a campaign of arrests and executions.

International Significance of 1905 Revolution

It is important to realize the tremendous impact that the events in Russia had internationally. This is something that should guide us as members of the International Communist League as we seek to consolidate and extend national sections of revolutionary Marxism around the world. We are building a programmatically hard, disciplined international that seeks to provide revolutionary leadership. In this struggle we understand that the world economy organically links all nations.

Comrades have hopefully spent the week combatting in practice the effect of bourgeois society's stultifying division between manual and mental labor at this summer's "youth maintenance work-in." In left-wing politics today we are familiar with the division between "direct action" and reformist opportunism (for example, anarchists versus organizations like the International Socialist Organization and Workers World Party), a divide more of form than content. On a much smaller scale, this recalls the political divisions among hundreds of thousands of working-class militants in the world of 1905. The false division between action and theory was contained on the one hand in the anarcho-syndicalists who were known for championing direct action through the "mass strike" and for their rejection of "politics" (i.e., programs, theories, parliamentarism). On the other hand there was the revolutionary, but increasingly conservative, social-democratic Second International, led by August Bebel, Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD). They were moving toward a reformist program increasingly limited to raising the consciousness of the working class gradually through education and parliamentary activity.

Within both of these tendencies there was a revolutionary wing—James P. Cannon, who joined the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and later helped found the American Communist Party, Alfred Rosmer and Victor Serge, anarcho-syndicalists who later became communists, and Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who were the leaders of the revolutionary wing of the SPD. They were attempting to combat the anti-revolutionary conclusions of each tendency. The Russian Revolution of 1905 presented the possibility of combining the best aspects of both currents in a revolutionary way.

Rosa Luxemburg, in her 1906 work *The Mass Strike; The Political Party and the Trade Unions*, hailed the 1905 developments in Russia as the "historical liquidation of anarchism" because, after years of the anarchists holding up the general strike as the highest goal, it was the social democrats in Russia who had actually led it. But the thrust of her polemic was against the conservatism within her own party. She explained that Marx's dynamic criticism of the adventurism of anarchism was being turned into a smug caricature of Marxism: the view that socialism would be arrived at only after a slow, peaceful march to educate the workers by an ever-growing social democracy. Conservative social-democratic opposition to the general strike was summed up in the paradox: "Either the proletariat as a whole are not yet in possession of the powerful organization and financial resources required, in which case they cannot carry through the general strike; or they are already sufficiently well organized, in which case they do not need the general strike."

The masses in Germany were greatly affected by the events in Russia where in one year they saw that the "bastion of nineteenth-century reaction became the vanguard of twentieth-century revolution" [Carl E. Schorske, *German Social-Democracy, 1905-1917: the Development of the Great Schism* (1955)]. As many workers went out on strike in Germany in 1905 as in the previous five years combined. For the entire year the Russian Revolution was front-page news every day in the socialist papers. The fact that the working class dared to vie for power in tsarist Russia was a huge blow to the "evolutionary theory" of socialism whose influence had been steadily growing as a pro-capitalist layer of "labor lieutenants" was consolidating itself within the socialist and trade-union movement in Europe and the U.S. At the same time, the socialist trade-union leadership was increasingly becoming a privileged layer, which the imperialist rulers could afford to bribe with material benefits. The union bureaucracy derived its privileges from its position atop the workers movement and became increasingly comfortable operating within the framework of capitalist society. In Germany the trade-union leadership came out in open opposition to the left wing as it treacherously sought to limit and defuse the strike movement throughout 1905 [see Schorske].

Luxemburg's polemics were scathing and largely correct against the conservative and opportunist elements in her own party. But the left wing, like all wings of social democracy, subscribed to the theory of the "party of the whole class," which maintained that the working class should have only one party with all political tendencies represented. In Europe, this theory served to prevent an organizational break with opportunism within the workers movement and eventually served to subordinate the revolutionary wing to the reformist wing. This was not an abstract question. With the rise of radicalism in 1905, Luxemburg formally won the SPD to her line of advocating and employing the tactic of the political mass strike, but by 1906 the conservative trade-union leadership won a rotten "compromise" that gave them the right to veto the party line as it applied to their activity.

Luxemburg envisioned that the revolutionary wave would wipe away conservative opportunism like a rapidly moving river empties a stagnant pond of scum. Luxemburg's belief that an upsurge of militant class struggle would naturally dispel the opportunists proved very wrong. Comrades are aware that Luxemburg and Liebknecht were murdered in 1919 during the counterrevolutionary terror unleashed by a government run by their former "comrades."

Despite political criticisms, we honor Luxemburg as a revolutionary internationalist to the core. She wrote in her 1906 pamphlet *The Mass Strike* that it would be:

> "entirely wrong to regard the Russian revolution as a fine play, as something specifically 'Russian,' and at best to admire the heroism of the fighting men, that is, the last accessories of the struggle. It is much more important that the German workers should learn to look upon the Russian revolution *as their own affair*, not merely as a matter of international solidarity with the Russian proletariat, but first and foremost, as a *chapter of their own social and political history*."

James P. Cannon made a similar point for American workers in his essay on the anarcho-syndicalist IWW, which was founded in 1905 amid intense praise of the Russian Revolution.

In Asia the influence of the revolution was also felt, but in a very different way. There were two related events: first, the defeat suffered by Russia, a major European power, at the hands of Japan, an emerging force in the imperialist world, in the Russo-Japanese War. This marked the first time in modern history that an Asian country defeated a European country. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 was an interimperialist war in which the working class had no side. Yet Lenin in his burning hatred for tsarism incorrectly supported the victory of the Japanese bourgeoisie over the tsarist autocracy as the victory of "advancing, progressive Asia" over "backward and reactionary Europe" ("The Fall of Port Arthur," January 1905). Seen in the light of the interimperialist world war that broke out in 1914, Lenin's position in 1905 was a mistake. But in 1905, capitalist imperialism was a new phenomenon and Lenin had not yet arrived at a theoretical understanding of the imperialist epoch. Thus he viewed the Russo-Japanese conflict through the prism of the 19th-century Marxist view that progressive national wars were supportable and that tsarist Russia was the chief reactionary power in Europe. Russia's defeat showed the masses of Asia that the colonialist countries of Europe and the United States were not invincible.

But what really shook the East was that in the midst of this war the masses of Russia, with the working class in the lead, rose up to shake off their own oppressor, the autocratic system of capitalist Russia. This provided an internationalist example to the national struggles against colonial domination. It is interesting to consider China, a country which has such an important place in the world today. Northern China provided much of the battleground for the Russo-Japanese War. Russian troops occupied Manchuria and among these troops it is estimated that by the end of the war, in mid 1905, there were 3,500 active Bolshevik supporters agitating for demobilization of the troops. Chinese revolutionaries who returned from Russian territory after the revolution played central roles in the Chinese Eastern Railroad strikes of 1906-07. In 1907, Chinese and Russian revolutionaries organized a joint political strike to commemorate the second anniversary of the Bloody Sunday massacre of Russian workers by tsarist forces.

Iran offers another example with a large number of Iranian immigrants working in Southern Russia, largely centered in the Baku oilfields where there was a direct organizational connection to the Russian Social Democracy. When the Iranian revolution broke out in December 1905 it was the working class at the forefront with a general strike in Tehran. In India and Turkey, 1905 also marked a dramatic beginning to the anti-colonial movement.

Dress Rehearsal for 1917

Ultimately, the 1905 Revolution was defeated. That the bourgeoisie internationally was relatively stable was a factor contributing to the revolution not going further. The world was not in the turmoil it would be in 1917 after three years of world war. In that sense the ruling class had room to recover and save itself through state repression. Another factor is that the protests in the cities did not penetrate deeply enough into the countryside where the rate of protest by the peasantry was perhaps 20 percent that of the proletariat. That is to say, the illusions that the St. Petersburg proletariat had in the tsar prior to January 9, although greatly undermined, were held longer in the countryside. That was reflected in the fact that the army did not split, with a section going over to the side of the revolution. That is not to say that there weren't some huge cracks. Lenin and Trotsky both cited the example of sympathetic troops during the Moscow insurrection marching down the street singing the *Marseillaise*. Likewise, during the summer of 1905 the mutineers of the Battleship Potemkin tried to join with the revolutionary workers of Odessa (the fourth largest city in Russia). The police were able to prevent this only by slaughtering 1,000 demonstrators in one day on the docks.

The authority of the ruling class was greatly undermined by the revolution and the liberal bourgeoisie was exposed. Despite their best efforts, the memory of 1905 could not be erased. The clock could not be turned back. That is to say that subsequent periods (the period of reaction, the period of working-class resurgence, World War I and ultimately the 1917 revolutions) were all played out under the shadow of the experiences of 1905.

The revolution was defeated, but the real gain was a Bolshevik Party with thousands of new members who showed in struggle that they meant business and who gained the authority and active support of thousands upon thousands of workers. The party had a leadership that could generalize the lessons and correct errors. A party that was hard enough to combat the illusions in the working class that the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks should just get together, that the programmatic differences "weren't that serious," but flexible enough to bring in revolutionaries like Trotsky in 1917 and incorporate the substance of his correct theory of permanent revolution and his several thousand supporters by 1917. The Bolshevik Party that began the revolution of 1905 as a propaganda group of 1,000 to 2,000 ended it as a small mass party. In 1907, before the onset of reaction decimated the ranks of the party, the Bolsheviks had about 45,000 members. And, thanks to their previous experience, the party and the class had a much better chance at clarity and success for the next time. To really learn about 1905 provides a glimpse of what we, as a small propaganda group, have ahead of us if we are to live up to our slogan that "we are the party of the Russian Revolution!"

I hope this talk provides a framework to inspire further study. One hundred years later, world reality is not pretty. The idea that experiences of the past are irrelevant to a "new world reality" is unfortunately prevalent, especially among the left. This is an aspect of acceptance of the "death of communism" mythology of bourgeois public opinion. We are fully confident that these people will go the way of the Mensheviks when hit with revolutionary situations where their program is exposed (by us) as having no revolutionary answers to the burning questions. In our fight we are guided by Lenin who observed on the fifth anniversary of 1905 that "only stern battles, only civil wars, can free humanity from the yoke of capital, and, on the other hand, that only class-conscious proletarians can and will give leadership to the vast majority of the exploited." Long live the memory of the 1905 Revolution!■

Basil Blackwell Inc. photos

Members of St. Petersburg Soviet during 1906 trial. Leon Trotsky, leader of the Soviet, in jail following 1905 Revolution.

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

NEW YORK CITY

Saturday, June 10, 5 p.m.
The State and Revolution
299 Broadway, Suite 318
(between Duane and Reade Streets)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

Moving?

To receive *Workers Vanguard* without interruption please let us know at least three weeks before you move. Send your new *and* old address to:

Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

Zapatista "Sixth Declaration": Petty-Bourgeois Populism

Army Out of Chiapas! Down With Paramilitary Terror!

We print below excerpts from a January 2006 leaflet by the Grupo Espartaquista de México on the "Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle"—a document adopted by the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) in southern Mexico in June 2005. The declaration called for a series of democratic reforms and also announced that the EZLN would not support any of the candidates in the upcoming presidential elections. The EZLN subsequently launched its "other campaign," an attempt to rally supporters throughout Mexico around its declaration during the presidential campaign.

In the context of the coming presidential elections and the evident popularity of the bourgeois PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution], which leads the polls and has strengthened its support in the working class, the Zapatista Sixth Declaration and the "other campaign" have reawakened illusions in the Zapatistas among many left-minded youth. This is due to the campaign's "radical" rhetoric and its criticisms of the electoral circus and the bourgeois parties—especially the PRD, which is discredited among many radicalized students in Mexico City.

This turn by the Zapatistas, after eleven years of placing confidence in the bourgeois PRD, is not surprising. The Zapatista rebellion started in 1994 in response to the implementation of NAFTA—a treaty for the imperialist plunder of the Mexican economy, which has sunk the peasantry even further into misery—and against age-old racist, anti-indigenous oppression. The timid nationalist politics of the PRD (which does not even oppose NAFTA) have disappointed the Zapatistas, and in fact PRD senators themselves approved the infamous 2001 *anti*-indigenous law. Further, as the EZLN itself has documented, the PRD has directly participated in murderous repression against the Zapatistas. The EZLN's criticisms of the PRD are empirical—based on unfulfilled promises and on repression, not on an understanding of the PRD and the other bourgeois parties as instruments of capital, enemies of the workers and all the oppressed regardless of their current policies.

After decades of so-called "neoliberalism," which has sunk the masses into the most complete misery, populism is on the ascendance throughout Latin America, with [Venezuela's] Hugo Chávez as its most famous exponent, while in Mexico it is represented by the PRD. Populism is simply an alternative policy of capitalism, seeking only to renegotiate the terms of the Third World bourgeoisie's subordination to imperialism. By means of its concessions to the workers and the oppressed and through its nationalist, "anti-neoliberal" rhetoric, populism strengthens the ties of the exploited to their exploiters and helps perpetuate this brutal regime.

The Zapatista program, reduced to bourgeois-democratic reforms in opposition to so-called "neoliberalism" but in no way opposed to the capitalist system itself, is in reality a petty-bourgeois variant of bourgeois-nationalist populism. In fact, [EZLN leader Subcomandante] Marcos himself made it clear that voting for the PRD or any other bourgeois party is not counterposed to *Zapatismo*, when he asserted that "electoral preferences or sympathies are in no way an impediment to belonging to *the other campaign*" (*La Jornada*, 19 January). The "other campaign" is a politically amorphous petty-bourgeois movement whose purpose is to pressure the nationalist bourgeoisie. It leads those breaking from the PRD to the left to remain within the limits of bourgeois politics.

We Spartacists solidarize with the struggle of the indigenous peasantry against their ancient oppression and misery and call on the workers to defend the EZLN against state and paramilitary repression. However, we embrace not *Zapatismo* but the program of revolutionary Marxism, which is a counterposed worldview. Marcos says, "This country's problem is not a party, but the capitalist system" which "we must transform" (*La Jornada*, 15 January). But there is nothing in the Sixth Declaration attacking the basis of the capitalist system: ***the system of private property***. The most prominent call in the Sixth Declaration is for a new constitution "that recognizes the rights and liberties of the people and defends the weak before the powerful," which will be imposed by a "civilian, peaceful movement."

It is utopian to think that capitalism can be reformed, by means of new legislation or otherwise, in order to put it at the service of the exploited and the oppressed. In any society, laws are only the superstructure resting on the property regime. Under capitalism, the whole economy serves the extraction of profit by a handful of capitalists who own the means of production. Additionally, the Third World bourgeoisies, such as the Mexican bourgeoisie, are inextricably tied to the imperialists and are incapable of breaking with them and achieving the gains obtained by the old bourgeois revolutions (for example, the French Revolution of 1789), such as the building of a strong economy (the basis for national emancipation) and the modernization of the countryside.

It is necessary to overthrow capitalism by means of a socialist revolution that abolishes the system of private property—i.e., that collectivizes the means of production and establishes a planned economy in order to satisfy the needs of the population. This revolution must be extended internationally to eliminate the imperialist counterrevolutionary threat and to put the immense resources and developed productive forces of capitalism at the service of the exploited and oppressed. This is the road to achieving socialism, which requires generalized abundance.

The working class, due to its relationship to the means of production, is the ***only*** class with the historic interests and the social power necessary to lead the oppressed masses to that end. Having only its own labor power to sell, the working class has no objective interest whatsoever in maintaining the regime of private property; on the contrary, its interests are in the collectivization of the means of production. Also, the proletarians produce the wealth of society collectively, which gives them enormous social power. Oil workers, telephone workers or electricians, for example, have the power to disrupt the entire economy and even to paralyze it altogether.

In contrast, the peasantry is a heterogeneous layer forming a part of the petty bourgeoisie, which also includes, for example, students and street vendors. Poor peasants, reduced to production for their own consumption, lack social power and long for their own plot of land; small peasants compete against each other to sell their produce on the market. The objective interests of the peasantry as a social stratum are in private ownership of the land. Due to these characteristics, the peasantry—and the entire petty bourgeoisie—is incapable by itself of advancing a revolutionary program: it always follows one of the two fundamental classes of capitalism, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. In the absence of a revolutionary workers party openly contending for power, the peasantry today necessarily limits its struggle within the bounds of capitalism.

We seek to build a revolutionary alliance of the proletariat and the poor peasantry, but this is only possible under the leadership of the workers' vanguard organized in a communist party. Thus, our purpose is to build a workers party like the Bolsheviks of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, one capable of leading the working class in this historic task. This is, in its general features, the perspective of permanent revolution developed by Trotsky and vindicated in practice by the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

After having in fact defeated the bourgeoisie [during the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920], the peasant armies of Villa and Zapata simply withdrew from Mexico City ***without even touching the foundations of the capitalist régime***, illustrating the incapacity of the peasantry to reorganize society. What the exploited and oppressed need is ***not*** a peasant guerrilla movement more combative than the EZLN, but a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party that fights for ***socialist revolution***, mobilizing behind itself not only the poor peasantry but also the immense mass of the pauperized urban petty-bourgeoisie.

Our purpose, as the Mexican section of the International Communist League, is to build a revolutionary workers party capable of leading a new October Revolution in this part of the world. Therefore, our task is to elevate the consciousness of the working class, bringing to the proletariat the understanding of its historic mission of universal emancipation, as the only class capable of leading all the oppressed toward their emancipation: peasants, indigenous people, women, impoverished urban petty-bourgeois masses. Right now, an important part of this struggle is to combat the illusions generated by petty-bourgeois Zapatista utopianism. ■

Wildcat Strike Shuts Down Toronto Transit

TORONTO—Fed up with management harassment, safety violations and arbitrary shift changes, members of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 113 staged a wildcat strike in Toronto on May 29, shutting down North America's third-largest transit system for most of the day. Subways, buses and streetcars came to a halt when drivers refused to cross picket lines set up by plant workers at the depots. Declaring the strike "illegal," the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) bosses got an early morning court injunction banning the walkout. When the union refused to order a return to work, management got a second injunction, after which Local 113 president Bob Kinnear called off the strike in mid-afternoon. But much of the subway system remained tied up for hours as ATU members picketed the key Wilson marshalling yard until early evening.

The immediate spark for the strike was management's unilateral reassignment of over 100 track workers and janitors to the midnight shift. But workers on the picket line pointed to numerous other issues, including management inaction on installing protective screens for bus drivers and the TTC's refusal to obey a court order to pay workers' health care premiums. There are no fully paid sick days, and workers face formal discipline if they're off sick more than three times a year. Safety is a major issue, highlighted by a carbon monoxide leak that poisoned a section of the Yonge subway tunnel earlier this year. Eight TTC workers and four firefighters were hospitalized in this near-fatal incident. For years, the union has been pushing for gas detectors to be used in the tunnels.

The strike showed the tremendous social power wielded by the 8,500-strong ATU local, without whose labour Toronto simply cannot function. As hours-long traffic jams tied up the city amid a heat wave and smog alert, the capitalist media went into hysterics about trade unionists "holding the city hostage." Toronto mayor David Miller, a member of the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP), joined the anti-union barrage, railing that those responsible for the strike should be "punished" and vowing to seek up to $3 million in fines from the ATU.

The media vilified ATU local president Kinnear for backing the strike and refusing to demand an immediate return to work. For their part, many ATU members are still bitter at Kinnear for pushing through a contract settlement in April of last year that resolved none of the outstanding issues around job security and contracting out. Fully 40 percent of the members who voted were against this sellout deal. And while Kinnear now rightly denounces NDP mayor Miller for "antagonizing working-class people," the ATU supported his election in 2003. Miller's anti-union rantings show clearly how this social-democratic party supports and enforces the capitalist system against workers and the oppressed.

With none of the issues resolved and the ATU facing the threat of huge fines, there is talk of new walkouts to press the union's demands. It is crucial that the entire labour movement—from the auto factories that surround Toronto to city workers and the heavily immigrant hotel workers union, whose contract is set to expire—stand with the transit workers against the attacks of the bosses and city government. Beat back TTC attacks—Defend the ATU!

Mexico...

(continued from page 16)

Jornada (4 May) hailing the repression the previous day. Using language worthy of the beast [1970s-'80s Argentine dictator Jorge Rafael] Videla, the ad called the peasants "subversive groups that only want to disrupt the peace and harmony we live in." The cynicism of the PRD takes on macabre hues. This is the capitalist organization that bases its campaign on the slogan "For the good of all, the poor go first." In other words, "for the good of all"—the bosses and landowners—the poor will be the first to go to prison or the grave. We call to free all the Atenco detainees now and to drop all the charges. We call on the working class to defend the peasants and the students who support them. The repression in Lázaro Cárdenas and Atenco is a portrait of the true face of capitalist "democracy."

Miners Play Hardball

Above all else, I want to talk about the struggle of the SNTMMSRM miners and steel workers. The struggle began when the government and bosses, facing the rage of the relatives and co-workers of the deceased miners of Pasta de Conchos, tried to divert attention away from themselves and went after the union, deposing its leader, Napoleón Gómez Urrutia, and installing their own puppet, Elías Morales. The response of the union was to carry out 40 hours of rolling strikes across the country. Afterward, a strike began on April 2 at the Sicartsa and Mittal plants in Lázaro Cárdenas, along with other strikes in Nacozari, Somhrerete, Taxco and other places.

SNTMMSRM Local 271 in Lázaro Cárdenas already has a long history of combativeness. In 2001, for example, the company tried to dissolve the local and form a company union. The workers elected a new executive committee opposed to the one supported by the company and carried out factory occupations. The company sent riot police to expel the workers and, like now, with the help of the local population, the workers sent the cops running. Just last year, this same local went on strike in struggle for its own economic demands and for unionization of their co-workers in Apodaca, Nuevo León, a bastion of PAN company "unionism."

Lázaro Cárdenas is an industrial port [on the Pacific coast] of some 100,000 residents, centered on the steel plants and the docks, which are mainly connected to these plants. In addition to Sicartsa, there's another metallurgical plant, Mittal, of Indian ownership, both organized by Local 271. The steel complex Grupo Villacero, centered in Monterrey with plants throughout the country, including one in Tultitlán here in Mexico City, is the most important in Latin America and has the lowest production costs. A worker told us that these plants export various steel products to the U.S., South Korea, Japan and China. Another worker told us that the Villarreals [the family that owns Sicartsa] are just figureheads for [former president Carlos] Salinas. He's the guy who privatized Sicartsa, giving it to the Villarreals for $170 million. The company takes in $2.5 billion *a year*. Apparently, the Villarreals haven't even finished paying for the business.

Notimex

Reuters

Above: Cárdenas Batel, PRD governor of Michoacán state. Federal and state police stormed steel plant occupied by workers, killing two. Right: PRD presidential candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador.

The struggle of the miners and steel workers is a good example of why we communists base our perspective on the working class; it's an example of the constant antagonism between the interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and the social power of the latter. The steel industry is one of the most strategic in the country, along with oil and basic services like electricity and transport. The miners union's rolling strikes carried out in March, which mobilized some 270,000 workers, caused losses estimated at $17 million. At the time of the cop attack against the Sicartsa workers, losses for the strike at that company were estimated at some $80 million. Seventy-five percent of industry in the country is related to the steel sector. Students and poor peasants are very combative, but it is clear that they simply don't have social power. The working class's position as the force that sets all branches of capitalist economy in motion also gives it the power to paralyze the economy.

But the working class has another characteristic, derived from its central role in production, that makes it unique. When the workers struggle, they do so not to obtain a machine or a piece of one, nor to redistribute the tools. They struggle collectively for better wages and working conditions. In order to survive, the working class is compelled to sell its labor power to the capitalist exploiters. Objectively, the working class has no interest in private property or in preserving the system of capitalist exploitation. It's because of these characteristics that the proletariat is the only class capable of reorganizing the entire economy, collectivizing the means of production to put it in the service of the people, not to generate profits for a handful of capitalists. The way to reach this goal is through socialist revolution.

Combatting Illusions in Populist Nationalism

We made two trips to Lázaro Cárdenas last month. The first was a week before the cop attack. We immediately discovered many illusions in the bourgeois PRD. Even so, the workers were very open and interested in our newspaper, of which we distributed dozens of copies along with hundreds of copies of our March 11 statement, "Government Hands Off the Miners Union!" (reprinted in "Protest Cop Killing of Steel Workers," *WV* No. 869, 28 April).

One of the workers told us that if there were repression against the strike, it would come from the federal government, because Cárdenas Batel [PRD governor of Michoacán] had promised not to send the police. PRD presidential candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador [AMLO] had recently been campaigning in the port and, in fact, the union local's journal covered the event with flattering photos and in a totally uncritical manner. AMLO declared in favor of "union autonomy" in his speech, something many workers mentioned to us in discussions. The workers seemed surprised when we quoted AMLO's declaration immediately after the Pasta de Conchos tragedy, where all he did was criticize the union leaders as simply "contract traffickers," evidently in support of Fox's anti-union attack.

But, during this struggle, everyone notified everyone else and a couple of hours later, all the workers (including from Mittal), together with an important part of the local population, massed at the plant's main gate with trucks full of rocks. Some workers mounted the various huge mining implements—bulldozers, steam shovels and steamrollers—to defend themselves against the cop attack. They also obtained ball bearings used to grind the ore when it leaves the mine, which were four centimeters in diameter [1.5 inches] and weighed 200 grams [half a pound], and used them to battle the cops, hurling them with slingshots, catapults and by hand. After a few hours of field battle, they managed to repel the cops and regain control of the plant. However, army and navy units remain inside the plant, supposedly guarding the blast furnaces and the plant's gates to the sea.

The federal and state governments said the cops were not armed. After being forced to admit that they were armed, the government then stated that the police had orders to fire "only at the feet." Even this grotesque mockery was refuted by the bloody evidence. The fallen workers were shot in the head. The workers told us they filled a 19-liter [five-gallon] bucket with shells. The union local's journal has a photo of several shotgun, handgun and assault rifle shells. One worker showed us the stitched-up entry and exit wounds made by a projectile on his right arm.

There was a perceptible change in the workers' opinion of the PRD. In the area around the plant, there was graffiti with slogans against Cárdenas Batel, one of which called him a "Nazi." The majority of the workers with whom we spoke no longer defended the PRD against our Marxist opposition to it, but intently listened to what we had to say. Many agreed with us. After explaining the necessity of socialist revolution, one responded: "Yes, the bourgeoisie only understands *chingadazos* [blows]."

Reuters

May 3: Police attack on protesters in village of Atenco near Mexico City killed two, injured dozens. Some 200 were arrested.

The brutal repression carried out by the PRD and the PAN shook workers' illusions in the PRD, but it would be pollyannish to think it destroyed them. The consciousness of most of the workers clearly remains within the bourgeois framework of populism. Some workers defend López Obrador, maintaining that Cárdenas Batel is a traitor; AMLO, they say, is different. We had several intense discussions with some workers who defended the policies of [military general and 1930s populist president] Lázaro Cárdenas del Río as policies genuinely in the interests of the working class and poor. One of the slogans painted on the wall of the plant summed up the illusions. It read: "If the general were alive, he'd die of shame."

Nationalist Populism: Deadly Trap for the Workers

As I said earlier, nationalist populism is just another way of running brutal capitalist exploitation. The events in Atenco and Lázaro Cárdenas have shown

continued on page 14

Espartaco

Publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México

No. 25, Spring 2006

$.50 (28 pages)

Subscription:
$2 for 4 issues
(includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Order from/
make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

ESPARTACO
¡NI un voto al PRI, PAN y PRD burgueses!
¡Forjar un partido obrero que luche por la revolución socialista!
AMLO y PRD, enemigos de la clase obrera
¡Por la independencia de clase del proletariado!

Mexico...

(continued from page 13)

that illusions in these kinds of bourgeois politicians are literally suicidal. After decades of brutal "neoliberalism," there's been an about-face in recent years throughout Latin America back to the old nationalist populism that was once represented prominently in Mexico by the PRI and its predecessor, the PRM [Party of the Mexican Revolution] founded by Lázaro Cárdenas del Río, or in Argentina by Peronism.

This about-face is not anti-capitalist but, on the contrary, reinforces the ties that bind the working class to its exploiters. In the face of the convulsive struggles we have witnessed, today it's clearer than ever that the fundamental role of the PRD is to channel the struggles of the masses into the sterile framework of electoralism. The PRD's purpose is to stabilize the manifestly volatile Mexican capitalist regime and renegotiate the terms of its subordination to imperialism, trying to get a few more crumbs from their masters' table at the White House.

Due to the weakness of the lackey Mexican bourgeoisie in relation to both its imperialist masters and to the working class, the wing of the bourgeoisie represented by the PRD and in part by the PRI needs the support of the working class to achieve its objectives, and thus tries to occasionally present itself as a friend of the workers, granting them a few concessions. The recent events show clearly what the old PRI tactic of the carrot and the stick consists of: concessions on the one hand and savage repression on the other if the workers and peasants try to go too far.

In spite of differences in their rhetoric, AMLO, Hugo Chávez [of Venezuela] and Evo Morales [of Bolivia] are basically the same and pursue the same goal: to rope in the masses. Thus, Chávez babbles on about Bolivarian "socialism"—which doesn't infringe on private property! And what's most pathetic is that a lot of supposedly Marxist organizations promote him and his policies as socialist. In Bolivia, where the working class has been decimated, Morales has also tried to placate the demands of the masses through a timid "nationalization" of hydrocarbons. This concretely means that the Bolivian state now has 51 percent of the shares of the oil and gas companies and that these companies can continue to get their profits, though even this has raised the ire of the Spanish and Brazilian oil companies and of the U.S. imperialists. These measures are in no way "anti-capitalist," but, in the end, actually benefit the national bourgeoisies, not only at an economic level but mainly at a political level, by tying the masses ideologically to their own national exploiters.

Casasola Archives

March 1938 mass demonstration (below) in support of nationalization of oil industry by President Lázaro Cárdenas (left).

Oiaz, Oelgado y García/AGN

Take the example of Lázaro Cárdenas del Río. Through his support of the formation of unions in the 1930s—a policy that at times put him in conflict with the bosses, especially in Monterrey—and reforms such as the nationalization of oil and the railroads and land redistribution, he won the support of the working class and peasants. The result was not national emancipation, nor a qualitative improvement of the masses' living conditions, but more than a half-century of the so-called "perfect dictatorship" of the PRI and its brutal corporatist stranglehold on the unions. Some Sicartsa workers we spoke with were also surprised to learn that Cárdenas del Río himself broke strikes. For example, he sent the army to savagely break the 1940 Azcapotzalco refinery strike.

For Permanent Revolution!

We base our program on the perspective of permanent revolution, as formulated by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky. In the epoch of imperialism, there is no "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. The capitalist rulers of industrially backward countries such as Mexico are completely subordinated to their imperialist masters and are incapable of winning even basic bourgeois demands like national emancipation. Raising itself up as the leader of all the oppressed, the working class is the only class capable of shattering the imperialist yoke, leading the peasants out of the abyss of ignorance and misery they find themselves in, laying the foundations for the emancipation of women, granting full rights for gays, etc. The way to achieve this is socialist revolution: destruction of the bourgeois state and the construction of a workers state based on collectivized ownership of the means of production and economic planning.

This understanding was exemplified by the great Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, which laid the basis for lifting backward Russia out of misery and ignorance, and for its transformation into an industrial and scientific powerhouse that was able to serve as a military counterweight to the rapacious U.S. imperialists. Stalin betrayed the October Revolution, and his heirs surrendered the Soviet degenerated workers state to capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. Since then, the U.S. imperialists in particular have perceived few obstacles to carrying out their wars and other depredations. We say: Down with the colonial occupation of Iraq! Imperialist troops out of Afghanistan! Hands off Iran! We say that in the context of imperialist threats, Iran needs nuclear weapons to defend itself and deter an imperialist attack. Only new Octobers can stop bloody imperialist plunder once and for all.

It's clear that neither the Mexican proletariat nor any other can achieve socialist liberation on its own. In fact, it was the poverty of Russia and the isolation of the Bolshevik Revolution following the defeat of revolutionary opportunities in Europe that laid the material basis for the emergence and consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucratic caste in the USSR. The Stalinist bureaucracy's nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country" meant opposition to the perspective of workers revolution internationally and accommodation to imperialism. Imperialism is a global system of exploitation and domination. A workers revolution in Mexico would need to spread to the advanced capitalist countries, especially the U.S., to destroy the threat of capitalist counterrevolution and put the immense material resources of the advanced countries at the service of all humanity. The true friends of the Mexican working class are the workers of the entire world. That's why it's necessary to uncompromisingly fight the harmful and almost omnipresent reactionary ideology of bourgeois nationalism—the myth of "national unity" between the exploited and their exploiters.

Many workers in this country have the idea that there is no class struggle north of the Rio Bravo, nor in imperialist countries in general. Nothing could be more wrong. To give just two recent and very important examples, French workers took to the streets in March along with students to stop the "First Employment Contract" that robbed young workers of any kind of employment security. Last December, subway and bus workers in New York City carried out a three-day strike that crippled the financial center of world imperialism, fighting the same attacks on pensions and retirement plans that the Mexican bosses have been pushing, until now successfully, in this country.

By going on strike, the combative transit workers defied the reactionary anti-worker Taylor Law that bans strikes in the public sector. Their fight was very popular among the impoverished black and Latino masses in the city. In response, the spiteful capitalist rulers sentenced the union's leader to ten days in jail, slapped the union with a multi-million dollar fine, fined individual strikers and are threatening to suspend the dues checkoff in an attempt to bankrupt the union. Workers solidarity knows no borders. We call on Mexican workers to protest these attacks against their U.S. class brothers.

Coming back to Mexico: Workers' persistent illusions in nationalist populism show that trade-union consciousness, as combative as it may be, is still bourgeois consciousness. Trade unionism as such does not put the rule of private property in question, but limits itself in the best of cases to struggles against individual bosses to renegotiate the terms of exploitation of the workers. The essential tool to make a socialist revolution is a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, like that of the Bolsheviks. Fusing declassed intellectuals ready to fight for the cause of the proletariat with the most advanced workers, this party must consist of professional revolutionaries that bring revolutionary consciousness to the working class; it should act as the proletariat's historic memory, bringing it the lessons of the history of the international class struggle. The party needs to be built by combatting all kinds of bourgeois ideological influence in the working class, fighting especially for the ***political independence*** of the working class.

I'd like to talk a bit about the Zapatistas. Many workers in Lázaro Cárdenas and here in Mexico City are hostile to the EZLN [Zapatista Army of National Liberation], but for the wrong reasons: because the EZLN criticizes the PRD during election time. Some workers informed us with well-deserved scorn that "*delegado zero*" [Zapatista leader "Subcomandante" Marcos] conspicuously avoided coming through Lázaro Cárdenas during his "other campaign" tour, only visiting nearby indigenous communities, which certainly gives some idea of Marcos' disdain for the working class (see "Zapatista 'Sixth Declaration': Petty-Bourgeois Populism," page 12).

We Spartacists solidarize with the indigenous peasants' struggles and defend the EZLN against state and paramilitary repression. But we certainly ***don't*** solidarize with the Zapatista program, which in reality is a petty-bourgeois variant of nationalist populism that does not challenge private property or the capitalist state. Instead, it calls for a "civil and peaceful movement" that will achieve its demands through drawing up a new constitution.

If recent events have shown anything, it's that the capitalist state can't be reformed, not through a constitution nor any other way. The bourgeois state consists at its core of armed detachments—the cops and army as well as prisons and courts—that keep the bourgeoisie in power. The state can't be reformed to serve the interests of the exploited and oppressed masses. Can anyone imagine the blood-drenched federal police defending the peasants against the landowners, the workers against the bosses? The capitalist state has to be destroyed through a proletarian revolution that replaces it with a new state, a workers state, that defends

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

the rule of the proletariat.

As Lenin explained in "Revision of the Agrarian Programme of the Workers' Party" in 1906, Marxists solidarize with the peasant movement, "but we have to remember that it is the movement of another class, ***not the one*** which can and will bring about the socialist revolution."

Marxism and the Trade Unions

In the imperialist epoch, trade unions are increasingly linked closer to the state, and tend to function as organizations to subordinate and discipline the working class, serving as an auxiliary instrument of capitalism. Writing in 1940, shortly before his assassination by one of Stalin's henchmen, Trotsky explained this phenomenon in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

> "Inasmuch as imperialist capitalism creates both in colonies and semicolonies a stratum of labor aristocracy and bureaucracy, the latter requires the support of colonial and semicolonial governments as protectors, patrons, and sometimes as arbitrators. This constitutes the most important social basis for the Bonapartist and semi-Bonapartist character of governments in the colonies and in backward countries generally. This likewise constitutes the basis for the dependence of reformist unions upon the state."

The struggle for internal democracy and for the independence of the unions from the state can't be separated from the struggle for revolutionary leadership—forging a vanguard party. As Trotsky himself explained: "In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution."

Unions today are without exception led by pro-capitalist bureaucracies. Since the era of Lázaro Cárdenas del Río, a large part of the unions in Mexico has been affiliated with the PRI and headed by extremely repressive bureaucracies that are submissive to the state. The leaders of the PRI-affiliated CTM [Mexican Labor Federation] and CT [Congress of Labor] have supported Fox in the attack against the miners union and backed the scab Elías Morales. The current struggle of the SNTMMSRM has sharpened the crisis of corporatism. Union leaders get their privileges from their position at the head of workers organizations, and today they see this position being threatened by the government. Thus for the first time, this May Day the so-called "independent" unions marched with a number of PRI-affiliated unions, including the SNTMMSRM.

While the misnamed "independent" unions are in fact more democratic, their bureaucrats are almost always loyal to the PRD, tying the working class to the bosses above all through nationalist ideology and illusions in the "democratic" reform of the capitalist state. Revolutionary Marxists strive for the working class to replace all these bureaucratic and pro-capitalist leaderships with leaderships based on a program of proletarian political independence and opposition to all bourgeois parties.

We are opposed to any intrusion of the state into the unions, even the most bureaucratic. The interest of the capitalists and their state is in shackling, weakening and if possible destroying the unions outright. This is the only objective the bourgeois state seeks when it interferes in union life. The working class should clean its own house. As part of our struggle for the complete independence of the unions from the state, we also oppose all legislation that ties the unions to the state: binding arbitration, "taking of note" [mandatory government approval of union leaders], control of union dues by the government. We call for government hands off the miners union! Drop the charges against Napoleón Gómez Urrutia! Free [jailed SNTMMSRM leader] Indalecio Pérez Morones now! Drop the charges against all the striking workers!

In a recent class of the Juventud Espartaquista [youth group of the GEM], one of the attendees argued against our position, saying that one should take advantage of the government's campaign against Gómez Urrutia to get rid of him and replace the leadership. The struggle for a revolutionary leadership in the unions must have as its premise the defense of the union against the bourgeois state. Nothing good can come of a leadership that takes power in coordination with the attacks of the bosses and their state.

I'd like to digress a bit to explain a classic Marxist analogy that Trotsky made referring to the trade unions and the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. As Trotsky wrote more than a half century ago: "In the last analysis a workers' state is a trade union which has conquered power" (*In Defense of Marxism*, 1939).

Little, Brown and Co.

Moscow, 1918: Soviet leader Yakov Sverdlov addresses Red Army soldiers headed for front during Civil War. Bolshevik Revolution ushered in world's first workers state.

Trotskyists always understood the class nature of the USSR as a workers state, and as such we defended it against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution in spite of the reactionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy in power. Today we defend the remaining deformed workers states: Cuba, China, Vietnam and North Korea. Defense of these states is a duty of the world proletariat, and the future of China in particular is of utmost importance for the future of the class struggle at a global level. In the same way, we defend the unions against the bosses in spite of the pro-capitalist bureaucracies that lead them. And just as we fight for a class-struggle, anti-capitalist leadership in the trade unions, we fight for workers political revolution in the deformed workers states to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and replace them with regimes based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

In fact, you don't have to be a Marxist to defend the unions against the state. You only need to have basic class consciousness. Nevertheless, this basic line has earned us loud reproaches from the Internationalist Group (IG), which like "*delegado zero*" reflects and seeks to exploit the petty-bourgeois, anti-union prejudices prevailing in the student and very misnamed "anti-capitalist" milieus. According to the IG, the PRI unions, including the SNTMMSRM, are not workers organizations but the "class enemy" (*El Internacionalista/Edición México* No. 1, May 2001). The IG also maintains that "the fact is that the PRI's corporatist federations are not workers' unions any more than are the company unions (*sindicatos blancos)* sponsored by the right-wing PAN (National Action Party); rather, they are apparatuses for bourgeois control of the workers" (*Internationalist*, Summer 2001).

Thus, the IG dismisses with a wave of the hand powerful unions like the miners and steel workers union or the oil workers, identifying the base with the leadership, and refuses to defend these unions against state attack. The class struggle has hit the IG in the face, and they haven't been able to come out of their stupor.

In their most recent publication (special supplement to *El Internacionalista*, May 2006), the most they can say is that the government's removal of Gómez Urrutia from office "is a settling of accounts within the regime"—that is, a conflict within the bourgeoisie—which in an extraordinary way "affects the workers, thus we must mobilize to reject this violent blow of the government." Think about it a bit. After the horrendous death of 65 miners, the *bourgeois* state deposed the *union* leader and installed a scab in his place, froze the bank accounts of the entire union, trying to bankrupt it and defeat the striking workers through starvation. It jailed one of the union leaders who initiated the strike in the Caridad mine in Nacozari; Indalecio Pérez Morones, who faces a possible sentence of up to 45 years. It sent out arrest orders for the entire committee of that mine, 27 union members in all. It tried to break the Sicartsa strike, killing two workers. But according to the IG, this is "a settling of accounts within the regime."

I'd like them to go to Lázaro Cárdenas and tell the workers that their struggle is nothing more than a conflict within the bourgeoisie and that their union is basically a company union. Buy health insurance before the trip and wear a hard hat. And the IG should start with trying to explain how a "company union" is carrying out what the IG itself confesses is the "biggest strike movement the country has experienced in the past decade."

The cited publication of the IG includes two articles on the miners union, in which the IG gives an inventory of the betrayals of the PRI bureaucracy for the last half-century and stupidly puts an equal sign between the company and the government on the one hand and the union on the other. While it raises pompous slogans such as "National strike against the assassin government!", conspicuously absent in ten two-column pages is any basic slogan demanding that the state take its hands off the miners union, any call for victory to the miners strikes, any demand to drop the charges not only against Gómez Urrutia but also against the dozens of strikers and leaders wanted by the state, a call to free Indalecio Pérez Morones, one single demand to unfreeze the union's bank accounts. If the IG were honest, it would openly say that it does not defend the union or its strikes. It goes without saying that such would be a union-busting position not worthy of those calling themselves "Marxists" or even any decent union member.

We've had this debate with the IG for almost ten years. But reality is as stubborn as the miners, and today the question is posed pointblank. As Trotsky explained in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

> "The matter at issue is essentially the struggle for influence over the working class. Every organization, every party, every faction which permits itself an ultimatistic position in relation to the trade union, i.e., in essence turns its back upon the working class, merely because of displeasure with its organization, every such organization is destined to perish. And it must be said it deserves to perish."

As I said before, the present conflict is the biggest outburst of class struggle in this country in several years. The outcome will mark a signpost for workers struggles in the coming period. The class line is sharply drawn with workers' blood. And the IG, by refusing to come out clearly in defense of the embattled union, is on the wrong side.

The workers have shown tremendous social power and will to fight, having repelled the murderous April 20 cop attack and held out in their strike. However, they have illusions in nationalist populism, most clearly represented in Mexico by the PRD. The working class needs its own party to fight for proletarian revolution because this is the only solution to the problems of the exploited, impoverished, oppressed masses. There are no shortcuts. We Spartacists base ourselves on the key fundamental experience in the entire history of the class struggle: the October Revolution. And our objective is new October Revolutions around the world. So, we invite you to study our press and the classics of Marxism and discuss them with us. If you agree with this perspective, join us in struggle for the emancipation of the working class, which means the emancipation of all humanity. ■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August. Our next issue will be dated July 7.**

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

$10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
International rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail

❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)
❑ I would like to contribute $_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____
Address _____
_____ Apt. # _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

872

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

WORKERS VANGUARD

Miners, Steel Workers Strikes Shake Mexico

Reuters

AP

Left: Aftermath of police attack on striking Sicartsa steel workers in Lázaro Cárdenas, Mexico, April 20. Right: Defiant workers rally the next day as strike continued.

Presidential Elections: No Vote to Bourgeois PRI, PAN, PRD! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

An ongoing wave of miners and steel workers strikes throughout Mexico was touched off hy the February 19 explosion at the Pasta de Conchos mine in the state of Coahuila, which killed 65 miners. As anger and indignation at the miners' deaths mounted, the federal government of Vicente Fox's National Action Party (PAN) removed from office the national leader of the SNTMMSRM miners and metal workers union, Napoleón Gómez Urrutia, and is investigating him for "corruption." The government is also investigating his wife and sons as well as two other union officials.

When the government attempted to install a pliant bureaucrat at the head of the SNTMMSRM, the union launched a series of strikes, demanding that the companies negotiate only with the Gómez Urrutia leadership. On April 20, state and federal police stormed the Sicartsa steel plant occupied by workers in the city of Lázaro Cárdenas (named after the 1930s populist president Lázaro Cárdenas del Río) in Michoacán state, killing two workers. The Fox government has appealed to the international police agency Interpol to find Gómez Urrutia, who has left Mexico. Meanwhile, workers at the giant Cananea copper mine—100 years after the hrutal repression of a historic strike there by Mexican troops and Arizona Rangers—have vowed to continue striking until Gómez Urrutia is reinstated.

With July 2 presidential elections looming, the struggles by the miners and steel workers illuminate the role of each of the bourgeois parties—the PAN, the former ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), and the nationalist-populist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). We print below an edited translation of a presentation hy Sacramento Talavera, spokesman for the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, at a May 12 Mexico City forum.

* * *

Mexican society is extremely volatile. The struggle of the SNTMMSRM, especially the strike underway at the Sicartsa plant in Lázaro Cárdenas, is the most important outbreak of class struggle in at least a decade. Its outcome will mark a signpost for workers struggles in the immediate future. The Grupo Espartaquista de México solidarizes completely with the struggle of tbe miners and steel workers. We say: Government hands off the miners union! Victory to the strike! We emphatically and bitterly denounce the bloody April 20 cop attack on the Sicartsa workers, which took the lives of two young workers. We solidarize with their relatives, friends and co-workers, and those of the 65 fallen miners in the Pasta de Conchos tragedy, caused by the blood-sucking bosses' insatiable thirst for profit.

The SNTMMSRM's struggle occurs in the context of the July 2 presidential election campaign. Until a couple of months ago, the PRD was ranked as the most likely winner of the elections. However, since then the PAN has regrouped, rallying its base and rightist "public opinion" around the "danger" of "ungovernability." Some polls put the PAN slightly ahead in electoral preferences. We Spartacists don't take sides in this contest, since none of the candidates represents the interests of the working class. The PAN, PRI and PRD are all bourgeois parties dedicated to the preservation of the brutal system of capitalist exploitation. We fight to build a revolutionary workers party, following the example of the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky, to fight for proletarian revolution. Explaining these objectives is the purpose of this forum.

It's no secret that the PAN is the historic party of Catholic reaction, founded hy neo-Cristeros [referring to the 1920s reactionary Cristero rebellion] with a firm, openly anti-worker ideology. For its part, the bourgeois PRD poses as a friend of the workers and the oppressed. Today, Mexican society is extremely polarized between, on the one hand, the PAN's Cristero "neoliberalism" and, on the other, the PRD's nationalist populism, with the PRI divided between hoth ideologies. The convulsive struggle of the miners reflects the generalized disgust among workers toward the shamelessly anti-worker starvation economic policies of the last two decades. But "neoliberalism" and populism are nothing more than two alternative ways of running capitalism. Despite their differences, each necessarily and inherently involves exploitation and repression of the masses.

In the current issue of our newspaper, *Espartaco* [No. 25, Spring 2006], we warned:

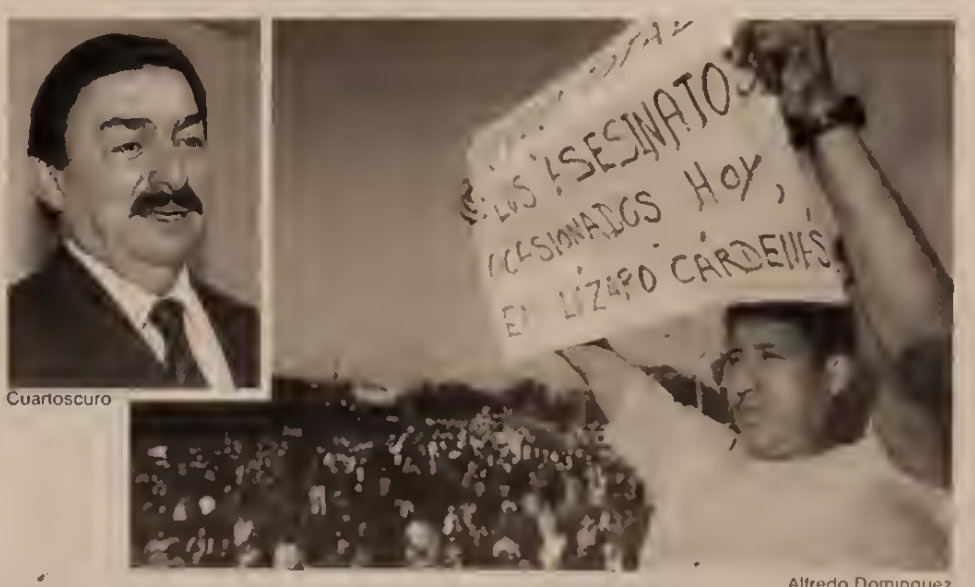
> "The PRD—nothing more than a new PRI, brandishing the old populist politics of this party—only wants to renegotiate the terms of the subordination of the Mexican economy to the imperialists, for which it needs the support of the working class. This party is an ***enemy*** of the working class. As it has already done in the D.F. [Mexico City], if it wins the presidency it will administer brutal capitalist exploitation at a national level and won't hesitate a second to unleash the repressive force of the state against those who today support the party."

Little more than a week after our newspaper came off the press, our prediction was borne out in the bloody deeds in Lázaro Cárdenas, where the PRD, PRI and PAN acted jointly in the repression.

The entire hourgeoisie is worried about the threat of social explosions in the face of the growing social polarization on the eve of the elections, and it's working overtime to get rid of the so-called "red flashpoints." Barely two weeks after the bloody attack on the Sicartsa workers, the three main parties of the bosses united once again behind the savage repression by at least 3,500 cops of peasants in the town of Atenco, resulting in two youths killed, more than 200 arrested and dozens injured—many critically—as well as revolting cases of rape and humiliation of those arrested by the cops. The purpose of this bloody attack was to destroy once and for all the combative organization of the Atenco peasants, the Peoples Front in Defense of the Land, which came out of the struggle that stopped Fox from stealing their communal land five years ago. The excuse for the attack: a small group of peasants from Texcoco wanted to sell ***flowers*** on a public road and the Atenco population came to their aid.

The PRD's parliamentary faction in the state of Mexico published an ad in *La*

continued on page 13



Cuartoscuro

Alfredo Dominguez

Mass protest in Lázaro Cárdenas against police siege of occupied steel plant. Inset: Napoleón Gómez Urrutia, union head being hounded by Fox government.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 873 | C-701 | 7 July 2006

Release Palestinian Government Leaders!

Zionist Rampage in Gaza

JULY 4—As we go to press, Israel's rulers, with the approval of their paymasters in Washington, continue to unleash hell on Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. Israeli forces have invaded parts of Gaza while warplanes and helicopter gunships have destroyed Palestinian government buildings, including the prime minister's office, bridges and Gaza's only power plant. In the West Bank, Israeli troops have rounded up at least 64 members of Hamas, including eight members of the Palestinian cabinet and 23 legislators. The pretext for Israel's wave of "collective punishment" was the June 25 attack on an Israeli military outpost, in which two soldiers were killed and a third seized. On June 28, four Israeli F-16 fighter jets provocatively buzzed the residence of Syrian president Bashar al-Assad near the city of Latakia, claiming that Hamas leader Khaled Meshal, who resides in Syria, was responsible for the June 24 attack.

Gaza is little more than a concentration camp, an impoverished and devastated strip of land where 1.4 million Palestinians are trapped, surrounded by the sea, an electrified fence and a wall sealing its southern border with Egypt. With Gaza's sole power plant destroyed, the only electricity available is the small amount allowed in by Israel, leaving most residents with only a few hours of power each day. Many hospitals and

continued on page 12

Defend North Korea!

Imperialist Frenzy Over Missile Tests

U.S. Navy

U.S. warships during military exercises in Asian Pacific in June. Three aircraft carrier groups were mobilized in provocation against North Korean deformed workers state.

JULY 4—In the midst of concerted threats by the U.S. and Japanese imperialists, the North Korean deformed workers state today launched several missiles into the Sea of Japan. While the Japanese Kyodo news agency reports that they were medium-range Rodong missiles, CNN cites claims by U.S. government sources that several short-range Scuds were fired along with at least one long-range Taepodong-2 missile that failed in flight.

The imperialists have been claiming that North Korea was preparing to test-launch its multistage, Taepodong-2 rocket, with Japanese prime minister Junichiro Koizumi proclaiming that Japan "would have to respond harshly." Today a senior U.S. State Department official denounced the missile launches as a "provocative act." Last month, a North Korean diplomat at the United Nations commented: "North Korea as a sovereign state has the right to develop, deploy, test fire and export a missile. We are aware of the U.S. concerns about our missile test-launch. So our position is that we should resolve the issue through negotiations" (*Washington Post*, 22 June).

Leading representatives of the Democratic Party have been so rabid over North Korean missiles that they make even the demented Bush administration look relatively peaceable. Clinton's former secretary of defense, William Perry, and Perry's former deputy Ashton Carter declared in a *Washington Post* (22 June) opinion piece that the U.S. "should immediately make clear its intention to strike and destroy the North Korean Taepodong missile before it can be launched. This could be accomplished, for example, by a cruise missile launched from a submarine carrying a high-explosive warhead." An alarmed *New York Times* (26 June) editorialized against such "Really Bad Ideas on Korea." Dick Cheney, no less, observed that "if you're going to launch a strike at another nation, you'd better be prepared to not just fire one shot."

The warmongers in Washington promote the absurd lie that North Korea may be about to attack the U.S. In fact, it is North Korea that is in the cross hairs of the U.S. military machine. The just-concluded annual "Valiant Shield" war games off Guam brought together three U.S. aircraft carrier strike groups in the Pacific for the first time since the Vietnam War. Japan last month dispatched ships and planes to monitor North Korea, while the U.S. intends to install its antimissile Patriot system in Okinawa. The U.S. has also deployed an advanced spy plane to South Korea, and North Korea has accused the U.S. of repeated spy flights over its territory.

The U.S. capitalist rulers have tried to crush North Korea ever since capitalist/landlord rule was overthrown there under the protection of the Soviet Army following World War II, freeing the northern half of the country from imperialist domination and establishing proletarian, collectivized property relations. While in the South the American occupation army sought to crush a revolutionary upsurge by Korean workers and peasants, the North became a deformed workers state, saddled from birth with a nationalist, Stalinist bureaucracy under the late Kim Il Sung that is currently headed by Kim's son, Kim Jong Il.

The U.S. and its imperialist allies devastated the Korean peninsula in the Korean War of 1950-53, killing some ***three million*** Koreans. The imperialists leveled the entire peninsula with high explosives and napalm in their drive to "roll back" not only the social revolution in Korea but also the Chinese Revolution of 1949. This drive was stopped by the heroic struggle of Korean workers and peasants, with the aid of a massive Chinese military intervention. To this day, the U.S. maintains some 30,000 troops in capitalist South Korea alongside the South Korean military, dedicated to reversing that victory. ***U.S. troops out of Korea now!***

Under Democrat Harry Truman, Washington made preparations to nuke North Korea during the Korean War, deterred only by Soviet military might, including its newly developed nuclear arsenal. Today North Korea is targeted by the U.S. imperialists' massive nuclear arsenal, including the weapons at the disposal of the Pacific fleet. But the main strategic target of that arsenal is China, the strongest of the remaining bureaucratically deformed workers states. In a dangerous provocation against China, last year Japan and the United States ominously declared capitalist Taiwan a "mutual security concern." U.S. imperialism continues to pursue the military encirclement of China, with plans for two huge new bases in Australia, as part of its drive for capitalist counterrevolution.

As Trotskyists, we call for the unconditional military defense of North Korea and China—as well as the Cuban and Vietnamese deformed workers states—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. In the face of U.S. imperialism's unchallenged global nuclear hegemony, the only meaningful guarantee of any nation's sovereignty today is the possession of a credible nuclear deterrent, as the imperialist threats against capitalist Iran's nuclear program highlight (see "U.S. Hands Off Iran!" *WV* No. 863, 3 February). North Korea claims to have developed nuclear weapons, and the Taepodong-2 could be critical to making them deliverable. Such weapons are necessary to deter imperialist attack and

continued on page 12

27

7 25274 81030 7

More from a Labor Opportunist

We received this letter by e-mail.

19 June 2006

Dear Editor;

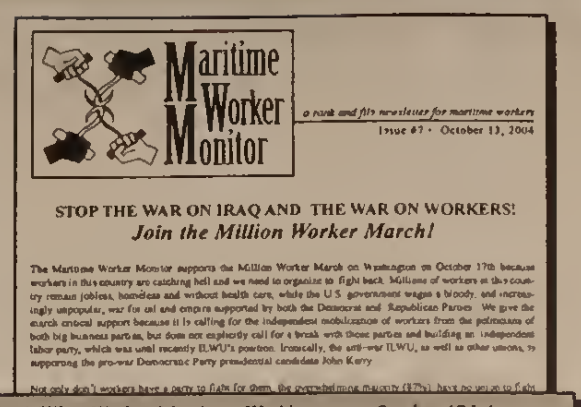
In WV #864 (17 February 2006), you devote over a page (titled "Jack Heyman: 'In the Bag'") replying to a letter I wrote criticizing WV's skewed coverage of a Partisan Defense Committee rally last October where I spoke emphasizing the need for the workers movement to mobilize its strength to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and citing the 24 April 1999 West Coast ports shutdown for Mumia's freedom. Your response says that my complaint was because your coverage criticized me. No, I objected because your coverage of the event (in WV #859, 25 November 2005) *dishonestly* distorted my remarks and tried to obfuscate the Spartacist League's refusal to fight in the unions on this vital question.

Your reply continues this pattern. In it you make two main points: 1) On the call for a workers party: according to your account, it was hypocritical for me to raise this demand at an international labor solidarity rally in Tokyo because during the 2004 Million Worker March (MWM) rally, I supposedly disappeared it. 2) on labor's defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal, you say that I gave a "labor cover" to the reformist call for a "new trial" for Mumia.

First, on the workers party, you claim that at the October 2004 MWM rally in Washington, D.C., I left a banner calling to "Break with the Democrats, Build a Workers Party!" in the bag it had come in. What you fail to mention is that the banner was made, transported and left in the bag not by me but by an SL supporter. You know this, because he told you so. And I hardly dropped the question of a workers party. In my speech from the MWM podium, I said: "We need a party, a fighting workers party to represent us because the Democrats and Republicans, as Mumia said, never will represent us." Your readers don't have to take my word for it, they can listen and see for themselves because it was broadcast on C-SPAN and the video is available at http://clogic.eserver.org/2005/million.

It is the SL that has a history of leaving political posters in the bag when the going gets tough. During the 1984 longshore anti-apartheid ship boycott in San Francisco an injunction was imposed against ILWU Local 10. We, union militants, on the picket line tried to defy it, and continue the solidarity action in the face of police intimidation and Stalinists, fearful of a fine against the union. As in many situations in the class struggle, timing and the relationship of forces are decisive. At that critical moment the SL and its supporters, observing from the sideline with posters in their bags departed for a safer haven. Had you not abstained from that now-historic action and instead joined the picket line, we class struggle militants may have prevailed and similar actions could have spread to other West Coast ports, and perhaps internationally. Again, in 1997, you refused to participate in the Oakland picket line against the ship Neptune Jade in solidarity with the sacked Liverpool dockers.

13 October 2004 issue of *Maritime Worker Monitor* supported by Jack Heyman promoted pro-Democratic Party Million Worker March, claiming it calls "for the independent mobilization of workers." Nine months later, Heyman saw the light.



Maritime Worker Monitor

a rank and file newsletter for maritime workers

Issue #7 • October 13, 2004

STOP THE WAR ON IRAQ AND THE WAR ON WORKERS!

Join the Million Worker March!

The Maritime Worker Monitor supports the Million Worker March on Washington on October 17th because workers in this country are catching hell and we need to organize to fight back. Millions of workers in this country remain jobless, homeless and without health care, while the U.S. government wages a bloody, and increasingly unpopular, war for oil and empire supported by both the Democrat and Republican Parties. We give the march critical support because it is calling for the independent mobilization of workers from the politicians of both big business parties, but does not explicitly call for a break with those parties and building an independent labor party, which was until recently ILWU's position. Ironically, the anti-war ILWU, as well as other unions, is supporting the pro-war Democratic Party presidential candidate John Kerry

The Maritime Worker Monitor supports the Million Worker March on Washington on October 17th because workers in this country are catching hell and we need to organize to fight back. Millions of workers in this country remain jobless, homeless and without health care, while the U.S. government wages a bloody, and increasingly unpopular, war for oil and empire supported by both the Democrat and Republican Parties. We give the march critical support because it is calling for the independent mobilization of workers from the politicians of both big business parties, but does not explicitly call for a break with those parties and building an independent labor party, which was until recently ILWU's position. Ironically, the anti-war ILWU, as well as other unions, is supporting the pro-war Democratic Party presidential candidate John Kerry

As the MWM march was being organized, I called for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and for a workers party, as I regularly have done for decades. But after the October 2004 event I came to the conclusion that it was a mistake to have joined in the MWM because it did not represent a genuinely independent political mobilization of the working class willing to take on the AFL-CIO bureaucrats' shackling of unions to the Democrat Party. Instead the MWM served as a "get out the vote" event for John Kerry (or Ralph Nader or the Greens) by the "anybody but Bush" people. I publicly stated this in an 8 July 2005 letter posted on the ILWU discussion list and various internet sites.

Second, on the April 1999 port shutdown for Mumia's freedom, you write that the SL "made a mistake in not fielding 'Free Mumia' contingents in the 1999 protests." But it wasn't just that you didn't have a contingent. You initially *dismissed* this work stoppage as nothing but a "two-hour" union meeting, supposedly intended to "minimize" the impact on port shipping.

Then, after the work stoppage, when I objected in a letter to the editor, you responded with a huge four-page spread (WV #714, 28 May 1999) claiming that the port shutdown was just "regular monthly meetings," that I was guilty of "touting these as 'work stoppages'," that the impact of a longshore work stoppage was "minimized" because it "didn't violate the contract," and so on. So only a wildcat strike counts? You quoted a Pacific Maritime Association official, claiming that the stoppage would have little effect on shipping because it was announced weeks earlier. But while you were happy to parrot the bosses' excuses, you didn't mention that PMA threatened to take the Los Angeles ILWU local to court over this work stoppage.

Mind you, this stoppage simultaneously shut down every port on the West Coast for a full eight-hour shift, for the demand "Stop the Execution! Free Mumia!" It was the first time that workers in the U.S. had undertaken job action in defense of Mumia, something the SL had called for over the years, but had never carried out. Anyone seriously interested in defending Mumia Abu-Jamal should have hailed it as an important first step. But not you, at least not at the time. Since then you have been all over the map about the April 1999 port shutdown. In WV #815 (5 December 2003), editorial board member George Foster wrote a letter to the editor saying that the L.A. longshore local's stop work meeting to rally support for the striking Safeway workers was not such a bad tactic after all. And that was one port in an economic struggle, not a coast-wide shutdown over a political issue.

In that same WV #714 article you attacked the Internationalist Group for objecting to WV's smears and distortions, but you didn't mention that the IG's supporters in Brazil had sparked a union work stoppage in the schools of the state of Rio de Janeiro calling for Mumia's freedom, which was held in conjunction with the ILWU port shutdown. As far as I know, you have never acknowledged the Brazilian work stoppage for Mumia's freedom.

To justify your vituperation over the 1999 port shutdown, you argue that it was just "window dressing" for the demonstration held that day which called for a "new trial" for Mumia. Yes, calling for Mumia's freedom and calling for a new trial represent two different perspectives, because the latter presumes that he could get justice in the capitalist judicial system. But the resolution I put forward in the ILWU said explicitly that "the organized labor movement has the power through action to ensure justice for this principled and courageous freedom fighter, which he can't get in the courts," and gave that as a reason for calling to shut down the ports for the demand "Free Mumia."

When the Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal was trying to build support in the unions for the work stoppage, you outrageously accused me in WV #711 (16 April 1999) of wanting

continued on page 13

TROTSKY

Immigrant Rights in the Early Soviet Republic

In its 1918 Constitution, the Soviet workers republic granted citizenship rights to all foreign working people in its territory, while taking measures to safeguard the proletarian dictatorship against counterrevolutionaries. Today, based on the program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, the Spartacist League calls for full citizenship rights for all immigrants as part of our struggle for new October Revolutions.

LENIN

20. Acting on the principle of the solidarity of the toilers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic grants all political rights enjoyed by Russian citizens to foreigners resident within the territory of the Russian Republic provided they belong to the working class or to the peasantry not using hired labor. Local Soviets are authorized to confer the rights of Russian citizenship upon such foreigners without any formalities or difficulties.

21. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic offers asylum to all foreigners persecuted for political and religious offenses.

22. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, recognizing the equality of all citizens, regardless of race or nationality, declares it contrary to the fundamental laws of the Republic to institute or tolerate any privileges or advantages based upon such grounds, or to repress national minorities, or to limit their rights in any way.

23. To safeguard the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic deprives individuals and groups of rights which they may use to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution.

—James Bunyan, ed., *Intervention, Civil War, and Communism in Russia: April-December 1918—Documents and Materials* (The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Berry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, Helen Canlor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: venguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER. Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is July 4.

No. 873 **7 July 2006**

Defend Immigrant Rights!

Seattle, WA
19 May 2006

To the Editor,

President Bush plans to spend billions of our dollars to turn the Mexican border into a war zone, using paramilitary troops and high tech equipment. It's a horrible idea that Congress should quash immediately. Immigration is a result of social and economic forces that the U.S. has a major part in creating, such as poverty and joblessness in South America. The great wealth that undocumented workers create in the U.S. is unacknowledged, while the government illegally declares war on border communities in the U.S. and Mexico. Who can doubt that Chicanos and Mexicans, and other brown-skinned people, will be abused and killed by trigger-happy, privatized soldiers whose bosses care only for the money they make. The dismal record of privatized prisons shows what poor and workingclass people of color can expect.

Millions of immigrants and their supporters in the streets on May Day displayed a powerful force for change that can also help U.S. citizens who are feeling the contempt of our government for their jobs, wages, pensions, and freedom of speech. It's time that unions, women, the elderly, and all people of color join undocumented workers and stop the destruction of their rights and ours.

Sincerely,
A.W.

Sam Hunt

WV Photo

1946-2006

Sam Hunt, a longtime cadre of the International Communist League, died in South Africa on June 2 at the age of 59. He resigned from the ICL in 1998. At the time, he lived in South Africa, where he taught history and basketball. Here we honor his almost 30 years' work as a communist internationalist, which forms a deep strand in the living net that is our political organization. Sam was a cadre of the Marxist movement beginning with his fight inside the Socialist Workers Party for the Trotskyist legacy of James P. Cannon, a fight which led him to the Spartacist League. His ICL assignments spanned trade-union work in steel, oil and auto in the U.S. and later international work in Japan and South Africa, as well as enthusiastic research into the history of Trotskyism.

A comrade in Chicago, recruited to Marxism by Sam over 30 years ago in Madison, Wisconsin, wrote: "Sam was a very intense, self-taught guy with a penchant for drink. As long as that intensity was harnessed by the collective, Sam could make great contributions.... I told his daughters...that he was for the most of his life 'one in a million.' That is to say, in this reactionary time, one of the precious few who represent the future of mankind. But of course there is a great deal of pressure that goes with that position." He noted Sam's fondness for the music of Frank Zappa as well.

Sam was born on 4 September 1946. Like many of his generation, he was radicalized by the Vietnam War. When he was 19 and facing the draft, he "wound up doing a four-year hitch in the Air Force from 1966 to 1970," as he wrote in 1990 to his Spartacist comrade Garry Gianninoto, who had been a Navy medical corpsman in Vietnam. Commenting on Garry's article, "Vietnam: Racism and Rebellion Behind the Lines—A GI's View of America's Dirty War" (*WV* No. 513, 2 November 1990), Sam noted: "My experiences were stateside, and while we were not under fire, we had to put up with the chicken-shit saluting and 'sir'ing of the 'little shitfaced 20-year-old lieutenants' you described. And the racism you described was just as intense at every base and fort. When I was...publishing an underground newspaper and held temporarily in the brig, the population inside this little prison was virtually all black." Sam's underground paper was called the *Aerospaced*, with the "o" as a peace symbol.

Sam wrote in 1990: "The point we've been making in the paper [*WV*] about how anti-war radicals did not spit on soldiers but tried to help them is very important. My experiences certainly testify to that. It was student radicals at Antioch College that helped us publish our newsletter.... The only people that ever spit on me when I was a soldier was the Klan and they were itching to do a lot worse." Sam's letter to Garry concluded: "My last point is about your description of the carnage American imperialism inflicted upon the heroic Vietnamese. In looking back to my days in USec [United Secretariat, the fake Trotskyists to whom the SWP was politically linked] I personally find the most disgusting thing they did was to adopt their social-patriotic line on the Vietnam War with their highlighting of 'our boys' in Vietnam. The SWP marched with '55,000 Americans killed' on their banners but NEVER with banners paying homage to the MILLIONS of Vietnamese that were slaughtered by U.S. Imperialism..., We're going to have to make this fight again today over a Persian Gulf war and I think your article will help a lot.... I bet you drank a few beers in 1975 when Saigon fell—I did. F--- the social patriots; f--- YAWF and today's SWP—Vietnam was a victory!"

As Sam wrote, after he got out of the military he was "mad as hell and joined the first group I came into contact with—the SWP." He ran for governor of Wisconsin on the SWP ticket. His real education in Trotskyism began in political struggle, in a series of oppositional groupings, against the wretched SWP leadership. Sam (who had been reading Cannon's *Socialism on Trial* and about the Minneapolis Teamsters strikes of 1934 before joining the SWP) later wrote, "While I thought I was joining the SWP of 1938, I began wondering why there were no trade-union fractions." He joined the Proletarian Orientation Tendency (POT) of the SWP, which, as Sam described it, "challenged the party's orientation but had no counterposed political program.... The bottom line is that the POT leadership thought we could bring the reformist SWP line to the working class and that would make a difference. So while bemoaning the Barnes leadership's undemocratic functioning, they never challenged the political program that the organizational abuses flowed from" ("Memories of a 1970s SWP Oppositionist," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 38-39, Summer 1986).

In the SWP's youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, Sam first met Martha Phillips; as another comrade recalls, Sam "thought very highly of Martha Phillips and of James P. Cannon. These two things are probably related (i.e., that she won him to understanding the importance of Cannon)." Sam joined Martha in the Leninist Faction (LF). Through internal struggle, he fought his way, along with eight other comrades of the LF, toward Trotskyist clarity, centrally on the necessity for a democratic-centralist vanguard party, and thus they all ended up joining the Spartacist League. "Letter of Resignation from the LF of the SWP" (*WV* No. 14, December 1972), signed by Sam and three other former LF members, describes this process. This was one of several regroupments of experienced leftists that forged the core of Spartacist cadres for many years.

When our comrade Martha Phillips was murdered in Moscow in 1992, Sam was in Tokyo. He wrote us on February 14 of that year about Martha: "We were very close friends for 22 years but lived in the same city (Madison and the Bay Area) for only about 6 or 7 of them. But that never bothered us. We were very happy to be in the same party fighting for the same program. I remember many times we would go drinking together in a bar in Japantown in San Francisco.... On bar napkins we would try to write the Russian and Japanese alphabets while sharing our hopes to do political work in new countries. And we were plotting to some day go drinking together in Vladivostok."

Sam's comrade Pam E., who also came over from the Leninist Faction, recalled their days in the Cleveland local, when Sam worked at the U.S. Steel plant in Lorain. Pam wrote that Sam "was a rigger at one point and he would have to get on top of the pipes that were being loaded on the back of trucks—which required good balance—and not slip off or lose his footing. He did well there.... He was not a trade unionist in the party, but a communist in a trade union. He helped build the steel fraction by taking a disparate group of young comrades from all over the country (some fresh off a college campus) and honing their skills and talents." Sam went on to other industrial union jobs in Chicago, the Bay Area and Los Angeles.

Sam was a mainstay of security details. He was also a party educator, as well as a good writer and reporter. "Sam was the *WV* reporter during the Morenci copper miner strikes," wrote one of his former organizers. She recalled the time "when the strikers came under attack and took special care to protect Sam from harm, recognizing that he would tell the story from their point of view."

Diana Kartsen, the librarian of the Prometheus Research Library, told *WV*: "Sam did extremely valuable archival work for our party. It covered quite an international array in the history of Trotskyism—from Frank Glass and work in China to Baruch Hirson in South Africa to Dick Fraser in L.A. You'll see in the *PRS* bulletin in memory of Dick [No. 3, "In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser: An Appreciation and Selection of His Work," 1990] a letter written by Sam about his experience with Dick. As an associate of the PRL, Sam established a friendly relationship with the Workers Library in Johannesburg."

The Prometheus Research Library in New York has a copy of Sam's September 1988 senior thesis, "A Short History of Chinese Trotskyism 1928-1941," which was inspired by Sam's interviews with Frank Glass. Glass was then 86 years old, in a Los Angeles nursing home where he was "left to wilt on a vine," as Sam put it, by "an ever increasingly bizarre Socialist Workers Party (SWP) that jettisoned their senior members." Glass, originally a South African Trotskyist, had been a leading member of the small Trotskyist organization in China prior to World War II—and Sam found him through his connection with Dick Fraser in Los Angeles, thus tying another knot in the net of our history.

In 1988 Sam transferred to Japan. A comrade of his there notes that "most of the articles on Japan and South Korea that appear in *WV* from 1989 to 1995 were written by him." He wrote *Heroic Defenders of the Red October Revolution: All Honor to Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi* (Spartacist Group Japan pamphlet, November 1994), commemorating these Soviet spies on the 50th anniversary of their execution by the Japanese state.

The last assignment Sam fulfilled was assisting in establishing a section in South Africa. Comrades in South Africa wrote us of their sadness that "such a unique political person died outside our ranks. We believe Sam would have been quite pleased to know that his fine and broad-gauged library is now in the hands of the section where it will be a tool in training future African recruits in a Trotskyist worldview."

Sam's skills and political enthusiasms came together in one episode that we can now reveal. In the San Francisco Bay Area in 1984, under the regime of Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein, a Confederate flag was flying from a Civic Center flagpole. The Spartacist League undertook a campaign to remove this eyesore and incitement to race terror—Richard Bradley twice scaled the flagpole and tore down the flag, making a third climb to install the Union Fort Sumter garrison flag. When "Dixie Dianne" (now Senator, and today, appropriately, a Homeland Security groupie) ordered that flag shredded and put up yet another Confederate flag, we reported that "In the early morning hours of June 29, militants took down not only the banner of the slaveocracy but the entire pole" ("Militants Bring Down Confederate Flag...And the Flagpole," *WV* No. 358, 6 July 1984).

WV then printed a letter from "A Worker" ("Timber!" *WV* No. 359, 20 July 1984) that recounted:

> "Myself and a few trusted union brothers entered SF City Plaza.... Using an acetylene cutting torch we first cut out a wedge, or fish mouth, to determine the direction of the fall.... Despite being delayed by a few passing patrol cars we dropped the pole exactly where we planned.... Most important was that ***nobody*** was hurt. We regret not having the time to torch the flag itself but we know this downed flag pole delivered a strong message to Feinstein and Co. that this is a union town and ***that*** flag will stay down. By doing so we salute the Union Army that fought to rid this country of the barbaric institution of slavery."

Now, with sorrow at his death but pride in his work, we can tell our readers that "A Worker" was Sam Hunt.

Chicago: Successful Music Benefit for Mumia

WV Photo

CHICAGO—On June 15, over 200 people turned out in Chicago for a live music fund-raiser for Mumia Abu-Jamal sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee. The event, held at the Hot House, a premier jazz venue, netted over $1,500 for Mumia's legal defense. "Thanks to everyone attending this event," Mumia said in a message conveyed by Rachel Wolkenstein, PDC counsel and formerly one of Mumia's lawyers. "I appreciate your support. It reminds me that despite the best efforts of the state, I am not alone."

Mumia is an innocent man whose case is a blatant example of racist and political frame-up. A former Black Panther Party member, a MOVE supporter and acclaimed journalist, Mumia was framed up in 1981 for shooting a Philadelphia cop and has languished on Pennsylvania's death row for 24 years. Court after court has ignored the mountains of evidence proving Mumia's innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he shot the cop and that Mumia had nothing to do with it. The case has now entered a critical phase. It is on the "fast track" for legal decision in the federal court of appeals, with the state as determined as ever to execute him.

The significance of the Chicago music benefit went well beyond the money raised, because it succeeded in putting this case back on the political map in the city. In building for the event, PDC representatives were featured in three live radio interviews on WVON's Cliff Kelley show and on WHPK. The fund-raiser was also featured on the official weekly "short list" of musical events to go to in the widely circulated *Chicago Reader*.

The attendance at the Hot House was very integrated and included several transit workers, hospital workers and other trade unionists. A hard core of longtime Mumia activists turned out, including attorney Standish Willis, and Tracy Kostenbader of the Chicago Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal. One man stopped as he passed the Hot House and bought two tickets, saying his son had a "Free Mumia" T-shirt and that he wanted to learn what the case was all about. A group of over 40 student interns came from the Chicago Urban Life Center program. People also came to show their solidarity from Gary, Indiana, and as far away as Detroit and Ann Arbor, Michigan. Even the International Socialist Organization's Campaign to End the Death Penalty sent two supporters.

"There is an important link between Mumia and events in Chicago which put Mumia at the top of the FBI and Philadelphia police radar," Wolkenstein told the gathering. "In December 1969 Chicago cops and the FBI murdered Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark as part of the FBI COINTELPRO attacks which led to 38 Panthers killed nationwide and hundreds more arrested on frame-up charges. Mumia traveled to Chicago to view the site of the FBI's murderous assault and then was a main spokesman at the memorial meeting/protest in Philadelphia."

Many at the fund-raiser who had participated in protests on Mumia's behalf in the 1990s questioned where the protest movement had gone. Our comrades argued that the movement was ***demobilized*** by reformist illusions that the capitalist courts would dispense justice or a "fair trial." As Wolkenstein said:

> "While all legal proceedings and legal remedies should be pursued on Mumia's behalf, we cannot have any illusions or reliance in the capitalist courts. There is a concerted effort by all wings of the capitalist class—represented by both the Democratic and Republican parties—to see Mumia executed. Demands for a new trial will not lead to Mumia's freedom. These demands only breed illusions in the capitalist courts. These illusions demobilized a movement of millions around the world."

The music for the event was provided by the popular world music dance band Funkadesi, who mixed reggae, Latin and Bollywood beats. The group's founding "baba," Philadelphia jazz great Byard Lancaster, joined as special guest. Lancaster, a jazz avant-gardist in the 1960s whose range now stretches from reggae to blues to classical, has been associated with Mumia's case for many years. In 2000, after he led a march of thousands for Mumia while visiting France, Lancaster began facing regular harassment from the Philly cops while street playing, for which he sued the cops and won. Lancaster's latest release on the CIMP label is named *Pam Africa* after the coordinator of International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal (and it received a rave review in the June *JazzTimes*).

One musical highlight was Mars Caulton's performance of her spoken word piece "Eve of an Execution," for which she is known in Chicago as "the Mumia Poet." Backed by Lancaster's flute and Funkadesi's hand drums, the poet asked:

> "Why would they be afraid to kill Mumia
> Fearing violence in the streets
> Why would they fear thousands in the streets tomorrow
> Unless we're in the streets today?
> See isn't that the question
> Deserving full public attention
> Of just how to make the rulers
> Fear the price they'll have to pay?"

Central to any strategy of building a mass movement to win Mumia's freedom must be mobilizing the ranks of the labor movement behind his cause. In building for the Chicago fund-raiser, our comrades sold dozens of tickets to members of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), United Auto Workers (UAW) and the Teamsters Black Caucus. In important shows of solidarity, both ATU Local 308, representing rail transit workers, and UAW Local 6, representing Navistar workers, made contributions directly to Mumia's legal defense. As Wolkenstein urged the crowd: "Those of you here need to spread the truth about Mumia—that he is innocent. That the capitalist state has spent decades framing him up is the truth. That the state has put its lying corrupt class- and race-biased forces to see Mumia dead is the truth. Mumia needs you to join in the campaign for his freedom. To bring out more power, social power—to fight for Mumia's freedom NOW!"■

Join the Campaign!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of our pamphlet, *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* This 32-page pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom with the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for 50 cents. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from, make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

Partisan Defense Committee • e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099 .....(212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867 .....(312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462 .....(510) 839-0852

Updates on Campaign to Free Mumia
News • Publications • Events
Visit the Partisan Defense Committee Web site!
www.PartisanDefense.org

Letter from Pennsylvania's Coal Fields

Join the Struggle for Mumia's Freedom

June 7, 2006
Hastings, PA

Spartacists and WV,

The Coal Country Coalition (CCC), formed in the early 1990's to battle the fascist KKK in the coalfields of Western Pa., wishes to announce that it supports the efforts of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) to build a mass movement based upon the working class to win freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, who sits on death row, framed for the murder of Daniel Faulkner, a Philadelphia cop. The CCC is very aware of the fact that Mumia was targeted by the racist capitalist state due to his membership in the Black Panther Party at a young age, as we are also aware of the fact that the capitalist state wants Mumia to die for his belief in the liberation of black people and all the oppressed from the ignorance breeding capitalist system. It is certainly a testimony to Mumia's spirit that he continues to study and write articles dealing with issues facing the oppressed and CCC members follow these articles closely.

While the US imperialists continue to claim that the US imperialist military is occupying Iraq to bring them a democracy, the war against democratic rights continues on the home front. As we know and as the WV article, "Government Spy Network Exposed, Again" [*WV* No. 871, 26 May] points out, the US capitalist government is trampling upon basic rights, as it spies on millions of American citizens in the name of the "war on terror," which gives them an excuse to wage their vicious imperialist wars and institute a fascist like police state in the US. 9/11 was in many ways a godsend to the capitalist-imperialist ruling class, and they, both Democrats and Republicans, picked up the ball and ran with it. However, the CCC knows that the only real solution to this increasingly repressive bourgeois order is for the working class to sweep away the capitalist system through a workers' revolution led by a revolutionary communist party like the Bolsheviks and ushering in an egalitarian communist society.

Concerning Mumia, the CCC vows to do everything possible to make a contribution to the battle for Mumia's freedom, including working to convince unionists and left leaning local organizations such as Citizens for Social Responsibility (CSR) of Johnstown, Pa. to become involved in this fight.

Concerning the issue of government harassment and spying, I, as the main force behind the founding of the CCC and organizing united front protests against the Klan scum, experienced this sort of thing on a personal level. Not only was I harassed by the local police but also watched very closely by other government agencies. On one occurrence, I was involved in a theatrical production, "The Crucible," at St. Francis University in Loretto, Pa. The head honcho of the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission called the theatre department at the University and asked the director if I was going to attend a Klan rally in Somerset, Pa. that Saturday. The director told this person, a woman, that he had no idea and the woman then gave him an 800 number for me to call. When I called her, she asked me if the CCC was associated with any national organizations. I, of course, explained to her that this was none of her concern, and then asked her how she had known that I was in a play at St. Francis and why she would call there anyway. She told me that she had been told this but she refused to elaborate.

On another occasion, I had filed for SSI benefits, due to the fact that I had a disability. It was all documented and a Medical Doctor had signed the required form. When I received a letter denying me the benefits, the letter made an unusual comment that I had taught myself to ride the bus and had used the bus as a means of transportation. I had not rode in the bus for many years, except on one occasion. I rode the bus to a Progressive Labor Party organized May Day March in Washington, DC. So I could only conclude that someone had been watching my activities.

So if the government and its repressive apparatuses would find the need to harass and spy upon somebody like me, I have no trouble believing that they would attempt to frame Mumia Abu-Jamal. Therefore, the CCC devotes itself at this time to working to win the freedom for Mumia and making his case known in the coalfields through letters to the editor of local papers, and hopefully, taking out an ad in a paper signed by local citizens.

N. B.

PS I received the May 26 issue of WV on June 3 and I also received a notice that my sub will expire after the next issue. I definitely plan to renew my sub as I do not want to miss an issue of WV. Enclosed you will find one of my letters to the editor of "The Altoona Mirror."

By the way, I seem to be on the SWP's shitlist, as I disagreed with their position that the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union was a positive event and that US imperialism lost the cold war. These are the ideas of Barnes and as I mentioned in a previous letter, he is a tad bit off the wall. Anyway, they stopped sending me notices for their forums. ■

The "N" Word and Racist Terror

Howard Beach Verdict

QUEENS, NEW YORK CITY—On June 9, a multiracial jury convicted Nicholas "Fat Nick" Minucci, 20, of assault and robbery as hate crimes for the attack on 23-year-old black Army veteran Glenn Moore in the notorious white racist enclave of Howard Beach. Minucci faces a maximum sentence of 25 years in prison for the 29 June 2005 attempted lynching. The "hate crime" charge increases the minimum sentence from five to eight years. The racist thug savagely pummeled his victim with an aluminum baseball bat, leaving Moore with loss of cognitive skills and, as one doctor testified, "dementia as a result of head trauma." Meanwhile, Minucci's accomplice Anthony Ench screamed, "This is what you get when you rob white boys, n----r!" (See "NYC: Racist Beating in Howard Beach," *WV* No. 851, 8 July 2005).

In fracturing Moore's skull with a Louisville Slugger, Minucci was carrying out the racist *program* symbolized by the "N" word—a word that took root on the tongues of the bloody slave-traders, overseers and plantation owners who helped found this country and was carved into the flesh of black victims of Jim Crow lynch mobs. Just a few days ago, on June 26, a black Brooklyn 15-year-old, Winston Johnson, was hit by a car and brutally beaten by a white mob screaming "f--king n----r" after he and three friends inadvertently bicycled into another white enclave, Gerritsen Beach, Brooklyn.

While the racist criminal thug Minucci was convicted of "hate crimes," black people and opponents of racist terror should have no illusions these laws serve to protect them. Unlike liberals and many of our fake-left opponents, we are opposed to the various "hate crime" laws which serve only to enhance the powers of the racist capitalist state. These laws, and the related campus speech codes, give the cops and courts added powers against those who are truly in their cross hairs—blacks seeking to defend themselves against racist terror, antiwar protesters, union militants and leftists. The city's rulers will undoubtedly use this case to enhance the authority of their racist thugs in blue, who on a daily basis seal the borders of the city's white enclaves and terrorize the city's black population to a degree that Fat Nick could only dream of.

Black oppression is the bedrock of American capitalism and a direct legacy of black chattel slavery. The capitalist ruling class and its Democratic and Republican parties deliberately foster anti-black racism to forestall, with no small success, united class struggle. For decades, not least through the "war on drugs," the bourgeoisie has been waging a concerted onslaught against the ghetto masses through the cops and courts. This has led to the imprisonment of up to one million young black men and women at any given time. In every way it can, the bourgeoisie seeks to pit white workers and immigrants against black people, obscuring their shared interests against the capitalist class enemy.

Seil/NY Times

Glenn Moore, victim of racist attack in New York City's Howard Beach.

As we wrote in "The 'N' Word in Racist America: For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution" (*WV* No. 807, 1 August 2003): the "N" word "was and remains the white-supremacist rallying cry heralding cross-burnings outside black homes, firebombings of black churches and assaults on black people on city streets. Cops hark it as they rampage through the ghettos, beating down black youth and dragging them off to jail." Yet in the current backwardly spiraling political and cultural climate, Minucci felt emboldened to claim he used the "N" word as a "term of familiarity and greeting" while beating Moore.

Fat Nick's defense attorney called black Harvard Law School professor Randall Kennedy as an expert witness. Best-selling author of *N----r: The Strange Career of a Troublesome Word*, Kennedy is the most famous of a layer of black intellectuals who have apologized for the widespread casual use of the "N" word by youth of all ethnic backgrounds—use driven in part by the hip-hop lyrics that are a big-dollar revenue stream for capitalist music giants. Kennedy said he had testified as an expert "to advance the aims of justice" since "somebody's liberties are at stake here."

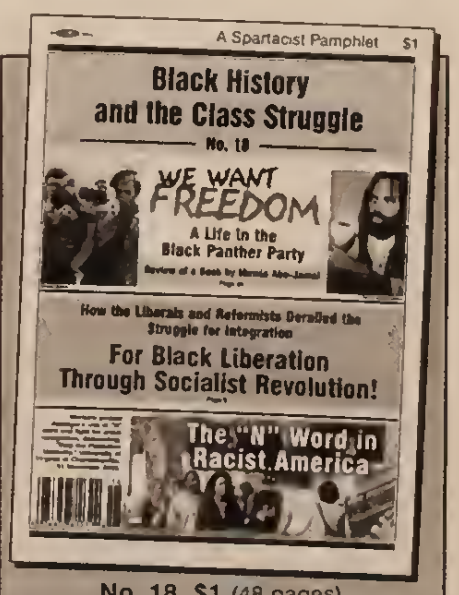
The jury did not buy the garbage Kennedy was put on the stand to sell and convicted the racist thug Minucci. Significantly, a key factor for the jury was the revelation that Minucci was also convicted of shooting a paint ball at a Sikh outside a temple—on 11 September 2001—while screaming, "You f--king Indians, you killed our people." This cut through Minucci's cynical attempts to portray his bloody attack on Moore as self-defense.

Liberal calls for "hate-crime" legislation are consistent with the false view that the source of racism and oppression is backward *ideas*. Our article on "The 'N' Word in Racist America" cited a contribution by a comrade of the Spartacist League who aptly wrote:

> "We are materialists which, with respect to the issue at hand, means our interest is in changing material reality, that is, in forever destroying the social basis for racist oppression in this country by welding labor/black power and effecting a proletarian socialist revolution. We do not hold that this can occur by sanitizing social reality à la...the advocates of 'politically correct' discourse. The mirror opposite of such efforts is attempts to make the 'N' word hip and thus, according to the proponents of this 'strategy,' to erase its racist impact. Either of these idealist pursuits shares the assumption that it is what people think that is responsible for racism and not that racist oppression is the bedrock on which the American capitalist order is maintained."

Last December, Transport Workers Union Local 100 crippled New York City, the world financial center, with its three-day transit strike. This majority black, multiracial workforce showed the social power of labor in struggle when it struck and defied the racist attacks of the bosses. This same power of organized labor needs to be brought to bear against racist attacks wherever they occur. We fight for labor/black defense to stop racist terror. But unions like the TWU are hamstrung by class-collaborationist leaderships that tie workers to their enemies in the form of the Democratic Party, the cops and the bosses' courts.

While the trial and conviction of Minucci highlighted that the "N" word is a program of racist terror, the attack on Glenn Moore represents some of the unfinished business of the Civil War in this country. When the Klan tried to march in lower Manhattan in 1999, we built a united-front labor/black demonstration of some 8,000 to stop them. We fight to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party that will finish the Civil War through workers revolution! ■



No. 18 $1 (48 pages)
Black History is sent to all *Workers Vanguard* subscribers.
Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

Break with the Bosses' Parties: PRI, PAN, PRD!

Mexico: Down With Brutal Repression Against Oaxaca Teachers!

We print below a translation of a June 15 leaflet issued by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, protesting brutal state repression against a continuing teachers strike in the state of Oaxaca. The strike, led by Local 22 of the National Educational Workers Union (SNTE), is part of a series of labor battles in recent months in Mexico that have met with vicious state repression carried out by the three major bourgeois parties. (See "Miners, Steel Workers Strikes Shake Mexico," *WV* No. 872, 9 June.)

The teachers strike has rallied the support of the workers and poor in Oaxaca and throughout Mexico, including a demonstration of some 300,000 in Oaxaca City on June 16. The union has called three meetings of a Popular Assembly of the People of Oaxaca, with the participation of unions, students, social organizations and others, demanding the resignation of Oaxaca state governor Ulises Ruiz Ortiz of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

The strike and repression take place in the context of the July 2 presidential elections in Mexico. The union vowed to cast a "punishment vote" against the PRI's presidential candidate Roberto Madrazo and the National Action Party's (PAN) Felipe Calderón, and thus effectively threw its support to Andrés Manuel López Obrador, the candidate of the bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). Support to López Obrador means derailing the militancy of the workers and poor into support for a party of the class enemy. In the same vein, a national strike called for June 28 by the union federation, the National Union of Workers, and other unions was called off because the unions "did not want to put obstacles in the way of the campaign of Andrés Manuel López Obrador, nor do they want to be accused of creating a climate of tension in the electoral process of 2 July" (*La Jornada*, 27 June). As we go to press, election officials have declared the results too close to call, and López Obrador and Calderón have both claimed victory. The GEM stands for the political independence of the proletariat, calling for no vote to the bourgeois PRI, PRD or PAN, and for the construction of a revolutionary workers party.

Initial reports that the June 14 police attack resulted in deaths were inaccurate. The strikers' militant repulsion of the police onslaught forced the state to release those arrested on June 14, and the governor has "suspended" (for now) orders for the arrest of 25 union leaders. Here in the U.S., teachers unions and others have picketed the Mexican consulates in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco and other cities in solidarity with the Oaxaca teachers. In New York City, the Spartacist League joined two demonstrations initiated by the Internationalist Group. In another example of international solidarity, Local 22 has signed a statement issued by the Partisan Defense Committee demanding freedom for U.S. death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

* * *

JUNE 15—After the criminal attacks on the miners strikes in Lázaro Cárdenas and on the Atenco peasants, for the third time in eight weeks the state unleashed murderous repression yesterday, this time on the Oaxaca teachers, organized in SNTE Local 22 (which belongs to the dissident CNTE [National Educational Workers Coordinating Committee]), who have been on strike since May 22 demanding decent wages. Up to 80,000 teachers had participated in combative demonstrations to win the strike, demanding greater resources for public education and raising slogans against the PRI government. At 4:50 a.m. yesterday, the PRI state government unleashed some 3,000 police with firearms and concussion and tear gas grenades, supported by at least one helicopter throwing gas grenades, to clear out an occupation the teachers were maintaining downtown. The presence of many children, the teachers' sons and daughters, was of little concern to them. According to the teachers union leadership, two teachers and two minors were killed in the attack (there are reports indicating up to ten dead). Over 90 people were injured and an indeterminate number were arrested.

Blanca Hernández

AP

Left: Cops brutally attack striking teachers occupying plaza in Oaxaca City, June 14. Below: Union members protest at Senate building in Mexico City on the same day.

Among the arrested are teacher Eduardo Castellanos Morales, university student Acelo Ruiz Méndez and Oziel Martínez Martínez, against whom the state has pressed charges, as ridiculous as they are sinister, of terrorism and of bearing firearms and explosives. The governor of Oaxaca, Ulises Ruiz Ortiz, maintains the transparent lie that the police found AK-47 assault rifles and a backpack full of grenades inside Local 22 headquarters. Paraphrasing General Anaya [of the Mexican-American War], had the teachers possessed such an arsenal, the cops would have never made it that far. In reality, as the Lázaro Cárdenas miners did last April, the teachers fought the police heroically with stones and sticks—and they managed to re-take the city's main square. *La Jornada* (15 June) reported: "As the teachers picked up what was left of their belongings, they indignantly displayed the traces of the battle: pillows, food, burnt TVs, tents cut with knives, diapers, walkers, babies' bottles, the children's toys." Airport workers have warned that the government is sending 700 members of the PFP [Federal Preventive Police] to definitively break the strike. We Trotskyists of the Grupo Espartaquista de México protest this attack in the strongest manner possible and solidarize fully with the teachers strike. ***Freedom now for all the arrested! Drop all the charges! Victory to the teachers strike!***

The impoverished Mexican masses keenly feel the need for education; teachers have a long history of combativity and they form a link between the powerful industrial unions and the poor peasantry. The teachers of Oaxaca—one of the poorest states in the country—and of Mexico as a whole, earning miserable salaries, struggle under horrendous conditions to provide education to children who often don't have anything to eat. Especially in rural areas, most times there aren't even school buildings, and teachers give classes in miserable huts or inside abandoned buses and lack books and all kinds of elementary educational materials. Barely 45 percent of students finish junior high school. Over two million indigenous children between six and 14 years old can neither read nor write. This gives an idea of why the 1999-2000 UNAM student strike in defense of free education was so explosive and awakened widespread sympathy and support among workers and the impoverished masses. The struggle of the Oaxaca teachers is the struggle of the entire working class. ***An injury to one is an injury to all!***

Many workers and a great part of the poor population in general place their hopes in the PRD as an alternative to the rapacious economic policies of the PAN. While the population is highly polarized on the eve of the elections, the bourgeois parties are united like fingernail and flesh in repressing workers and the poor. And this is so because the elementary interest of the bourgeois parties, the PRI, PAN and PRD, as well as that of their tiny competitors, is to maintain the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression. As we warned in *Espartaco* No. 25 (Spring 2006), the PRD "is an *enemy* of the working class. As it has already done in Mexico City, in the event that it wins the presidency it will administer brutal capitalist exploitation on the national level—and it will not hesitate for a second to unleash the repressive force of the state against those who support it today." Thus, on April 20 the PRI, PAN and PRD united in a failed police attack to break the powerful miners and steel workers union strike—whose recent mobilizations represent the most important outbreak of class struggle in the last decade—in Lázaro Cárdenas [state of Michoacán], where two workers were killed. On May 4, in an attempt to behead the combative organization of the Atenco peasants, the Peoples Front in Defense of the Land, the three main bourgeois parties united once more, sending at least 3,500 police to occupy the town of San Salvador Atenco, state of México, killing two youth, arresting over 200 people, beating them brutally and raping at least seven women.

This increase in state violence is an attempt by the three capitalist parties to intimidate and smash anyone they perceive as an opponent, and in the last analysis is directed against the working class, its organizations and its right to strike. The entire bourgeoisie is fearful of the threat of social explosions in the face of the growing polarization around the presidential elections that will take place in little over two weeks, and is trying to eliminate the so-called "red flashpoints" in the most open, cynical and criminal manner. The working class should defend itself decisively against this murderous attack by the bosses. The UNT [National Union of Workers] and other union groupings already some time ago had called for a national strike on June 28 in solidarity with the miners and steel workers and in defense of union autonomy. Hernández Juárez, leader of the telephone workers and of the UNT, has ratified this call in the face of state repression in Oaxaca. On this morning's TV news shows, some bourgeois commentators mocked this call, given that the UNT has called in the recent past for national strikes that simply don't happen or are so weak they pass nearly unnoticed. But the working class —some of whose strategic components are organized in the UNT—has immense social power which allows it to paralyze the entire economy. It is necessary for the working class to flex its powerful muscle against bloody repression, in defense of its union organizations and the elementary right to strike. ***All out on strike this June 28!***

The working class must abandon all illusions in the bosses' parties. It is necessary to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the working class in the struggle to smash the murderous capitalist system, which is based on the drive for profit, and replace it with the rule of the workers. Only thus will murderous state violence directed against the workers and the poor end, once and for all. That is the purpose of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). ***Victory to the teachers and miners strikes! Drop all the charges against Napoleón Gómez Urrutia and all the miners on trial! Freedom now for all the arrested in Atenco and Oaxaca!*** ■

How the Fake Left Amnesties the Democrats

The huge protests this spring against the anti-immigrant "Sensenbrenner bill" (HR 4437) were, on the one hand, an important demonstration of the potential for class struggle for immigrant rights against the onslaught of the capitalist rulers. On the other hand, the workers who turned out for these demonstrations were not organized as workers. Rather, they were dissolved into the classless "people" against Bush & Co. by the demonstrations' leadership, made up of, among others, the Democratic Party and Catholic church. Nor did the pro-Democratic Party trade-union bureaucracy seek to mobilize workers power independently and where it counts—in class-struggle action in defense of immigrant rights and against deportations. Thus it was no accident that the mobilizations petered out as Democrats joined "moderate" Republicans in brokering a compromise bill (S.2611) that passed the Senate on May 25.

The Senate bill would add thousands more border patrol agents and immigration cops to hunt "illegals," build concentration camps for detainees, and further militarize the border, where National Guard troops are already on duty. It promises a years-long "path to citizenship" for some immigrants, which would be unattainable for vast numbers in practice; it calls for payment of back taxes, significant fines and fees; it declares English to be the sole official language. Moreover, it proposes a "guest worker" program, under which hundreds of thousands of immigrants would be at the mercy of particular employers.

This nasty racist bill was supported as the "lesser of two evils" by the bourgeois liberal organizers of the spring demonstrations. They have organized virtually no protest in the run-up to the November 2006 elections, as both houses of Congress take the legislation to a House-Senate conference committee.

The Spartacist League opposes all anti-immigrant laws and demands full citizenship rights for all immigrants. We stand for full equality of all languages and defend bilingual education against English-only bigots. As we explained in the "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" of the International Communist League (of which the SL is the U.S. section):

> "Modern capitalism, i.e., imperialism, reaching into all areas of the planet, in the course of the class struggle and as economic need demands, brings into the proletariat at its bottom new sources of cheaper labor, principally immigrants from poorer and less-developed regions of the world—workers with few rights who are deemed more disposable in times of economic contraction. Thus capitalism in ongoing fashion creates different strata among the workers, while simultaneously amalgamating the workers of many different lands. Everywhere, the capitalists, abetted by aristocracy-of-labor opportunists, try to poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. The struggle for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism is thus a vital task for the proletarian vanguard."
>
> —*Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 54, Spring 1998

WV Photo

ISO banner and International ANSWER sign at April 10 New York City immigrant rights demonstration. Reformist left has promoted the illusion that equality for immigrants can be achieved under capitalism.

In the U.S., the fight for immigrant rights intersects the struggle for black freedom. The oppression of black people as a race-color caste segregated at the bottom of society is integral to American capitalism. Without winning the multiracial workers movement to the fight for black liberation, there will be no socialist revolution in this country.

Contrary to this internationalist, proletarian and revolutionary perspective is that of our reformist opponents on the left, ever eager to push "Anybody but Bush" lesser-evilism. Thus, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) wrote of the recent massive demonstrations: "Potentially, the movement can break the logjam of U.S. politics, in which the Republicans launch attack after attack with little or no response from the Democrats" (*Socialist Worker*, 31 March). Later, the ISO wrote: "A specter is haunting Congress—the specter of amnesty.... The movement is putting pressure on Congress to come up with a 'plan B' to the Sensenbrenner Bill" (*Socialist Worker*, 7 April).

It was in this context that the reformists laid claim to the call for "amnesty," which right-wing Republicans have wrongly attributed to the (overwhelmingly) Democratic Party-sponsored legislation. Should anything like genuine amnesty for undocumented immigrants be proposed, we Marxists would be in *favor* of it, as an elementary democratic gain for immigrant workers and the proletariat as a whole, while explaining that it falls short of our demand for full citizenship rights. However, *nothing resembling amnesty has been proposed from any bourgeois quarter.*

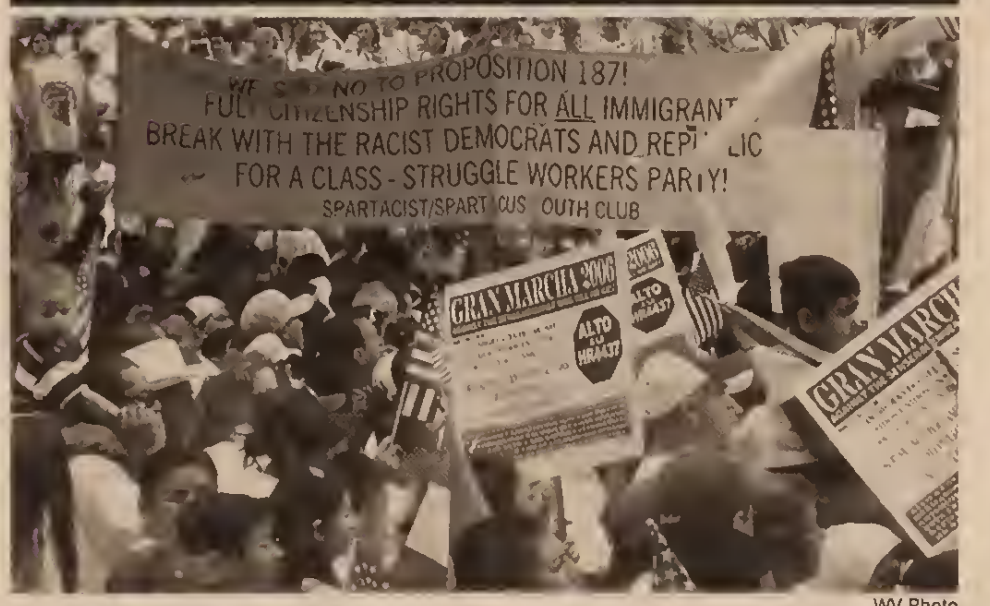
Both the ISO and Workers World Party (WWP) acknowledge the limitations of the Democrats' current legislation, but conclude that Democratic Party-led protests are "sending chills down the spine of Corporate America" (*Socialist Worker*, 7 April) and have "shaken the very foundations of the imperialist order," asserting that the protests were "taking a path independent of both Republicans and Democrats" (*Workers World*, 27 April). These reformists are disappearing the role of the Democrats and Catholic church in organizing and leading the protests. Behind this is their reformist, class-collaborationist program, which ties the working class and oppressed to the capitalist rulers.

Thus the ISO is running Todd Chretien for U.S. Senator from California on the ticket of the *capitalist* Green Party (see "ISO Goes All the Way with Capitalist Greens," *WV* No. 866, 17 March). In point of fact, the Green Party's 2004 platform called for "controls on immigration, if only for the sake of national security." Ralph Nader, who ran on the Green Party ticket in the 2000 presidential election and was supported by the ISO then and in 2004, told reactionary bigot Pat Buchanan in a June 2004 interview: "We have to control our immigration. We have to limit the number of people who come into this country illegally" (*The American Conservative*, 21 June 2004).

As opposed to the program of the reformists, what is urgently needed is a struggle to break the working class from its allegiance to all capitalist parties, a struggle to forge a politically independent revolutionary workers party dedicated to fight for all the oppressed and to the overthrow of the capitalist system. The parliamentary cretinist ISO can prattle about the "third side" in the immigration debate, that of "the U.S. working class, led by millions of immigrant workers" (*Socialist Worker*, 7 April). But it stands indicted by the Green company it keeps and promotes. Ditto the WWP, which appeals to "progressives in general" to support the struggle for immigrant rights, while promoting, on the ground, the enemies of the working class.

These reformist outfits' agenda is to prettify the ugly face of U.S. imperialist capitalism. Our aim in intervening on behalf of immigrants, both at the massive demonstrations and within the working class, is to win workers to the understanding that they must oppose the whole capitalist system. We do not seek to tinker with the system, looking for an alternative immigration policy. We will support such reforms as are offered. But, our bottom line is that we will worry about the ebbs and flows of the world economy when the proletariat under revolutionary leadership runs it. We are not responsible for, nor do we seek to advise, the bourgeoisie on its immigration or other policies. We seek to organize the social power of the proletariat to smash this system and establish proletarian rule.■

For a Class-Struggle Fight for Immigrant Rights!



WV Photo

SL/SYC banner at March 25 Los Angeles immigrant rights demonstration. We fight for full citizenship rights as part of the struggle for socialist revolution.

Defend Workers World Party Against Robber Baron Lawsuit!

In an attack on free speech rights and the left, the Renco Group, owned by billionaire industrialist Ira Rennert, has filed a "defamation" lawsuit in New York Supreme Court against *Workers World* newspaper. The Renco Group is a union-busting outfit with holdings in real estate, mining and metal industries, and it is a significant contractor to the U.S. military. Rennert, whose mansion in the Hamptons is one of the largest homes in the U.S., also helps finance the right-wing Likud party in Israel and hobnobs with its leaders.

Renco alleges that it was defamed by a 23 February article in *Workers World* titled "WCI Steel Bankruptcy Robs Workers' Pensions," which reported on how WCI Steel and its parent company, Renco, were attempting to use bankruptcy courts to terminate the workers' pension plan. The *Workers World* article noted: "This is an episode in a bigger story about the widespread campaign of corporations like United Air Lines, Delphi Automotive Systems and Bethlehem Steel to use bankruptcy to steal workers pensions."

According to *Workers World* (25 May), Renco and Rennert are absurdly "basing their argument on a very narrow definition of the article's use of the word 'rob.' They define robbery as 'forcible stealing' accompanied by the use or imminent threat of physical force." In 2004, a union-busting mining company sued the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* newspaper for "defamation" for reporting the miners' side in a battle for unionization of the Co-Op mine in Utah (see "Defend Utah Miners! Victory to the UMWA!" *WV* No. 840, 21 January 2005). That lawsuit was recently dropped.

Behind these lawsuits, which may seem frivolous, is a truly sinister purpose: to intimidate and silence pro-working-class forces and to overwhelm leftist groups, financially and otherwise, that have limited resources with the task of mounting a legal defense campaign. We have our differences with Workers World Party. Nonetheless, it is vital that the workers movement defend *Workers World* against Renco's lawsuit. The Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has made a contribution to *Workers World*'s legal defense. We urge others to do the same. Send checks to "Workers World/Pension Defense Project" c/o Workers World, 55 W. 17 St., 5th fl., New York, NY 10011.■

The Truth About the 1984 *Nedlloyd Kimberley* Boycott

In late 1984, longshoremen in San Francisco refused to touch South African cargo aboard the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* in solidarity with black South African workers battling the racist apartheid regime. The significance of American workers taking union action against apartheid was such that Nelson Mandela made a point of thanking the longshoremen following his release from the apartheid prisons in 1990.

In the years since the boycott, everyone from the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) bureaucracy to the leftover Stalinists of the Communist Party (CP) to the dubious "International Bolshevik Tendency" (BT) has rushed forward to claim this action of international solidarity as his own. On the contrary: all honor goes to the longshoremen. For ten days, not a man touched that South African cargo despite being set up for individual victimization by the ILWU bureaucracy and its Stalinist and BT front men, who did their level best to sabotage union action against the apartheid regime.

For 20 plus years, the BT has tried to cover the dirty role its supporter Howard Keylor played—hand in hand with the Stalinists and the labor bureaucrats—with slanders that it was the Spartacist League and its well-known supporter, ILWU Local 10 Executive Board member Stan Gow, who "sabotaged" the boycott of the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*. More than two decades later, when what actually happened on the docks in 1984 is unknown to a new generation of longshore workers and others, it's important to set the record straight, not least because the real story of the boycott of the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* provides lessons in the fight for an internationalist class-struggle perspective.

WV Photo

ILWU Militant Caucus fought consistently for class-struggle action in support of South African black masses. Left: Stan Gow leaflet calls for union boycott of South African shipping. Top: Gow (third from left) and other union militants picket *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, 24 November 1984, in San Francisco. Right: *Longshore Militant* calls for mass union picketing of the ship.

Solidarity with Black South African Workers

Throughout the 1970s and '80s, a rising tide of black workers struggle in South Africa, from strikes in auto factories to dock workers fighting for union recognition, shook the hated white-supremacist apartheid regime. Black people in this country identified strongly with these struggles, justly seeing in South Africa the reflection of black oppression in the U.S. By late 1984, the recently organized National Union of Mineworkers led strikes by thousands of black gold miners, and black townships erupted over rent increases and a new apartheid constitution. All these struggles were met with fierce repression. Cops and troops opened fire on strikers and township residents and carried out mass arrests.

Our front-page article in *Workers Vanguard* No. 362 (14 September 1984), titled "Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution! Black Masses Revolt in South Africa," urged: "At this crucial moment all class-conscious workers and enemies of racist oppression must act in solidarity with South Africa's black toilers. For mass, united-front protests against apartheid terror! For international labor boycotts of all cargo to and from South Africa!" In ILWU Local 10 in San Francisco, Stan Gow, a longtime union militant and a member of the Militant Caucus in the ILWU, whose work was politically supported by the Spartacist League, issued a leaflet in the union on 20 September 1984 under the call: "LONGSHOREMEN: HOT CARGO ALL SOUTH AFRICAN SHIPPING!!"

Gow, who was still recovering from having seriously injured his back in an industrial accident on the docks the previous June, urged: "NOW is the time for us to come to the aid of our working class brothers and sisters in South Africa with concrete acts of solidarity. Black workers in South Africa have the power to break the chains of apartheid slavery—we must stand shoulder to shoulder with them in their fight. Local 10—take the lead! Stop all cargo to or from South Africa! Call on the ILWU, ILA [International Longshoremen's Association] and international transport unions to do likewise."

The members of Local 10, not least the black workers who made up the majority of its membership, wanted the union to take action against the hated apartheid regime. But the ILWU bureaucracy didn't want to do anything that would mean going up against the maritime bosses. Coming to their aid were a couple of operators in the union who worked to undermine a solid union action. First was Howard Keylor, a member of the Local 10 Executive Board at the time, who is a longtime supporter of the so-called "Bolshevik Tendency" (then known as the "External Tendency" [ET]). Three weeks after Gow issued his September 20 call, Keylor put up a watered-down motion for a one-shot boycott of "the next Nedlloyd Line ship carrying South African cargo to the Bay Area" at an October 11 meeting of the Executive Board.

Even the boycott of a single ship was too much for Leo Robinson, then known as a supporter of the Communist Party in the union. At the Local 10 membership meeting on October 18, Robinson amended Keylor's motion to call for longshoremen to work the ship and refuse to unload only the South African cargo. With Keylor's support, the amendment passed while the bureaucracy kept Gow's proposal to shut down all South African shipping from coming to a vote.

This "work the ship, not the cargo" motion fell far short of mobilizing the ILWU's power in a coastwide emergency boycott of all South African shipping, an action that could have had explosive impact and would have struck a real blow against the apartheid regime. Nonetheless, as we wrote at the time, despite its limitations the motion posed taking "concrete *union action* in defense of South Africa's embattled black toilers" (see "Longshoremen: 'Hot-Cargo' South African Butchers!" *WV* No. 365, 26 October 1984).

But concrete union action wasn't what the ILWU bureaucracy had in mind. The bottom line for the ILWU tops, headed by International president Jimmy Herman, was that there would be *no official union backing* for the work action because that would violate the contract with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) bosses. And their purposes were served by Keylor and Robinson. Longshoremen were left to go it alone, dispatched to the ship where they refused to work the South African cargo and then were fired for the day. Throughout, the ILWU tops declared that the boycott was not sanctioned by the union. This charade was complemented by daily protests at Pier 80 by Bay Area rad-libs, reformists, Democratic Party politicians and others whose purpose was simply to provide "moral witness" for the longshoremen. When the PMA got a court injunction against the boycott, the Local 10 leadership immediately capitulated, the boycott was scuttled and the South African cargo unloaded.

Twenty years later, in December 2004 at an anniversary commemoration of the boycott of the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* by ILWU Local 10, Robinson and Keylor alternately claimed credit for initiating this labor action. Needless to say, the role played by Stan Gow in fighting to build a solid union action was disappeared. On the contrary, long after the fact, Keylor saw the opportunity to peddle the self-serving lie that Gow and the Spartacist League had tried to wreck the boycott. This slander is echoed in the pages of the BT's publications, where we stand accused of sabotaging the boycott, of calling the longshoremen who carried it out "scabs," and of providing "Exhibit No. 1" to the maritime bosses to get a court injunction against the action.

As Leon Trotsky—co-leader with V. I. Lenin of the October Revolution of 1917—argued in his concluding speech at the 1937 Dewey Commission hearings on the Moscow Trials, answering the outrageous slanders by the Kremlin Stalinists that he had engaged in a "conspiracy" with Hitler: "I wrote books, articles and letters and held conversations devoted to the defense of Socialism, the proletarian revolution and the struggle against fascist and all other forms of reaction.... One gets the impression that I built a skyscraper to 'camouflage' a dead rat. No, it is not convincing!" (*The Case of Leon Trotsky*, 1937).

Similarly, everything that the SL wrote at the time of the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* boycott and all of the actions taken by Stan

WV Photo

Leo Robinson (right), Howard Keylor (second from right), seen with Democrat Julianne Malveaux at Pier 80 in 1984, undermined a solid union action against the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*.

Gow and the Militant Caucus to make this a solid union boycott of South African shipping stand as a total refutation of the BT's smears. One need only look at the historical record, which we preserve in carefully indexed bound volumes of *Workers Vanguard*. This is not camouflage for a "dead rat." But the BT's slander that we tried to "wreck the 1984 boycott of South African cargo by longshoremen in the port of San Francisco"—as they wrote in their 2005 pamphlet "Whatever Happened to the Spartacist League?"—is indeed nothing more than camouflage for their role as "rats on the waterfront" during this action.

A Class-Struggle Fight

Stan Gow was a militant and longtime Local 10 Executive Board member with 25 years of accumulated authority in the union at the time of his 1984 call to action against apartheid. That call was based on a decade of work by the *Longshore Militant* and the Militant Caucus in fighting for the ILWU to take class-struggle action to aid the workers and oppressed internationally—from union leaders imprisoned in the torture chambers of Pinochet's Chile to leftist rebels fighting against the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador to African National Congress (ANC) guerrilla fighters and black workers battling the apartheid regime.

The ILWU bureaucracy has a long history of fine words of "solidarity" that cover for inaction or betrayal in practice. During the Vietnam War, for example, historic ILWU leader Harry Bridges made much of his opposition to this military onslaught by U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. ILWU banners flew at the antiwar demonstrations of the time. A boycott of U.S. military shipments to Vietnam by the ILWU would have had a greater impact, by orders of magnitude, than all of the antiwar protests. It also would have had an explosive effect in advancing the workers' struggles here "at home." But Bridges made sure that military shipments were kept moving during the 1971 longshore strike, saying it would help "get this war over faster."

As the Militant Caucus wrote in its *Longshore Militant* (4 January 1985—misdated 1984 in the original):

> "For a long time, Stan Gow has been arguing that there are two counterposed political programs at work in the ILWU and other unions. Stan and the Militant Caucus have fought for the program of militant class struggle and political action independent of the capitalist parties, courts and government. This program is based on the fact that the bosses own the government, and together they are the enemies of working people and always will be until the working people take over society. The other program, represented by the International officers and the revolving door of Local 10 'leaders', is class collaboration, a legalistic strategy that says there is a partnership between labor and the bosses, and that the government can be pressured to be a friend of the working man—as long as we obey its laws. This is a lie.
>
> "What these counterposed programs mean in action was very clearly shown in the sabotage of the potentially powerful union action against South African cargo aboard the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*."

At the time of the boycott, U.S. imperialism's renewed Cold War against the Soviet Union was white hot. The apartheid butchers were the "free world" allies of the racist rulers of this country. So too were the sadistic rulers of El Salvador, whose war against leftist insurgents was bankrolled and armed by the Reagan government. The "war against Communism" abroad was matched by a war against the unions, black people and other minorities and the poor at home.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy served on the front lines in fomenting the cause of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe. In collaboration with the CIA, they played a key role in bankrolling and backing reactionary Solidarność, which spearheaded capitalist restoration in Poland. At home, the union tops openly acted as the bosses' agents in enforcing givebacks and concessions and sabotaging strikes against these attacks. Their "answer" to the union-busting assault that had opened with Reagan's destruction of the PATCO air traffic controllers union was to go all out in hustling votes for the Democratic Party in the 1984 elections. And the Democrats lost big.

At the same time, strikes by South African workers and students were having an electrifying impact on black people and opponents of racism in the U.S. Black Democrats, seeking to refurbish their image after having delivered a massive black vote for the Democratic Party, tried to put themselves at the head of the burgeoning protests against apartheid. As we wrote at the time: "They know what a tremendous impact a black-centered revolution in South Africa would have on American blacks, and their job is to head it off" ("Black Democrats 'Discover' South Africa—Free South African Black Militants!" *WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984).

With the reformist left in tow, the black Democrats and labor tops appealed to the racist U.S. imperialist rulers to stop investing in South Africa. This "divestment" campaign was premised on illusions in the "democratic" credentials of American capitalism, whose profits are no less

Spartacists fought for international working-class solidarity with black South African masses against apartheid capitalism. Left: Black gold miners at union rally in Welkom, South Africa, 1983.

Peters/NY Times

extracted through brutal exploitation that is reinforced by racial oppression. Moreover, had the imperialists massively divested their holdings in South Africa, it would have meant mass layoffs and even greater destitution, weakening the power of black workers to fight against the apartheid regime.

Instead of impotent appeals to the "good will" of U.S. imperialism, Stan Gow and the Militant Caucus fought to bring the social power of organized labor to bear in struggle against the apartheid regime and to advance ***the class struggle*** of the workers in this country against their own capitalist rulers. The Militant Caucus' program of working-class political independence stood in opposition to the ILWU bureaucracy's support for the capitalist Democratic Party, through which the working class and black people are shackled to their exploiters and oppressors. Gow's struggle was rooted in an internationalist revolutionary perspective of fighting to defend the workers' gains that were embodied in the collectivized property of the Soviet workers state despite its degeneration under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It was part of the fight to build a new leadership of the unions—based on the policy of class struggle, not pandering to the class enemy—and for a revolutionary workers party.

The *Longshore Militant* was founded in 1975 by Stan Gow, together with Howard Keylor. But Keylor, faced with the all-sided reaction in Reagan's America, threw in the towel in the fight for a class-struggle opposition in the union. He quit the Militant Caucus in 1981. A year later, he lent his support to the foundation of the so-called "External Tendency." The ET was a bunch of quitters, too—people who had individually left the Spartacist League in the early 1980s. Their fear of that period of anti-Soviet reaction was matched by a distaste for our response to it: work among the black masses to galvanize resistance to racist terror; political combat against the pro-imperialist trade-union bureaucracy; unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state. In particular, our calls to hail the Soviet Red Army intervention in Afghanistan against CIA-backed Islamic reaction and to stop Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland had them running. What later brought these quitters together was intense subjective malice against the party they had fled.

Such political positions as the ET espoused in its early days were colored by Keylor's aspirations to influence within the union bureaucracy. When Keylor split from the Militant Caucus, he couldn't move fast enough to offer his services to the bureaucracy against Stan Gow and the Militant Caucus. In 1983, Gow was put on trial by the Local 10 tops for fighting to put some teeth into the ILWU's paper opposition to U.S. arms shipments to the blood-drenched Salvadoran junta by picketing a ship bound for El Salvador. In a 15 May 1983 leaflet hypocritically titled "No Trial Against Stan Gow!" Keylor boasted that he "had conducted an independant [sic] investigation of the facts and wanted to present his findings to the [Executive] Board"!

Some defense! Keylor ridiculed Gow's action as a "stunt" and "a sign of growing disorientation and disbelief that union members could be won to action" (*Militant Longshoreman*, 7 January 1985—misdated 1984 in original). The membership didn't think so. After Gow was convicted by the bureaucracy, he mobilized support among the union ranks, who voted down his conviction by a ten-to-one margin amid chants of "No! No! No!" A key component of this victory was the June 1983 picket by Gow and the Militant Caucus of none other than the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* to protest the execution of ANC fighters. Keylor mocked this action as well, but it found ready sympathy in the local, particularly among its black members.

BT/Stalinist "United Front"

In the 1984 boycott of the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, Keylor cemented an alliance with the Stalinists. He attacked Gow for making much of "the difference between working the cargo and working the ship," dismissing this as "just a matter of tactics." But this had been a longstanding fight in the ILWU. It was Jimmy Herman—then the president of ILWU clerks Local 34—who, backed by Robinson, introduced the "work the ship not the cargo" subterfuge in 1977 over a boycott of the very same *Nedlloyd Kimberley*. At the time, Keylor, then co-publisher of the *Longshore Militant*, fought together with Stan Gow against Herman's attempt to undercut the boycott. In 1984, Keylor was working the same side of the street as Robinson and Herman.

The first Nedlloyd ship that pulled into port in the Bay Area following the 1984 "work the ship not the cargo" Local 10 motion was the *Nedlloyd Kyoto*, carrying South African pig iron. All of the cargo on the ship was worked. Gow's *Longshore Militant* No. 65 (19 November 1984) described what happened:

> "[T]he Kyoto's schedule was changed and it arrived here on Nov. 8 (instead of Nov. 14), where it was diverted to the Levin Terminal in Richmond where 1500 tons of pig iron from South Africa were off-loaded by members of Operating Engineers Local 3! But the Levin Terminal uses ILWU linesmen, who were dispatched and who did tie up the Kyoto. (Howard Keylor is a linesman. Why didn't he blow the whistle?)"

In his own newsletter, the *Militant Longshoreman* (7 January 1985), Keylor waxed apoplectic about this "slander." He argued that a boycott of the *Kyoto* might not be successful "without adequate preparation" to get the Operating Engineers on the boycotters' side. But if the ship is not tied up to the dock, it can't be unloaded. Thus Keylor's arguments were an implicit admission that he opposed stopping the *Kyoto* blood cargo in Richmond. After they knew the *Kyoto* was gone, Keylor and Leo Robinson held a meeting to plan a demonstration...if it should return.

In contrast, Stan Gow and the *Longshore Militant* (No. 65, 19 November 1984) fought to keep the membership alert to the arrival of the Nedlloyd ships:

> "The time to act is now! It is reported that the Nedlloyd Kimberley is putting into SF on Monday, Nov. 19. Last word on the Nedlloyd Kyoto is that it is arriving here from Tacoma on Wednesday, Nov. 21. But the ship owners, PMA (and the union officers) are playing cat and mouse with dates, cargo and locations. Be alert! With the mass arrests, 'detentions' and murders of black unionists going on in South Africa, these are blood ships—hands off!"

When the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* docked

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
international rates $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail

❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

❑ I would like to contribute $ _____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

873

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

1984 Boycott...

(continued from page 9)

at Pier 80 on November 24, longshoremen on the first shift voted with their feet and the ship was not worked at all. This was not in the bureaucrats' plans. On the pier, Keylor and Robinson had assembled a "community" demonstration of some 150 people. This protest was not intended to bolster union action against apartheid but rather was largely built by those seeking to pressure the U.S. capitalist rulers to "divest" from South Africa. The *Longshore Militant* published the following week vividly described what happened that day:

> "The pressure from below was so great last Saturday morning that the officers were forced to declare that the ship was not to be worked. That night Keylor and Robinson were down there in person explaining how the morning policy was a 'mistake' and the ship should now be worked. Most of the men didn't like this one damn bit. Some said to Stan Gow and others, 'Set up a picket line and we won't cross it.' So Stan and other Local 10 and Local 6 members set up a picket line, and Keylor, Robinson and their assembled 'community' demonstrators went completely apeship! 'You guys are trying to wreck a legitimate union action!' they screamed.... After Keylor and Robinson worked them over for a half-hour, the men were reluctantly persuaded it was for the good of the union to cross the picket line. Robinson led the way, while Keylor said the gang should cross the line, but he personally wouldn't cross it unless he had to. This policy of dispatching and setting up individual members has been in force ever since, even though there hasn't been anything else but South African cargo on the Kimberley since Sunday!
>
> "It is Keylor and Robinson, acting for the officers, that have been 'wrecking a legitimate union action.' PMA is hanging tough on this action, while the officers and their flunkeys are playing by the bosses' rules."
>
> —*Longshore Militant* No. 66, 30 November 1984

Local 10 Tops Set Up Membership

In the guise of protecting the union from sanctions by the PMA and the courts for an "illegal" work stoppage, the bureaucrats purveyed the fiction that the ILWU members implementing the boycott were carrying out individual "acts of conscience." Local 10 official Tom Lupher told the *San Francisco Chronicle* (29 November 1984) that "the action was not officially sanctioned by the union membership, but was an action of protest by individuals." This was echoed by Keylor's and their stooges. These stalling tactics are not going to work.... It is necessary to act! We need a leadership capable of leading action. Picket the Nedlloyd Kimberley! Tell PMA to shove it! Shut down the port against any penalties!"

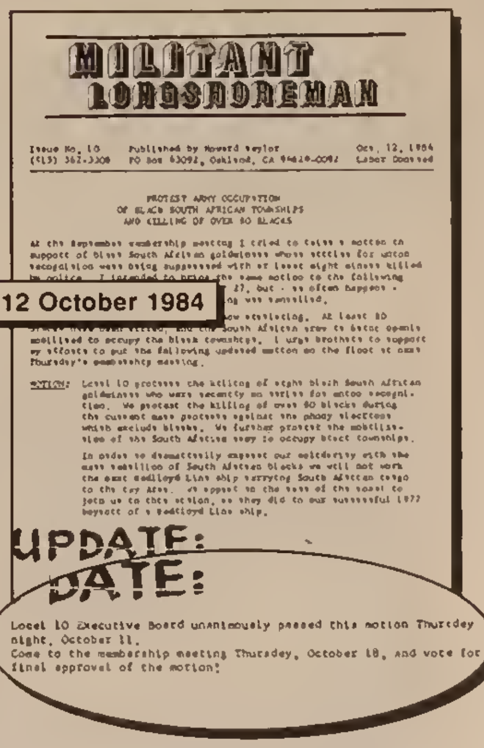
Any leadership worth its salt obviously fights to defend the union against the bosses' anti-labor laws—but not at the cost of setting up the membership of the union for victimization at the hands of these very laws! Yet this is exactly what the Local 10 tops' efforts to "fool" the PMA did. Longshoremen dispatched to the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* refused to work the South African cargo and were fired for the day. The PMA then withheld two weeks of Pay Guarantee Payments, paid to non-casual longshoremen working out of the union's hiring hall who have been unable to obtain enough work to meet a minimum income level. After the South African cargo sat untouched for ten days, on December 3 the PMA obtained an injunction against the action. The Local 10 leadership immediately caved in.

As *Longshore Militant* No. 67 (4 January 1985) reported: "The officers seized on the injunction as a legal pretext to end the action on December 3. At the Exec. Board that night only Stan Gow argued to stop the dispatching and set up a union picket line and to shut down the port against PMA penalties. The cowardly attempt to play by the bosses' rules only emboldened PMA to get a standing injunction 'prohibiting' future union action against the Nedlloyd ships."

Keylor did nothing to support Gow's motion to mobilize the union's power—the only way possible to successfully defy the injunction and to put some teeth into the boycott—which was ruled out of order by ILWU Local 10 president Larry Wing (see "Battle Over Union Action at South Africa Ship," *WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984). Having *opposed* a solid union boycott, Keylor, on the morning after the bureaucrats succeeded in killing the action against the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, was down on the pier urging the community protesters to set up a picket line! This was pure grandstanding, designed as a last-minute cover for his own despicable role.

Keylor later complained in his *Militant Longshoreman* (7 January 1985) that in this after-the-fact charade, his erstwhile Stalinist allies "managed to turn the picket line into an impotent demonstration, and thereby destroyed it." Sound familiar? This is exactly the role Keylor had played ten days earlier when he was working in cahoots with Robinson and the CP against the picket line set up by Gow and other ILWU members! As we Robinson and the CP right up until the injunction."

After doing everything he could to prevent the boycott from becoming a union political strike action, when it was all over, Keylor had the nerve to boast that "our union's action was the longest political strike in memory on the West Coast"! As *Longshore Militant* No. 68 (1 February 1985) put it: "It's not simply that Keylor is a liar. His leaflet reveals a method we're all familiar with. The ILWU and especially Local 10 have a reputation as a 'progressive union.' What this means in practice is that union hureaucrats who know their way around the left are very good at spouting a lot of hot air in support of 'social issues.'


MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

Issue No. 10 — Published by Howard Keylor — Oct. 12, 1984

PROTEST ARMY OCCUPATION
OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS
AND KILLING OF OVER 80 BLACKS

UPDATE:

Local 10 Executive Board unanimously passed this motion Thursday night, October 11.
Come to the membership meeting Thursday, October 18, and vote for final approval of the motion!

12 October 1984

Giving the lie to BT slander: Keylor's *Militant Longshoreman* published Local 10 Executive Board *motion* calling for a boycott.

But afterwards they do nothing concrete and/or sabotage efforts for real action."

The BT School of Falsification

To cover their tracks, Keylor and the ET/BT let loose with a barrage of lies against Stan Gow, the Militant Caucus and the Spartacist League. In its article "Militant Longshoremen 'Hot-Cargo' South African Goods—11-Day Anti-Apartheid Struggle On San Francisco Docks" (*Bulletin of the External Tendency of the iSt* No. 4, May 1985), the then-ET charged that we did "nothing to initiate or build the action." In fact, the entire documented record shows that it was Gow and the Militant Caucus who fought for genuine labor action on the docks against the hated apartheid rulers—*in opposition to Keylor and Robinson* in their self-appointed role as flunkeys for the bureaucracy.

The BT charges that we called the longshoremen who went onto the ship "scabs." We certainly denounced Keylor and Robinson for pushing longshoremen across the picket line to work the ship. But *WV saluted* the longshoremen who refused to move the South African cargo. And, as the *Longshore Militant* (No. 66, 30 November 1984) said: "Not a man has touched that South African cargo, in spite of all this two-faced treachery and stupid dispatching. They are the real heroes, not Keylor and Robinson who stand outside the gate and applaud the very men they are setting up for victimization."

Well after the fact, Keylor and the ET/BT would invent the biggest lie of all in this whole frame-up, charging that Gow and the Militant Caucus acted as finks for the bosses because they had publicized the motion passed by Local 10. In its May 1985 article on the boycott, the ET/BT declared that "the SL-supported Longshore Militant (19 November) provided the crucial evidentiary material for the maritime employers' injunction which ended the action," adding that "the SL supporters knew perfectly well what they were doing when they published their report of the Local 10 boycott motion. This was the only ILWU-associated documentary material which the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) could lay its hands on which mentioned the motion."

Four months earlier, in the 7 January 1985 issue of his *Militant Longshoreman*, Keylor had accurately charged that it was ILWU International president Jimmy Herman who had "laid the legal basis for PMA being able to get their apartheid injunction," pointing out that Herman had "agreed with the PMA that our action was an 'illegal work stoppage' in violation of the contract." Now, Keylor and the ET/BT were screaming that the Militant Caucus supplied the evidence for the injunction! Although on a smaller scale, this absurd smear job is cut of the same cloth as the charge that Lenin was being funded with gold from the German Kaiser, a slander circulated by those "socialists" in tsarist Russia who hated and feared the Bolsheviks' fight for proletarian revolution. In the case of Keylor and the ET/BT, slandering us was once again used to cover for the criminal treachery of the bosses' "labor lieutenants" in the ILWU bureaucracy.

For that matter, if making motions passed by the union publicly available to the membership is to turn "state's evidence," then Keylor himself stands indicted. A month *before* Gow's supposedly offending newsletter, on 12 October 1984 Keylor had issued his own leaflet publicizing the motion passed at the Local 10 Executive Board meeting that the union would "not work the next Nedlloyd Line ship carrying South African cargo" and urging the Local 10 ranks to "come to the membership meeting Thursday, October 18, and vote for final approval of the motion!"

Publicizing decisions made at union meetings would seem elementary not simply to have an informed membership but in order to mobilize the union for struggle. Keylor and the ET/BT boasted of their role in leading "the most important political strike in at least a decade." Gee, how do you wage such a strike without informing the membership and without the bosses knowing?! As we wrote at the time:

> "Yes, it's quite a trick to conduct a political work stoppage, particularly the 'longest in U.S. history,' without running afoul of the capitalist state. In fact, it can't be done. In the end, their whole charade about individual 'acts of conscience' didn't fool the PMA, the arbitrators or the federal court. Robinson and Keylor did all this dirty work because the officers were afraid a union action would be ruled illegal under Taft-Hartley. To them 'discipline' means riding herd on the membership, and not even mentioning the local's October 18 vote to boycott South African cargo, on the grounds that to do so jeopardizes the union. By trying to fool the class enemy with this cynical ploy, they managed to victimize the members *and* have the union hauled into court."
>
> —"Labor Traitors and Their Lackeys," *WV* No. 374, 8 March 1985

WV Photo

LONGSHORE-WAREHOUSE MILITANT

Joint Issue No. 4 — Published by the Militant Caucus — (415) 653-5827 — P.O. Box 31, El Cerrito, Ca. 94530 — Labor donated

International Labor Call:

Boycott South African Cargo!

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has called for a world-wide week of trade union action to protest the vicious apartheid regime in South Africa, beginning today, Jan. 17.

17 January 1977

January 1977: SL-initiated protest on San Francisco pier of *Nedlloyd Kimberley* in solidarity with international labor boycott of South African transport. Above: Militant Caucus fought for ILWU action.

bloc partner, Robinson, in a television interview in which he said, "This is an act of conscience on the part of individual longshoremen and it will remain as such."

The *Longshore Militant* (30 November 1984) exposed this treachery:

> "This policy is and has been intended to kill this union action by running it into the ground....
>
> "Furthermore, the union's position in the arbitration hearing on Wednesday is that PMA should penalize and fine individual members, not the union. Maybe we're not real smart. We thought it was the job of the union to protect its members, not the members' job to protect Herman's cozy relationship with PMA....
>
> "PMA means to break this action and they are getting help from the union officers

wrote in "ILWU Anti-Apartheid Action Sabotaged—Labor Traitors and Their Lackeys" (*WV* No. 374, 8 March 1985):

> "In his leaflet, Keylor has some oh-so-polite criticisms of Robinson and his supporters who 'honestly believe that Local 10 had no choice but to give in to the injunction,' and who 'have a commitment to individual acts of consciousness,' etc. He wagged his finger at [the CP newspaper] *People's World* for its reliance on the liberal Democrats. But you would never know from this that Keylor supported Robinson's amendment to work the ship at the October 18 Local 10 meeting, that he chaired meetings of Robinson's Southern African Liberation Support Committee (which was put in charge of the action by the officers), and worked hand in glove with

To this day, the ET/BT's lies that we "sabotaged" the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* boycott are used by elements in the ILWU bureaucracy to cover their own tracks. An example is Jack Heyman, a former Local 10 business agent who has often served on the union Executive Board and in other official capacities. We have had many exchanges with Heyman over the years. Virtually every time that we have

caught him out on the contradiction between the militant words that he sometimes spouts and what he actually does on the ground, he falls back on the deception that we opposed the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* boycott. (See letter page 2.)

Last October, Heyman was Local 10's speaker at a united-front rally in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal—America's foremost class-war prisoner—radical lawyer Lynne Stewart and exiled Black Panther Assata Shakur. The rally was organized by the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League. ILWU Local 10 has for many years been active in the defense of Mumia and was one of the first unions to lend its support to the PDC's efforts to save Mumia from the capitalist state's executioners. At the October rally, Heyman made much of his part in organizing the West Coast port shutdown in defense of Mumia on 24 April 1999—an expression of the kind of social power that needs to be mobilized in a *class-struggle* fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty. But Heyman didn't like to be reminded that a Local 10 motion he authored explicitly endorsed the "Millions for Mumia" demonstration the same day whose central demand was the call for a "new trial."

As an SL speaker at the October rally argued, this is not a matter of mere words but of counterposed political perspectives and strategies. The fight to free Mumia means a class-struggle fight in opposition to the capitalist state that framed up this innocent man and sentenced him to death in 1982 because of his defiant and eloquent opposition to the racism, brutality and terror of capitalist class rule (see "For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!" *WV* No. 872, 9 June). The call for a "new trial" sows the illusion that Mumia can get justice from the same racist *in*justice system that railroaded him. It is aimed at liberals and others who see Jamal's case not as the frame-up of an innocent man but simply as an isolated "miscarriage of justice." (For our response to a letter from Heyman complaining of our coverage of this rally, see "Jack Heyman: 'In the Bag'," *WV* No. 864, 17 February.)

Trying to get out from under the role he played in providing a "militant" cover for the liberal-reformist politics of the rally organizers in April 1999, Heyman played the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* card at the October rally, arguing: "In 1984 there was an important action against the ship that came in from South Africa, against apartheid, that the Spartacist League had a problem with. And initially they did not support this action. In the midst of it—it was a ten-day action against a ship from South Africa—the longshore union decided to protest apartheid by not working the ship. And it took several days before the Spartacist League changed their position on that." He used this charge to tar us as sectarians "abstaining from important class struggle," including "when it's important to be there to fight for Mumia Abu-Jamal."

WV Photo

New York City 1981 SL demonstration exposed Polish Solidarność as company union for CIA, Wall Street and the Vatican. BT founders deserted from Trotskyism in face of Cold War II drive for counterrevolution in Soviet bloc.

Sneering at the "Ghetto Unemployed"

That the BT's lies are picked up to go after us in the urgent fight for Mumia's freedom is grotesque. The Partisan Defense Committee took up Mumia's cause almost 20 years ago, working to make his case widely known and to get broader forces, particularly the unions, to take up the fight for his freedom. When a death warrant was signed against Mumia in the summer of 1995, tens of thousands of people in the U.S. and many more around the globe rallied in his defense. As part of the rulers' efforts to portray Mumia as a depraved "cop killer," the *Wall Street Journal* (16 June 1995) happily picked up the BT's slanders of our organization as a deranged "cult" in order to smear the PDC. This May at a Socialist Action meeting on Mumia's case in San Francisco, Keylor shamelessly defended this, declaring that it wasn't their "fault" that the *Wall Street Journal* picked up the BT's lies against us.

But while its voluminous writings against the SL provided ammunition for the media mouthpiece of American capitalism to try to undercut the campaign on behalf of Mumia, the Bolshevik Tendency did not write an article in its press in Mumia's defense until 1996! And why would they? Their shameless boasts of having led a "political strike" in solidarity with the brutally oppressed black workers and masses of South Africa are all the more cynical when one considers that Keylor and the ET/BT were at the same time sneering at our efforts to mobilize the power of the multiracial working class in defense of the black population of this country against racist terror. Following the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League that ran the Klan off the streets of Washington, D.C., on 27 November 1982, Keylor's *Militant Longshoreman* (No. 5, 4 February 1983) opined that the Militant Caucus "and their co-thinkers in Workers Vanguard are increasingly directing their organizing activity away from the unions and towards the unemployed, particularly in the ghettos"!

In the U.S., the vicious segregation and racial oppression of the black population is a key prop to maintaining the raw exploitation of labor. By the same token, the fight to mobilize labor's power in defense of the black masses is central to the fight for the emancipation of the working class as a whole through socialist revolution. This understanding, captured in Karl Marx's statement in *Capital* that "labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded," has infused the work of our organization since its inception—from our efforts to intervene into the civil rights struggles of the 1960s to our later anti-fascist mobilizations and our fight for Mumia's freedom.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
16 June 1995

Not Much Left: 'The Movement' Is Pretty Still Nowadays

• • •

Despite the GOP Revolution, Radical Groups Can't Win Converts to Their Brand

...er Communist Party USA memoc.

The Spartacists are led by a man named James Robertson, prompting the International Bolshevik Tendency, a group of former Spartacists, to deride their old party as "Jimstown," a takeoff on Jonestown in Guyana, the jungle site of mass suicide.

As SL and PDC mobilized to stop execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1995, capitalists' mouthpiece picked up BT's "cult" smear to vilify Mumia's supporters.

In one of its first major documents, the then-External Tendency derided our efforts to build labor/black defense leagues (which are currently active in New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles and the Bay Area) as a "shift away" from "the organized working class" toward "community organizing." Our mobilizations for the unity and integrity of the working class against capitalist "divide and rule" racism and its fascist shock troops are themselves a fight in defense of the unions. Only those for whom "the working class" means the labor bureaucracy could think otherwise.

It was precisely such an identification of the working class with the union misleaders that animated the ET/BT around the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* boycott. The ET/BT cried in shocked disbelief when we compared then United Auto Workers president Doug Fraser's joining the Chrysler board of directors to the German Social Democrats' voting for war credits for the German capitalist rulers on 4 August 1914. This was the point at which the Social Democrats acted not just as sellouts but as direct agents for the Kaiser, mobilizing workers to die for the profits of German capitalism in the inter-imperialist World War I. Likewise, Fraser became an open company cop in the pay of the auto bosses, and one need look no further than the devastated remains of Detroit, the former "Motor City," to see the results to which he contributed.

Renegades for Hire

At the time of the 1984 *Nedlloyd Kimberley* boycott, the ET/BT was screaming that we were capitulating to Stalinism because of our hard-edged defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist-inspired counterrevolution. Meanwhile, in the ILWU Keylor was making common cause with a supporter of the Communist Party—apologists for the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy and its treacherous policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism—against those fighting for a program of proletarian internationalism. The history of the U.S. labor movement is riddled with such types who, having given up on class struggle, find their place doing the bidding of the union bureaucracy. People who no longer have the stomach for revolutionary politics also sometimes bear animus toward Marxism as the "god that failed" them. But it is odd indeed to found an organization based on such malice, which has overwhelmingly defined the ET/BT since its inception. For some 25 years, this outfit has devoted much of its energies to destroying the party that they so ignominiously deserted.

As we have noted, hostility doesn't make a political program or reason for existence as a putatively socialist organization. That takes a different kind of animating principle. And the BT has its own Dr. Frankenstein in its leader Bill Logan. Logan was expelled from the international Spartacist tendency at our first international conference in 1979, following a thorough International Control Commission investigation and a trial, as "a proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions in the guise of Marxism."

The BT's slanders of the Spartacist League as a sinister "obedience cult" are a responsive cover-up for Logan, who has the demonstrated credentials of a manipulative cult leader. He willfully broke up couples and pressured comrades into sexual relationships. He pressured a young comrade to have an abortion, and when she refused he prodded her to put her child in a foster home, ultimately driving her to attempt suicide. These days, Logan advertises his services as a "celebrant" for baby funerals and "partnership break-up" among other things. The head of a putative "Bolshevik" organization, he refers on his Web site (www.bl.co.nz) not to the influences of Marx, Engels, Lenin or Trotsky but to the "Anglican and Presbyterian influences of my childhood."

The motion expelling Logan from our organization, which was passed unanimously by the delegates at the 1979 conference, concluded that he "cannot be and should never have been a member of a working-class organization." But he was happily embraced by the BT because he suits its purpose (or perhaps its purpose suits him). And that should tell you a lot about this organization.

Our purpose is to fight to build the mass revolutionary party that can lead the necessary struggle for the socialist liberation of humanity from the increasingly depraved rule of capitalist imperialism. Taking on the ET/BT's lies over the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* is a defense of our revolutionary program, purpose and heritage, which goes right back to the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the working class to power in the first, and only, successful proletarian revolution—in Russia in 1917. Examining the real history of the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* boycott is also crucial to arming a new generation of working-class fighters. Learning from the past is a vital component of the struggle to make the unions instruments of the revolutionary movement of the working class, not the secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism in which the labor bureaucracy serves to discipline the workers and obstruct the program and policies of class struggle.■

WV Photo

November 1982 SL-initiated labor/black mobilization that stopped Klan in D.C. Keylor/BT sneered that we were turning away from the unions toward the ghettos.

Young Spartacus

Hands Off Ward Churchill!

We print below a June 19 protest letter in defense of Professor Ward Churchill sent by the New York Spartacus Youth Club to the interim chancellor of the University of Colarado (CU) at Baulder and to the CU Board of Regents. On June 26, Interim Choucellor Philip DiStefano announced his decision to fire Professor Churchill, who has ten days to appeal the decisian to u faculty committee.

We protest the transparent political witchhunt being carried out against Professor Ward Churchill by the University of Colorado under the guise of an investigation into charges of "academic misconduct." As Professor Churchill noted: "The May 9, 2006 Report of the University of Colorado (CU) Investigative Committee is but the latest step in CU's ongoing attempt to fire me for political speech and, more fundamentally, for scholarship which challenges the orthodox 'canon' of historical truth" ("Summary of Fallacies in the University of Colorado Investigative Committee Report of May 9, 2006," May 20). Professor Churchill now faces dismissal or suspension as per the June 13 recommendations of the standing committee established by CU. We demand that there be no sanctions against Professor Churchill as the result of this ludicrous "investigation"!

Anthony Artol

Ward Churchill

The witchhunt of Professor Churchill has been engineered by right-wing forces that brook no opposition to the crimes of the U.S. capitalist rulers. Leading the charge are racist ideologue David Horowitz and his McCarthyite minions who seek to purge leftists and liberals from the campuses. These forces revile Professor Churchill for his views and for the political content of his scholarship, which includes powerful exposures of state-sponsored terror from the genocidal treatment of Native Americans to the bloody repression carried out against black, leftist and Native American activists under the FBI's COINTELPRO program. While no less than the Republican governor of Colorado has called on the university to fire Professor Churchill, the campus witchhunters' purported campaign for "academic freedom" would be completely exposed if they were to call for firing Professor Churchill for his views. Thus, the "investigation" into "academic misconduct" provides a convenient, if threadbare, cover for a political witchhunt.

The campaign against Professor Churchill is designed not only to silence and discredit him for his political views, but also to intimidate others and chill dissent. This takes place in the context of the bipartisan "war on terror," under which the U.S. rulers are carrying out bloody imperialist rampages in Afghanistan and Iraq and waging war on democratic rights at home in an effort to suppress the struggles of immigrants, black people, the labor movement and the left. This finds its expression on campus in the witchhunting of professors such as Ward Churchill. We demand: Hands off Professor Churchill!

North Korea...

(continued from page 1)

defend the workers state, a historic gain of the international working class.

Chinese premier Wen Jiabao has treacherously echoed imperialist warnings against North Korea, appealing last month to the various "parties" to "proceed from the greater interest of maintaining stability on the Korean Peninsula and refrain from taking measures that will worsen the situation." Moreover, Beijing continues to pressure Pyongyang back to the "six party talks" with which the imperialists hope to gain North Korea's nuclear disarmament. The Beijing Stalinists' illusion that there can be "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism undermines China's own defense. Likewise, Kim Jong Il's nepotistic, cultist Stalinist regime heads a parasitic bureaucratic caste whose extreme nationalism and class-collaborationist politics *stand in the woy* of defending North Korea.

We fight for the *revolutionory reunificatian of Koreo*—for socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats in the North. The fight for revolutionary reunification must be linked to the struggle for proletarian political revolution in China and to the extension of proletarian power to Japan, the industrial heartland of Asia, and to the U.S. imperialist colossus. Key to this struggle is the creation of Leninist-Trotskyist parties as sections of a reforged Fourth International.

Doves on Iraq, Hawks on North Korea

It is one thing for the U.S. to invade semicolonial Iraq, where American forces are bogged down in the occupation, and quite another to go after North Korea, which has some means to defend itself. Many of the Democrats who opposed Bush on Iraq complained that that war was a distraction from the "real threats" to U.S. imperialist interests, singling out Iran and North Korea. Thus black Democratic Congresswoman Barbara Lee, quintessential spokesman for tbe party's "progressive" wing, asked then secretary of state Colin Powell in a House committee hearing just prior to the invasion of Iraq: "What will it take for the Administration to focus as much attention on North Korea, which has demonstrated its nuclear and missile capabilities, as it is focusing on Iraq?" As an alternative to Bush's "doctrine of preemption," Lee favors the kind of "engagement" carried out under Clinton, when Perry (among others) drew up plans for air strikes in 1994 on North Korean nuclear facilities.

Yet it is just such "antiwar" Democrats that reformist groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Workers World Party (WWP) have promoted throughout the Iraq invasion and occupation in their class-collaborationist "peace" coalitions. The WWP, which proclaims its *politicol* support to the Stalinist Kim Jong Il regime, and the anti-Communist ISO, which is openly hostile to the North Korean deformed workers state, share the same program of pressuring the "liberal" wing of U.S. imperialism to give its bloody rule a more human face.

The ISO's political godfather, the late Tony Cliff of Britain, broke from the Trotskyist movement during the Korean War when he refused to defend the Soviet Union, China and North Korea against the counterrevolutionary war waged by "democratic" U.S. and British imperialism. The ISO hailed the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92, which was a massive defeat for the world working class. The collapse of the Soviet Union played out particularly harshly in North Korea, which faces economic isolation and increased vulnerability to imperialist attack.

It is in the class interests of the American proletariat to defend North Korea and all the remaining deformed workers states against the U.S. capitalist rulers, whose wars and occupations abroad are combined with a war at home against the working class, black people, immigrants and all the oppressed. The U.S. imperialists' murderous depredations will not be ended through the reformists' appeals to the capitalist rulers to become "peaceful" but only through socialist revolution in the belly of the beast. We fight to forge the revolutionary workers party needed to lead that revolution to victory.■

Gaza...

(continued from page 1)

clinics are without power. Many of the water pumps and treatment plants can no longer function. With the borders largely sealed, supplies of water, fuel and food are running dangerously low. A massive public health crisis, including the spectre of cholera, looms. Now, Israel's interior minister threatens the Palestinians that if the seized soldier is killed, "The sky will fall on them."

Unlike the criminal attacks against civilians in Israel carried out by Hamas and other Palestinian groups, the June 25 raid was directed against a genuine military target. At the same time, the brutal onslaught by Israel's coalition government following the successful raid underlines the massive disproportion of military forces between Israel and the Palestinians. We defend the Palestinians in their just struggle against Zionist occupation.

AFP

Palestinians in Gaza City line up for gasoline, among basic necessities virtually cut off by Israeli regime.

However, as long as the conflict remains one of nation against nation, the Palestinians can only lose out to the heavily armed (including with nukes) and more technologically advanced Zionist state.

The much-vaunted August 2005 "disengagement" of Zionist settlers and troops from Gaza has in fact allowed Israel to even more effectively strangle the population economically while giving the army a freer hand to unleash military terror. On June 9, Israeli artillery rained down on a Gaza beach, killing eight Palestinians, nearly wiping out a family having a picnic. This was followed hy a series of massacres in Gaza in which at least 16 Palestinians were slaughtered and dozens more injured.

Relentless state terror and devastation hy Israel have been visited upon the Palestinians. These, combined with the political bankruptcy of Palestinian nationalism—exemplified by the ignominious 1993 Oslo deal between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel—have driven much of the once cosmopolitan Palestinian people into the arms of the reactionary, anti-woman and anti-Semitic outfit Hamas. The electoral victory of Hamas in January has been met with a starvation embargo by the U.S. and European Union imperialists and Israel. With the rounding up of a third of the Palestiniart cabinet, the Zionist rulers, like their U.S. imperialist patrons, are asserting their "right" to carry out "regime change" against any Palestinian government not to their liking. *Down with the starvation embargo! Defend the Palestinian people! Release the Humas ministers, legislotors and other victims of Zionist repression! Israel aut of Goza, the West Bonk and all the Occupied Territories!*

At bottom, the Israeli/Palestinian conflict is one of interpenetrated peoples, two populations laying claim to the same small piece of land. There can be no equitable resolution to the conflicting national claims of the Palestinians and Hebrew-speaking people under capitalism. It is necessary to break the Hebrew-speaking proletariat from Zionist chauvinism and the Palestinians from Arab nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism. This requires the construction of Leninist-Trotskyist parties committed to the overthrow of capitalist rule in Israel and throughout the region, and the forging of a socialist federation of the Near East.

We have no illusions that winning the Hehrew proletariat to defense of the Palestinians will be an easy task; it will likely require some historic event, such as the victory of social revolution in another country in the Near East extending a hand of proletarian internationalism to the Israeli working class. As we wrote in "Zionist Butchers Strike Gaza" (*WV* No. 834, 15 October 2004): "So long as the national axis is emphasized, the situation will always be hleak and hopeless. But if the *closs* axis is emphasized, there is at least a *reulistic* chance at an equitable resolution."■

Spartacus Youth Club Class

NEW YORK CITY

Saturday, July 8, 5 p.m.
The Russlan Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power
299 Broadway, Suite 318
(between Duane and Reade Streets)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August. Our next issue will be dated August 4.**

Opportunist...

(continued from page 2)

to "go after the reds" for having requested from the PDC (as we did of other organizations that supported Mumia's defense) a list of labor endorsers. You've added to this slander, claiming that "Heyman himself signed on to a list of 'Labor Organizations Calling for a New Trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal on the occasion of the Millions for Mumia marches, April 24, 1999'." This is false, and you know it. Chris Kinder, initiator and coordinator of the LAC, wrote a letter to the editor of WV (10 October 1999) stating that ALL unions that defended Mumia in one way or another were included on the list, erroneously including "New Trial" in the title. Kinder accepted responsibility for this error. But you never published his letter criticizing the SL, and now you repeat the lie that I signed a list calling for a new trial for Mumia.

WV is correct WV #872 (June 2006) in criticizing the reformist resolutions that emanated from the 2000 "Labor Conference for Mumia", initiated by the LAC. With our small forces we sought to gather together workers across the country, especially those engaged in militant struggles like the predominantly black Charleston longshore union, to take up Mumia's defense. Neither the LAC nor the SL participants supported the reformist resolutions. But then the SL didn't support our resolution "For a Nationwide Day of Labor Action for Mumia!" in which we prevailed against an attempt to substitute "new trial" for "free" Mumia.

Kinder, by the way under the name Knox, was WV editor in 1971-72 and then Trade Union Director of the SL/U.S. in the '70s. He was the author of a seminal document on "Communist Work in the Trade Unions" and a series on "Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions," published in 1973, which along with Trotsky's Transitional Program served to guide the work of building class-struggle caucuses in the unions and recruiting workers to the then-revolutionary Spartacist League. But the SL has long-since abandoned building militant union caucuses. I challenge you to let your readers read Kinder's letter to WV.

One has to ask, what is the purpose of this skewed and dishonest reporting? It is to excuse your own zigzagging and a kind of paralytic abstentionism from the class struggle that has characterized the SL increasingly in recent years and to disparage those who carry on your principled, earlier trade union work.

Your reply to my recent letter refers readers to your article "A Hard Look at Recent Party Work and Current Tasks" (WV #841, 4 February 2005). Your reaction to the April 1999 port shutdown was yet another example of what you called there "stodgy demoralized sectarianism." But there is another issue here. What is written in WV and what SL supporters do in practice are often quite different. This is a hallmark of centrists, who "talk the talk but can't walk the walk." WV #862 (20 January 2006), for example, quotes a speech by Rachel Wolkenstein, staff counsel of the PDC, who said: "Imagine what it would mean if New York transit struck—not only to secure a decent wage, health care and job conditions, but to demand Mumia's freedom." So have transit workers who are SL political supporters fought for the union to strike for Mumia's freedom?

In our exchanges over the last several years, I've challenged you to show where SL supporters in the trade unions have called for work stoppages to defend Mumia, i.e. unleashing the social power of the proletariat. This is especially of critical importance today when various liberals and reformists are pushing the dangerous illusion in the capitalist courts that Mumia is "one court decision away from either execution or a new trial and freedom." Your latest response is that my challenge is an "ignorant statement that conflates the trade unions—the mass organizations of the working class for their defense against the capitalists—with a revolutionary Marxist political party."

You add, "If we had influence in the unions," then you would "fight it out over what kind of actions the unions should undertake to win Mumia's freedom." This is a new twist, and one that is apparently being used to justify the SL's capitulation to union bureaucrats. In response to a letter from the SL supporter mentioned earlier, WV #872 (9 June 2006), where he asks why the SL leaflet on the transit strike doesn't criticize TWU head Toussaint, who was obviously prepared to sell out the strike from the beginning, you write: "The leaflet did not directly attack Toussaint. Since we could not point to an alternative leadership of the strike, to do so would only have served to weaken the strike."

This is astounding. Leave aside the fact that the later dates from December, and you are only now answering it, indicating that you have had a whole discussion about this policy. So now you are not going to criticize union leaders during a strike until there is an alternative leadership? What about the numerous WV articles about the 1978-79 coal miners strike slamming the sellout leadership of Arnold Miller? Was there an "alternative leadership" in the UMWA then? Who? And calling for union action to defend Mumia is wrong until you have "influence in the unions"? This is quite a self-indictment, since SL supporters have been in New York transit for more than a quarter century. But do they fight for leadership, or for union action? For Mumia's freedom? For workers' strikes against the war? Apparently not.

The threat of repression against the transit union over the December 2005 was very real. And the best way to counter that was to spread the strike, which even a relatively small class-struggle opposition could have done, which would have meant a fight against the Toussaint leadership (and a challenge to the anti-Toussaint dissidents who complained about his do-nothing leadership but did nothing themselves). In the wake of the New York transit strike, WV launched a campaign to appeal to union bureaucrats to sign a petition (no union action required) to defend Toussaint and oppose the fine against the union. A united-front defense is supportable, but is no substitute for a class-struggle caucus to fight the bosses, the state and the class-collaborationist union bureaucracy.

Nowadays, the Spartacist League has opted for "softer" defensive postures in the trade unions. In the ILWU's contract struggle in 2002, you took a similar tack, warning against state repression while soft-peddling criticism of the social-patriotic, business union bureaucracy. You didn't even call for rejection of the concessionary contract or preparation for strike action, saying that "If workers in one of the most powerful unions in the country feel they have little choice but to vote for this contract, it is a searing indictment of the labor bureaucracy" (WV #795, 17 January 2003)!

With its obsession of defense work over other aspects of party work, one has to ask: Has the PDC eaten the SL?

All this adds up to a hard right turn by the Spartacist League, and not just on the trade unions. In WV #868 (14 April 2006) you call for "the right of self-determination" for Puerto Rico, without mentioning that the SL used to call flat out for independence for that U.S. colony. When I was an organizer in the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union, a class-struggle opposition group supported by the SL, "independence for Puerto Rico" was a key demand in our internationalist program, understandably because there was a large number of Puerto Ricans working aboard ships. Dust off the archival copies of "The Beacon" and let your younger members see what class-struggle work in the trade unions looked like.

Mobilize Labor Action to
Free Mumia!
Jack Heyman

***WV* replies:**

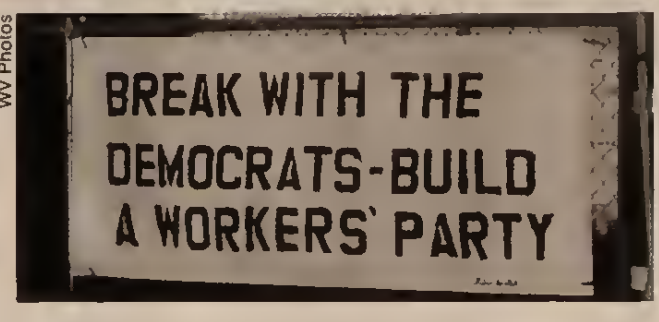
It seems that we stung Jack Heyman with our answer to his previous letter. For years an International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10 official, Heyman is particularly exercised by our exposure of his opportunism over the October 2004 Million Worker March (MWM). As we wrote in "Million Worker March: Tail of Lesser-Evilism" (*WV* No. 831, 3 September 2004) and "Exchange on the Million Worker March" (*WV* No. 834, 15 October 2004), left-talking elements in the labor bureaucracy built a facade of working-class "independence" for a demonstration whose purpose was to corral disaffected workers into voting for John Kerry. Chris Silvera of the Teamsters made this clear at the time in a letter posted on the MWM Web site, declaring: "The Million Worker March is a crucial vehicle for voter mobilization."

Heyman is like a bad carpenter who keeps hitting his thumb instead of the nails. Now he tells us that some nine months after the event—when AFL-CIO bureaucrats themselves had awakened with bad hangovers after backing the loser Kerry—he saw the light and realized that the MWM was not "a genuinely independent political mobilization of the working class." This is sheer cynicism. Heyman continued to be an active builder of the MWM even after Democratic politician Jesse Jackson was invited to speak at the rally. And barely three weeks before Heyman "publicly stated" his about-face, he had written an article, dated 14 June 2005, for *Socialist Viewpoint* (July-August 2005) that still described the MWM as "an independent mobilization of workers"!

Heyman's story about the workers party banner at the MWM is beyond pathetic. He worked with a union activist—who has also worked with the SL for many years—to make the banner and bring it to D.C. with them. On site, as Heyman helped mount several official ILWU and MWM banners, the workers party banner never saw the light of day. Seems that when Heyman arrived at the demo, he just got cold feet. And now he leaves this union activist holding the bag for Heyman's own opportunism. (How seriously Heyman takes the call for a workers party can be seen in the inane slogan that concludes his *Maritime Worker Monitor* No. 7, 13 October 2004: "Build a Workers Party to Fight for Workers!")

As for Heyman's truly skewed and dishonest rendition of the ILWU's 1984 *Nedlloyd Kimberley* ship boycott, we refer readers to our article on page 8. The article also recounts Heyman's role in the 24

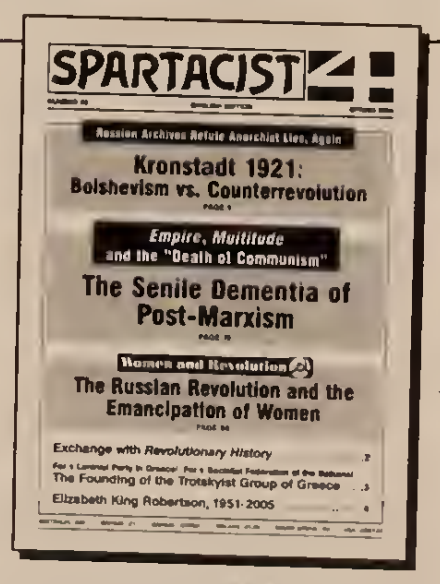
continued on page 14



WV Photos

Above: ILWU banners at October 2004 Million Worker March rally in Washington, D.C. Right: *WV* photo of the banner Heyman kept in the bag.

No. 58, Spring 2004, $1.50 (60 pages)



No. 59, Spring 2006, $1.50 (56 pages)

Order from: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Jack Heyman: "In the Bag"

Article from *WV* No. 864
17 February 2006

$.50

Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opportunist...

(continued from page 13)

April 1999 "Millions for Mumia" protest and ILWU stop-work action. Heyman initiated the ILWU motion that explicitly endorsed the Millions for Mumia rally with its central demand for a "new trial," a fact he continues to slither around. We have commented extensively on this matter in "Fight Government Repression!" (*WV* No. 859, 25 November 2005) and "Jack Heyman: 'In the Bag'" (*WV* No. 864, 17 February). Readers are also referred to the article cited by Heyman, "A Hard Look at Recent Party Work and Current Tasks," which acknowledges our mistake in not fielding "Free Mumia" contingents at the April 1999 rallies. The article also acknowledges that rather than commend the stop-work action as a taste of the kind of social power needed for Mumia's defense, "we effectively equated the action with Heyman's pandering to the call for a 'new trial'." These articles are posted on the ICL Web site.

Heyman complains that the inclusion of his name on a list of "Labor Organizations Calling for a New Trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal" was due to an "error" committed by one of his allies. Does this ring a bell? At any rate, Heyman's appearance on that list was perfectly consistent with his ILWU motion. What Heyman did on the Millions for Mumia rally podium was typical of his opportunist m.o.: He threw out some left-sounding talk without saying a word against the "new trial" demand that promotes faith in the capitalist courts. Five years later, at the MWM, Heyman worked some verbiage into his speech about a workers party as a left cover for a pro-Democratic Party mobilization.

Who is Heyman to pose as a spokesman for "those who carry on your principled, earlier trade union work"? At one time Heyman was a member of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC), a class-struggle opposition in the National Maritime Union whose work was politically supported by the SL. But that was then. Heyman long ago abandoned a class-struggle perspective, becoming instead a house leftist for the ILWU tops. His occasional militant rhetoric serves only to cover the union bureaucracy's policies of class collaboration.

A case in point is his *San Francisco Chronicle* (5 March) op-ed piece, "When 'Port Security' Targets Workers." Heyman notes that the hysteria over "port security" has been a battering ram against the longshoremen and their union. But this is window-dressing for his conclusion: "Real port security means inspecting all containers offloaded and ending imperialist wars abroad that spawn terrorists, not stifling the free-speech rights of those who work in the ports." Here is pure Heymanism: mouthing progressive sentiments about ending imperialist wars while reassuring the government and his employers that he is in favor of one of the main planks of the "war on terror." No wonder he denigrates our work in defense of labor and democratic rights in this period as an "obsession."

This consummate labor faker complains about our reply to a letter we printed in our last issue where we explained why an SL leaflet issued in support of the December NYC transit strike did not go after Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president Roger Toussaint. It is "astounding," Heyman blusters, for us to assert that it would only have weakened the strike to directly attack Toussaint when he and the union were under attack by the bourgeois state for having defied the Taylor Law, and when we could not point to an alternative leadership.

During the 1966 TWU strike, a Spartacist leaflet was issued after the arrest of Mike Quill and other TWU leaders, calling on all unionists to support the strike—including by engaging in sympathy strikes against the injunctions and arrests—and raising such demands as a shorter workweek to create more jobs. The leaflet did *not* directly attack Quill, who was a notorious anti-Communist and local bigwig in the Democratic Party. In a New York Spartacist League Local meeting, a motion by Harry Turner objecting that the leaflet did not single out the Quill leadership for criticism was defeated. Quill died shortly after his release from jail and was considered a labor hero for the strike.

A contrary experience occurred in 1937 when Socialist Labor Party (SLP) supporters distributed a leaflet to steel workers at Indiana Harbor, near Chicago, in the midst of an industry-wide union organizing drive. Workers incensed at the leaflet's attack on John L. Lewis for being a murderous labor bureaucrat (true enough) not unreasonably thought that the SLPers were anti-union, particularly as their attack echoed the steel bosses' vituperations against Lewis. Trotskyist militants at the time defended the SLPers by pointing out that they were not enemies but simple-minded sectarians.

Heyman throws out a red herring by contrasting our 2005 TWU strike leaflet with *WV*'s coverage of the 1977-78 coal strike and our treatment of United Mine Workers leader Arnold Miller. During the nearly four-month-long coal strike, miners increasingly reviled Miller for his attempts to sell them out. They demanded his resignation, stormed the union headquarters and sent him into hiding. Unlike the transit strike, it wasn't the state that was screaming for Miller's head but the union members! As for Heyman's complaint that we don't sufficiently criticize the union bureaucrats, he sure howls when we criticize him.

Heyman charges the SL with "abstentionism" because, for example, we do not currently urge our supporters in the unions to launch oppositional caucuses. Supporters of our views seek to win co-workers to the urgent need for class struggle against the capitalist exploiters and for the complete independence of the working class from all agencies of the class enemy. A caucus is specifically an internal union formation to vie for leadership of the union.

In the late 1960s-early '70s, at a time of heightened social and labor struggle, the SL's growth and transformation into a fighting propaganda group laid the basis for extending our efforts in support of class-struggle caucuses in the unions. The Militant-Solidarity Caucus, for one, was defined by its programmatically based opposition to the corrupt NMU leadership under Joe Curran. The M-SC raised a program of transitional demands, including for a workers party and a workers government, and was known for its opposition to the bureaucracy's protectionist calls to "save American jobs."

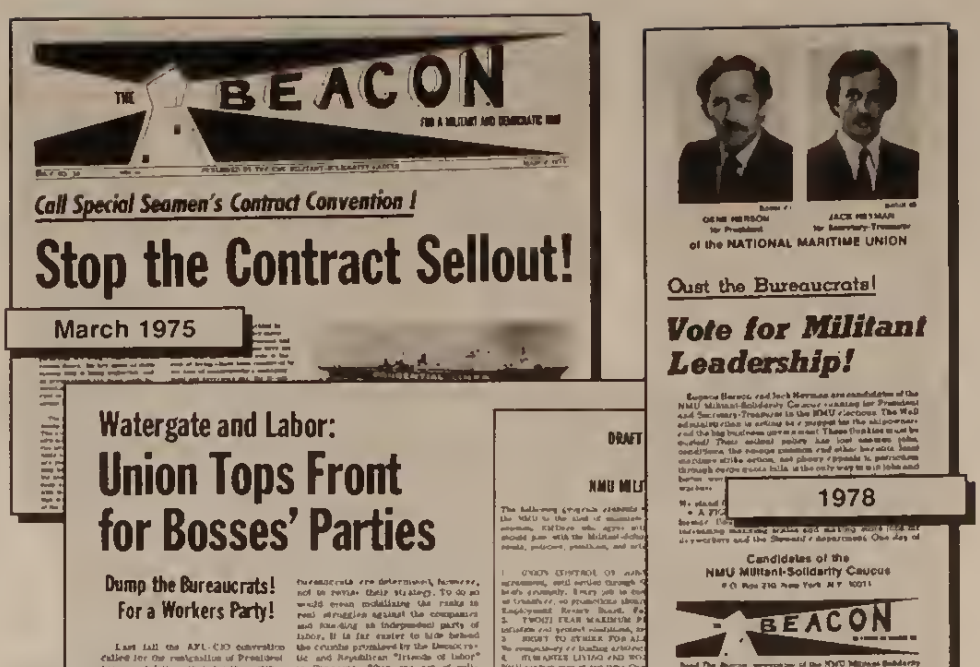
This is in marked contrast to what Heyman appears to want us to do in TWU Local 100, which is to vilify Toussaint in the midst of the transit strike. In the NMU, the opposition led by James Morrissey centered its campaigns on the Curran regime's corruption and violence. Morrissey early on suffered a vicious beating by Curran's goons and increasingly turned to the capitalist courts in his drive to oust Curran. Heyman used to be a member of the M-SC, so he should know better.

Today we are faced with a different conjuncture than in the '60s and '70s. Decades of capitalist attacks, combined with the effects of deindustrialization in the U.S., have greatly set back the unions. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 has served to throw back proletarian consciousness generally, albeit unevenly. Under these conditions, for two or three supporters lacking a solid programmatic base of support to form a caucus would serve to unnecessarily set them up for victimization and/or lead to their accommodation to the labor tops, likely through a bloc with trade-union careerists. Heyman has taken the latter course, as exemplified by his support for Brian McWilliams for ILWU International president in 2000 despite McWilliams' explicit support for the capitalist Democratic Party.

The fight for a new labor leadership based on a class-struggle program and the principle of working-class political independence is essential if the unions are to be transformed from serving as a secondary instrument of capitalist-imperialism for disciplining the workers into organs of the revolutionary struggle of the workers. But the forms this effort takes are not and cannot be the same in all periods or in all unions. A relevant historical example is the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) founded by the Workers (Communist) Party in the early 1920s. The TUEL was launched in the period marked by the victory of proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917. Its purpose was not to contest for leadership in the unions but to educate workers in the program and principles of the October Revolution, seeking to recruit the more conscious workers to the revolutionary party.

In today's period defined by "death of communism" ideology, basic Marxist education, including through struggle, is the order of the day. One vehicle for such education is the Labor Black Leagues, which are currently engaged in the urgent effort to mobilize labor's power in the struggle for Mumia Abu-Jamal's freedom. Heyman can rest assured that supporters of our views in the unions are actively engaged in this work, which is vital to winning workers to the understanding that the fight for black emancipation is central to the emancipation of the entire working class.

As a Marxist propaganda group committed to building a revolutionary workers party, our task is to lay the political groundwork for the emergence of a class-struggle leadership in the unions when the inevitable upsurges in struggle occur, propelling workers toward an alternative to the pro-capitalist misleaders. This perspective will be carried out in sharp opposition to the likes of Heyman, who, as we observed in "In the Bag," "reveals himself as nothing more than a component of the labor bureaucracy whose support to the capitalist profit system has sapped the workers' fighting spirit in the face of the bosses' one-sided class war over the past several decades."■



***The Beacon*, newspaper of Militant-Solidarity Caucus of National Maritime Union, raised class-struggle program and called for a workers party. Above right: 1978 M-SC union election brochure.**

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Video Showing: *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*

BOSTON
Spartacus Youth Club Event
Thursday, July 13, 6 p.m.
56 Brattle St.
Room B-2
(Harvard T stop on the Red Line)
For more information: (617) 666-9453
or e-mail: bostonsyc@yahoo.com

NEW YORK
Labor Black League & Spartacus Youth Club Event
Sunday, July 23, 6:30 p.m.
Carlito's Cafe y Galeria
1701 Lexington Avenue
(between 106th and 107th St.; 6 train to 103rd St.)
For more information: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Roundup...

(continued from page 16)

Herb Boyd wrote in the *Amsterdam News* (29 June) about the Miami Seven case: "You don't have to recall the machinations of Cointelpro that helped facilitate the destruction of the Black Panther Party to feel the hot breath of entrapment.... It was even more disturbing to hear a commentator...state that the African American community is stocked with a veritable reservoir of young Black men who would be susceptible to the inducement of al Qaeda."

Miami's Liberty City is one of this country's many decaying urban ghettos. The area first became nationally known in 1980, when the city exploded after five white cops were acquitted for beating to death a black man. The resulting upsurge ended in 855 arrests and 18 deaths. Today across America, over 900,000 black men and women, including one out of every eight black men between the ages of 25 and 29, are in prison, mainly victims of the "war on drugs." "We used to have agents and confidential informants creating drug deals in Liberty City. Now it looks like they are creating homegrown cells," observed David O. Markus of the Florida Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers (*Miami Herald*, 25 June).

Conspiracy and Entrapment

"Conspiracy" is what the government uses to nail anyone it wants to silence yet can't charge with a single demonstrable criminal act. Organizing against slavery was "conspiratorial," and labor unions used to be considered illegal conspiracies in this country.

Homeland Security's supposed "triumphs" in its endless "war on terror" are based on pure entrapment—which means, legally, that the state itself is the *main instigator* of the crime for which it then arrests others. In late May in New York City, Shahawar Matin Siraj was convicted of supposedly plotting to blow up the Herald Square subway station. He was entrapped by a well-paid informer who had been sniffing around Brooklyn mosques. The Brooklyn Bay Ridge Muslim community is so riddled with not-so-undercover spies that, as one high school teacher said, "It's like a police state here" (*New York Times*, 27 May).

In California, the government claimed it had broken up "an al-Qaida terrorist cell" (*Sacramento Bee*, 10 June 2005) in the small city of Lodi. In fact, two Pakistani Americans, ice-cream truck driver Umer Hayat and his son Hamid Hayat, were victimized by an FBI anti-Muslim witchhunt. An FBI informant managed to milk over $200,000 from the Feds for his bizarre stories, including that he'd seen Al Qaeda's second-in-command, Egyptian Ayman al-Zawahiri, at the Lodi mosque! This paid provocateur was the government's star witness against the Hayats, who were browbeaten into "confessing" to various FBI-concocted terror training scenarios, all of which they later recanted. Hamid Hayat was convicted and now faces up to 39 years in prison. (His father's case ended with a hung jury.)

The Canadian state has decided to ramp up its own sting operations. On June 2-3, 17 Muslims, mainly youth, were arrested in Toronto, denied the right to meet privately with their lawyers, and charged with plotting attacks in southern Ontario, another classic case of the state manufacturing a terrorism scare to intimidate the population. As far as we can tell (given that the Canadian state can keep the evidence secret in the name of "national security" and the media is forbidden to write about the court proceedings), the only "evidence" against most of these youth is that they played paintball and, in yet another sting operation, bought fertilizer from a Mountie!

Meanwhile, right next to Liberty City in Miami lie plush enclaves inhabited by actual, certifiable terrorists: the counterrevolutionary Cuban American *gusanos*, who really do have the "material resources" (supplied by the CIA among others) to launch massive terrorist attacks. The American government and its *gusano* allies long to reconquer Cuba for capitalist exploitation. The same day as the Liberty City sweep, a former member of the Cuhan American National Foundation openly bragged that his group, supplied with an arsenal that included a cargo helicopter, ten ultralight radio-controlled planes, seven vessels and abundant explosive materials, had planned to attack Cuba and assassinate Fidel Castro (*Miami Herald* online, 22 June).

AP

Hundreds remain in detention at U.S. torture center in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

Despite its scare tactics, the Bush administration's drive for police-state powers has met some roadblocks. On June 29 the Supreme Court ruled that the administration's military tribunals for Guantánamo detainees violated both federal and international law. Afterward, New York Senator Charles Schumer said that had the administration "come to Congress a few years ago on this issue, my guess is they would have gotten most of what they wanted" (*New York Times*, 3 July). Now, led by Republican Senator Arlen Specter, key members of Congress have started work on legislation that would give the Bush administration a slightly modified version of the military tribunals it wants.

Both the bourgeois courts and capitalist politicians, Democrat and Republican alike, defend the interests of U.S. imperialism and its repressive state apparatus, whatever their temporary differences. We need to build a revolutionary workers party dedicated to the overthrow of this barbaric system and to the establishment of workers rule to remove from power the most bloodthirsty danger to all humanity: the U.S. ruling class. ***Dawn with the "war on terror"! Free all the detainees! U.S. aut af Guantánamo!*** ■

New Orleans...

(continued from page 16)

across the board due to difficulty in attracting enough workers. Locals including blacks are finally getting work on the canal repairs and debris collection crews. The Port of New Orleans with its long-unionized, heavily black workforce, has been up and running full speed since shortly after the storm. The situation is ripe for badly needed multiracial unionization in this historically under-unionized town.

More evacuees returned to town in April and more still with the end of the school year in June. But the ongoing housing shortage is keeping many away. Rents have doubled due to the huge reduction in housing stock. Especially affected are poor and low-wage working people, families with children, and the elderly. One hundred twenty-five thousand homes were damaged or destroyed, and over 300,000 people exiled. Mail delivery is promised to resume in the flooded areas as of the end of June (ten months after the flood!). Where phone and electricity service is restored in the 80 percent of town that flooded, it is a Sometime Thing.

Last year there were 54,000 public school students. The school year ended in June with 9,000. All but a tiny fraction of these are in union-busting "charter schools" with entrance requirements and tests that most N.O. public school kids couldn't possibly pass. The only regular public schools open did so in response to parents' lawsuits. Uncounted numbers of kids are back and not enrolled in any school.

Public housing residents have gotten the brunt of the racist "blacks stay away" barrage. During the recent mayoral election, black Democratic City Council president Oliver Thomas called project residents "soap opera watchers" and declared that only those who could prove they had jobs would be permitted to return. A Houston news editorial replied to Oliver saying that Houston took in all your citizens without discrimination, do you mean to say you won't take them back?

Mayoral candidate and Republican former City Councilwoman Peggy Wilson repeatedly denounced project residents as "pimps and welfare queens." Another candidate, Rob Couhig, called for the "culture of entitlement to be replaced with the culture of self-reliance." These latter two quotes roughly reflect the menu on the race question to be found in the bourgeois Republican and Democratic parties: do you want your white racism served straight up, or do you want it in code words?

Let there be no mistake. Projects are populated by the working poor, the elderly who used to be the working poor, low-wage single mothers and kids, and the disabled. Far from being criminals, they are mostly victimized by criminals. It would be hard to find a project resident who in his or her lifetime hasn't worked harder than the whole City Council and bushel of mayoral candidates put together.

Alphonso Jackson, Bush's Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), took up the racist cudgel next. He stated some months back that only "the best people" should be allowed to return to the housing projects. Evacuees in Houston responded by printing T-shirts proclaiming "Best of the Best" and verbally denouncing the Feds at public meetings. Jackson recently announced a plan to demolish four huge housing projects totaling 5,000 units, none with flood damage above the first floor. St. Bernard Avenue housing project residents and supporters have set up a tent camp called "Survivor Village" with protest signs just outside the newly fenced-off project. They aptly note the entire first floors could have been cleaned and gutted for what has been spent on fences and devices barring entry. A group of public housing residents just filed a discrimination suit against HUD and HANO (Housing Authority of N.O.) for refusing residents' return.

As for the elderly, the Katrina death count recently rose by nearly a third when 32 states reported Katrina-related deaths-in-exile. These were overwhelmingly the elderly and ill. Ripped from their familiar homes and support systems, hundreds of them went down the tubes fast. These are a few: Clarence Gatemouth Brown, internationally famous R&B guitarist who was performing and recording right up to the storm, died at age 80 in Texas, where he had evacuated, when he learned that his Slidell, LA home and everything in it was lost. So did a 90-year-old widow and Holocaust concentration camp survivor when she heard her N.O. home of 60 years was lost. Leslie Austin, the real-life restaurateur model for the TV show *Frank's Restaurant*, died of a heart attack in exile. Shebie Kimbrough, Grammy award winning drummer for Professor Longhair, had been playing right up to the storm but died in a nursing home within a month of a harrowing evacuation from his senior housing project.

Fats Domino, 78, survived being pulled from floodwaters in his 9th Ward home where he lost all his treasured pianos, awards and belongings, but he has been too fragile to play publicly ever since.

Everybody now knows the flood damage and resulting death count was caused not by Katrina but by the staggering incompetence and discontinuity of the canal work done over many years and many presidential administrations by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Not a head has rolled in the Corps for this. The same guys who did it are the ones fixing it.

This tragedy was criminally aggravated by the federal government's racist refusal to come in and rescue the stranded, dying and desperate citizens for four fateful days. They barred the Red Cross and other rescuers from entering. The smirking and egregious Michael Brown of FEMA was the only sacrificial lamb. "Homeland Security" still ensures security only for Bush and Friends, and does unprecedented trampling on the liberties of the rest of the population.

New Orleans remains endangered in the coming hurricane season by the unrepaired infrastructure, lack of a realistic evacuation plan still, the failure to fix the city's burned-out pumping stations, and the too-little-too-late approach to fixing the canals.

This manmade disaster has put into stark relief the bankruptcy of the capitalist system and the twin capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. It will take the building of strong, fighting labor unions and a workers party to lead a socialist revolution to smash racial oppression, sweep away the rule of the rich, and establish a workers state.

Ruth
New Orleans

P.S. Thank you for the excellent New Orleans coverage in your April 14 issue, better said than I ever could. I will attest to the authenticity of the interview with the heroic longshoreman who commandeered a boat to rescue people in the absence of any police or military. He was one of many, and that is exactly how it happened. ■

Spartacist/SYC Forum

Against Capitalists' Divide-and-Rule!

The Fight for Immigrant Rights and Black Liberation

Break with the Democrats! Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!
For United Class Struggle Against the Capitalist Rulers!

Speaker: Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee

Thursday, July 27, 7 p.m.
322 W. 48th St., 1st Floor
between 8th and 9th Ave.
(A, C or E to 42nd St., or C or E to 50th St.)

For more information: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

NEW YORK

WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist "Anti-Terror" Roundup in Florida

On June 22, Federal agents and the Miami police SWAT team swarmed through the black ghetto of Liberty City, cordoning off several blocks and blowtorching the door of a warehouse. Following this "gangbusters" stunt, seven young black men, six of Haitian origin, were arrested on a series of fantastical charges—including plotting to blow up Chicago's 110-story Sears Tower and FBI buildings. Narseal Batiste, Patrick Abraham, Naudimar Herrera, Burson Augustin, Rotschild Augustine, Lyglenson Lemorin and Stanley Grant Phanor now face decades in prison, victims of a racist and outrageous government entrapment operation.

A dramatic announcement by FBI director Robert Mueller on *Larry King Live* and press conferences trumpeted the arrests, seeking to whip up a frenzy of fear, as images of the Sears Tower were all over TV. Attorney General Alberto Gonzales labeled the Liberty City men "a new brand" of "homegrown terrorists." What he meant was, they're all black people. Immediately after the September 11 attacks, we warned that the government would wield "the all-purpose spectre of 'terrorism' to further the exploitation of labor and the vicious racial subjugation of the black population, to round up immigrants and to target any perceived opponents of the bourgeoisie's class rule" ("Crazed Imperialists on the Warpath," *WV* No. 767, 26 October 2001). The "war on terror" is not a military conflict but a reactionary political agenda for U.S. imperialist marauding internationally coupled with repression at home. It has become yet another stick to beat the black population with, a population already suffering daily cop terror in racist America.

Loomis/NY Times Getty

Family members grieve (left) after racist "anti-terror" roundup in Miami's Liberty City ghetto by FBI on June 22 (right).

It instantly became obvious that the only "link" the Miami arrestees ever had to any "terrorist" organization was, in fact, *created* by an FBI informant pretending to be an Al Qaeda agent during the eight-month-long sting operation. Even Gonzales admitted that the men posed "no immediate threat," while the deputy director of the FBI allowed that the group's alleged plotting was "more aspirational than operational." They were a loose, apparently eclectic religious grouping with no money, let alone explosives.

Behind the government's absurd tales stands unrelenting state cruelty. These young men face spending up to 20 years in prison, as they are charged with conspiring to provide material support to a terrorist organization, conspiracy to destroy buildings by use of explosives and conspiracy to levy war against the United States. We say, free them and drop the charges!

Black People Targeted by "War on Terror"

A "guest expert" on CNN's *Anderson Cooper 360* speculated on possible connections with "black separatist" organizations, outrageously claiming, "especially the African-American community in prison...have been fertile recruiting grounds for Al Qaeda." Black journalist

continued on page 15

From Military-Occupied New Orleans

30 June 2006

Dear *WV*,

I'm writing from military-occupied New Orleans. The National Guard and State Police have been sent into town and a juvenile curfew imposed, because as far as the bourgeois state is concerned, a few too many black people have returned.

Letter

The immediate excuse was five black teenagers being gunned down in a car in Central City in apparent retribution for a previous drug deal gone bad. Rural Slidell across the lake just had a drug-related slaughter of four people, but nobody called for the National Guard to go there. And since when did the government care about the lives of black youth being lost? Louisiana ranks 49th out of the 50 states in all measures of child welfare, from premature birth to death by murder.

Rather this is a crackdown in what has become a largely Wild West town with little police presence. Most of all, it is a line drawn at gunpoint to emphasize official hostility against the "wrong people," i.e., black people returning home. This coincides with an ongoing campaign of roundups and deportations of Latino work crews shaping up for work in the early mornings at the local Lowe's and Home Depots.

On June 7, the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* published a front-page large-print article on a (six-month-old) census report subtitled, "We're Whiter, We're Older, We're More Affluent." This may be good news to some old, rich white people, but not to anyone else. Besides, the count of who has returned is a moving target. Many evacuees have come back to stay somewhere nearby, across the river or in the next parish (county). Only two of my Gentilly neighbors are back in their own houses, but most of the rest are here on weekdays or weekends staying in FEMA trailers, staying with friends or relatives, working on their ravaged houses and trying to find a way to move back home for good.

Reuters

June 20: National Guard troops march in New Orleans.

To the consternation of the older-whiter-richer crowd, black Democratic mayor Ray Nagin was re-elected in the April runoff. Not because of the absentee ballot which was made nearly impossible to file, but because just enough black evacuees made it back here by hook or by crook to vote in person. They came in ACORN-sponsored buses, they came in family cars and caravans, from Houston, from Dallas, they came for Easter, they came because they were homesick. They didn't particularly come to vote for Nagin, as shown by exit interviews and polls. They said they came because "people died for my right to vote" and because "This is my home and nobody can take it away."

Nagin was the accidental and undeserving beneficiary of these sentiments and only because there was no one else. And not least of all, in protest against the 22 mostly white candidates who came out of the woodwork thinking a whiter population would elect them. A local black columnist, son of civil rights attorney Lolis Elie, wrote that black New Orleanians were loath to publicly "spank" the mayor especially in concert with white racists.

As of January the population of Orleans Parish remained reduced by a whopping 64 percent. Then in January, the college students returned, or 80 percent of them anyway. They came back to Tulane, Xavier, University of New Orleans, Loyola, Delgado Community College, and even the tiny flooded black Dillard University, which holds classes at the Riverside Hilton. Quite remarkable, since colleges and universities everywhere in the U.S. including the Ivy Leagues gave free tuition for the entire year to any New Orleans student who showed up at their door in September. Eighty percent of the students gave that up after one semester to return to ravaged New Orleans.

The construction and demolition crews are another big part of the re-population, adding to the Old West feeling. Cowboy boots and oversized work trucks with Texas plates are everywhere. N.O. and its cuisine stand to be permanently improved by the influx of Latino workers living in tents, sleeping in their trucks, and in the buildings they are gutting. Without them, there would be no residential roofs or sheetrock going up anywhere in town. Taco trucks and Mexican restaurants are springing up. Wages have increased

continued on page 15

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 874 | GCU C-701 | 4 August 2006

U.S. Out of Iraq! Hands Off Syria, Iran!

Down With Zionist Onslaught Against Lebanon, Gaza!

Reuters

Silva/NY Times

Southern suburb of Beirut devastated by Israeli bombardment, July 20. Inset: Lebanese man carrying dead child in southern town of Qana, where a July 30 Israeli airstrike killed some 60 people, including numerous children.

No to Imperialist "Peacekeepers"! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

AUGUST 1—In the bloodiest massacre of almost three weeks of relentless Israeli bombardment, some 60 people, including many children, were killed on July 30 in a bombing attack on the Lebanese village of Qana. Qana is the same village that Israel struck in 1996, murdering over 100 refugees in a United Nations compound. Among those who died in Qana this time around were the most helpless of southern Lebanon's suffering population—those too poor, too young, too old or too sick to escape the region. The 48-hour "halt" in aerial bombardment that Israel announced following the Qana slaughter was in fact a continuation of airstrikes and an expansion of the ground offensive. As we go to press, up to 10,000 Israeli troops are pushing into Lebanon.

The devastation of Lebanon is staggering: upwards of 750 people slaughtered; power stations, factories and entire neighborhoods leveled; over 800,000, nearly a fifth of the population, forced to flee their homes. The pretext for this carnage was the July 12 ambush by the Shi'ite fundamentalist Hezbollah of an Israeli border patrol, killing eight soldiers and capturing two. The Zionist rulers began their offensive by imposing a sea and air blockade and destroying roads leading to Syria, effectively trapping the population while turning Lebanon into a free-fire zone.

This is what U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice celebrated as the "birth pangs of a new Middle East." A retired Israeli commander threatened: "Israel is attempting to create a rift between the Lebanese population and Hezbollah supporters by exacting a heavy price from the elite in Beirut. The message is: If you want your air conditioning to work and if you want to be able to fly to Paris for shopping, you must pull your head out of the sand and take action toward shutting down Hezbollah-land" (*Washington Post* online, 19 July).

Clearly, if Israel is the mother of this barbaric onslaught, U.S. imperialism is the father. Having armed Israel to the hilt over the years, Washington has opposed calls for an immediate cease-fire and rushed a shipment of precision satellite and laser-guided bombs to Israel in support of its bombing campaign. On July 18 the U.S. Senate passed a ***unanimous*** resolution endorsing Israel's onslaught. Meanwhile, Israel's brutal offensive against the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip continues, with more tanks rampaging through Gaza and continued airstrikes and massacres, including some 24 Palestinians killed on July 26. At least 159 have been killed since the Zionist offensive began on June 28, while Palestinians starve as what remains of Gaza's infrastructure is decimated.

The U.S. seeks to build its "new Middle East" by stamping out any regime that does not bow to its dictates, and by fully backing Israel's assaults against Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in the Occupied Territories. The U.S. is embroiled in its bloody occupations in Afghanistan and Iraq while openly targeting Iran and Syria for "regime change." With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the U.S. imperialists proclaimed a "New World Order," and in 2001 declared an unlimited global "war on terror" as a pretext for unbridled imperialist depredation and attacks on the population at home. Washington has openly declared several countries, including the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states, to be on its nuclear "first strike" list.

Hezbollah's success so far in resisting the Israeli ground assault has been a shock to the Israeli rulers' self-image as invincible warriors. On July 29, Israel pulled its troops back from the Lebanese border town of Bint Jbail after days of fierce fighting. The *New York Times* (30 July) described the combat around that hilltop town last Wednesday: "A well-laid Hezbollah ambush pinned down infantrymen from the elite Golani Brigade for hours. At times the firing was so heavy the brigade's soldiers could not return it; eight Israelis were killed. The highly advanced Merkava tanks were reduced to ambulances and several were destroyed." Against Israel's attacks on Lebanon, we stand in military defense of Hezbollah without giving that reactionary fundamentalist outfit any political support whatsoever.

The imperialists are now jockeying over proposals, supported by President Bush and British prime minister Tony Blair last week, to send troops to occupy southern Lebanon, where Hezbollah is based. France, Italy, Germany and Turkey have said they are considering participation in a UN-sponsored force. And Hezbollah itself has signed on to a Lebanese government proposal for (some sort of) international military force to occupy the south following a cease-fire.

The International Communist League has intervened in protests against Israel's offensive in cities in Europe, the U.S., Canada and Australia, putting forward our perspective for proletarian internationalist defense of the Palestinians and the peoples of Lebanon and for a socialist federation of the Near East. Our comrades underlined our opposition to any imperialist military force being sent into Lebanon, whether under the banner of NATO, the UN or some other "multinational" force. In contrast, pseudo-Marxist groups have issued groveling appeals to the imperialists—either their "own" governments or the UN—to intervene into Lebanon or to pressure Washington to pressure Tel Aviv into a cease-fire.

At a July 18 demonstration in Paris, the speaker from the French Communist Party demanded that the Chirac government and the European Union support sending a UN-backed military force to Lebanon. Alain Krivine's pseudo-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, while opposing

continued on page 13

7 25274 81030 7 31

Exchange on Iraq Occupation

This letter was received via e-mail on June 28.

Letter on Haditha: The long, low swan-song of Trotskyism?

My dear former comrades,

Well into the U.S. occupation of Iraq, I wrote you with a critique of your military support for the Iraqi resistance, to which you graciously responded [see "An Exchange on the Iraq 'Resistance'," *WV* No. 847, 29 April 2005].

Your recent article on the massacre in Haditha raises some issues anew [see "U.S. Imperialism's Massacre in Haditha," *WV* No. 872, 9 June]. Specifically, the equation of US policy in the Korean and Vietnam counterinsurgencies with US policy today in invading and occupying Iraq.

Your equation of such historical phenomena to present reality conceals more than it reveals, and suggests the possibility of Trotskyism becoming, at best, a fossil, much like the DeLeonists of the US Socialist Labor Party became after the Russian Revolution, i.e., remaining correct in a way that has become so occult and needs so much qualification as to be rendered irrelevant—and that, ultimately, becomes wrong. Your slogans and orientation in the present are based on a decidedly past historical epoch, the time before the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Now, as opposed to the example of DeLeonism, I would like the opportunity to suggest another, less exotic, and more problematic eventuality that might be in store for you on your present course, which is that of a creeping centrism (a creeping ISO-ism, for example).

AP

Marines brutalize Iraqis in Falluja, November 2004.

To say that imperialist occupations are brutal is one thing; to say (in retrospect) that the US massacred civilians mercilessly during the Korean counterinsurgency because they "hated" Koreans and not because they were attempting to fight back a social revolution, and to suggest that the US troops' role in Iraq is primarily to kill Iraqis indiscriminately, is to substitute anger and frustration for clarity—and for politics.

In past articles on the US occupation of Iraq, you have even flirted with the idea that the US troops can no longer be regarded as "workers in uniform," but are more akin to the cops! This was no mere gaffe on your part, but betrays appetites that flourish under conditions of political confusion and despair. At the very least, this represents a serious loss of class-struggle perspective; at worst, a craven, impressionistic (bourgeois) pseudo-radicalism.

The American rulers are not at all unwilling to put the troops' (even their "white") skins on the line for their policies. Racism does not *motivate* but it does *facilitate* the horrors of late capitalist society. And, frankly, what the US troops are doing in Iraq does not require them to be racist; it does not require much more than for them simply to be in the position they are in. Let us say this another way: brutal military occupations are the policy of last resort for maintaining the "law-and-order" of capitalism. If, as opposed to Bush, the more UN-oriented Democrats' dream of a "multinational" (and not "unilateral") invasion and occupation of Iraq had come to pass, would things look any different? —Would brown-skinned troops from nations of the semi-colonized world (say, Pakistani troops in blue helmets) act with any less brutality in the face of circumstances and forces at work in Iraq today?

Today, perhaps more than ever before, we need a political program and set of slogans that can address simultaneously and equally workers and Leftists in Iraq and workers and Leftists in the US, including the "workers in uniform" that, like it or not, are the US troops in Iraq.

Not to try to embarrass you, but, with the phraseology of your recent literature mentioned above, I would bet that you do not have even one single sympathizer or WV subscriber, let alone a bona fide member, who is actually serving in the US military, in Iraq, or anywhere else! But this is hardly the point. What ever happened to "going with one's class" (to go to Vietnam with other workers who were drafted in that era)?

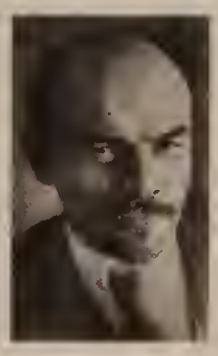
If anything, the volunteer army/poverty draft of today means the US military is even more "proletarian," even more closely identified with the conditions of the working class more generally (for instance, it is even more non-white) than in the past. Do you have no orientation whatever to the members of a generation going through the brutalization (and not just exercising the brutality) of the present? If you can't speak to them, then what hope is there?

Unlike in Vietnam or Korea, the (reformist) "Left" in Iraq does not call for the immediate withdrawal of US troops, let alone the defeat of the US in Iraq, nor does it even support the kind of pin-prick military attacks on them being carried out by the so-called insurgents. Please see the January 2006 statement by the Iraqi Communist Party, which opposes the occupation in principle, of course (as do I), but recognizes the practical difficulties of realizing such a politics. You would be well cautioned to pay heed to this difficulty that even the reformist "Left" recognizes—even if only by a single group in Iraq, where social reality confronts the sterility (and ultimate opportunism) of sloganeering. The dangers of disorientation are real and not rhetorical.

The reality is that the US troops in Iraq stand between the Iraqi workers and Leftists and the insurgents and Iraqi-government affiliated paramilitaries. This is indeed a paradoxical situation, uncomfortable for the Left, and fraught with problems, but real nonetheless.—John Negroponte does not have essentially the same goals in Iraq today that he had in Central America in the 1980s, other than the superficial one of maintaining US power—because he is

Defend the Gains of the Chinese Revolution!

TROTSKY



LENIN

Drawing on his analogy between the Soviet degenerated workers state and a trade union, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky asserted the critical need to defend the USSR against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. Today, this question is urgently posed in regard to defense of China, which, despite the Stalinist bureaucracy's undermining of the gains of the 1949 Revolution, is the largest of the remaining deformed workers states and the imperialists' strategic target for counterrevolution.

From the point of view of our program, the trade union should be an organization of class struggle. What then should be our attitude to the American Federation of Labor? At its head stand manifest agents of the bourgeoisie. Upon all essential questions, Messrs. Green, Woll, and Company carry out a political line directly opposed to the interests of the proletariat.... But the AFL does not because of this cease to be an organization of the trade unions....

The function of Stalin, like the function of Green, has a dual character. Stalin serves the bureaucracy and thus the world bourgeoisie; but he cannot serve the bureaucracy without defending that social foundation which the bureaucracy exploits in its own interests. To that extent does Stalin defend nationalized property from imperialist attacks and from the too impatient and avaricious layers of the bureaucracy itself. However, he carries through this defense with methods that prepare the general destruction of Soviet society. It is exactly because of this that the Stalinist clique must be overthrown. But it is the revolutionary proletariat who must overthrow it. The proletariat cannot subcontract this work to the imperialists. In spite of Stalin, the proletariat defends the USSR from imperialist attacks.

Historical development has accustomed us to the most varied kind of trade unions: militant, reformist, revolutionary, reactionary, liberal, and Catholic. It is otherwise with a workers' state. Such a phenomenon we see for the first time. That accounts for our inclination to approach the USSR exclusively from the point of view of the *norms* of the revolutionary program. Meanwhile the workers' state is an objective historical *fact* which is being subjected to the influence of different historical forces and can as we see come into full contradiction with "traditional" norms.

—Leon Trotsky, "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937)

Letters Policy

Workers Vanguard welcomes letters from our readers. Opinions expressed in letters do not necessarily reflect the viewpoint of the *WV* Editorial Board. We reserve the right to respond to letters either at the time of publication or at a later point. In order to facilitate the printing of letters, which we do not edit, please keep them to 500 words or less. Letters can be sent to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 or e-mailed to vanguard@tiac.net.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Ray Bishop

EDITOR: Alan Wilde

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Patenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: venguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is August 1.

No. 874 **4 August 2006**

Editorial Note

On BT's Poison Pen

We recently received two lengthy letters from the Bolshevik Tendency (BT). The BT is neither an interested reader with political questions or comments nor a legitimate political opponent. And they have means—their own press, *1917*, and their own Web site. There is no reason to routinely reproduce their poison pen efforts in our own press.

In "BT: Renegades for Hire" (*WV* No. 807, 1 August 2003), we noted: "To the extent the BT has a political profile, it is as centrists who use their anti-Spartacism as the entry ticket into the swamp of social democracy. But the BT is also something else altogether: a vicious gang of crazed 'god that failed' renegades, eager to serve the purposes of those who would like to destroy us." The BT is led by one Bill Logan, who was expelled from our tendency in 1979 following a thorough investigation by an international Control Commission and trial body that found him to be a twisted sociopath who manipulated the most intimate details of comrades' personal lives for his own purposes and gratification. The BT is now running a racket by aiming to have its letters published in *Workers Vanguard*. We will respond to them in the pages of *WV* as we deem appropriate. ■

not being opposed by the same kinds of social forces today as those represented by the Sandinistas/FMLN in the 80s. The politics of opposing US imperialism were far simpler back then. But for us to say today that opposing US power is the bottom line is to take social reality only in terms of bourgeois politics! We do not simply oppose US power, hut seek to revolutionize the world!

Yes, the US, as global hegemon/cop of the world, is a primary ohstacle to social emancipation today, but there are other forces at work in the world besides the US; we have other enemies, too! Not everyone who opposes the US helps us—certainly not subjectively, in terms of enlightening people politically towards emancipatory struggles, but also not "objectively." What is "bad" for the US is not necessarily good for "us"—meaning socialist revolutionaries internationally—and might even be worse. The world has become a far more dangerous place (for any kind of socialist Left) after the destruction of the Soviet Union. Real conclusions must be drawn from this. Can Marxist revolutionaries today, throughout the world, and trying to form a revolutionary vanguard internationally, find ways towards a critical-theoretical grasp of the world, and programmatic orientation towards fundamentally changing it, that recognizes that the policies of US imperialism can be (and today are being mostly or only) opposed from the *Right*?

Shouldn't Marxists, especially those consigned (supposedly by historical circumstance) to remaining an isolated propaganda group, not be oriented, first and foremost, to disenchanting and cutting through false polarities and reigning ideological appearances, while grasping material social reality, with all of its problems? What kind of legacy for any possible future Left (or even for the future of your organization) are you leaving with your slogans today, which, you must admit, are meant to be more exemplary than practical, but might end up being neither?

Your current slogans seem to be calculated, not to intersecting Iraqi Leftists and American workers—including the "workers in uniform"—to gaining an internationalist, revolutionary perspective, but rather to the petty-bourgeois rad-lib milieu (not only in the US, but also elsewhere), which shades quickly into the bourgeois "defeatism" of the Democratic Party (and even among some in the Republican Party), and which engages in the typical kinds of overstatement and downright paranoia rife in bourgeois politics (e.g., of Rep. Murtha, Cindy Sheehan, et al.).—What gives? You should know better.

When I was a youth member during the period of the destruction of the Soviet Union (and the Gulf War that was thus facilitated, setting the stage for the subsequent sanctions regime and current invasion and occupation of Iraq), one Spartacism that was most educational for me was the phrase "pseudo-Left." Well, things are so much worse today than even 15 years ago: we would be strained today to identify even a pseudo-Left (or anything of the Left at all). I think you are flinching from this reality in your blind retention of supposed orthodoxy, and it is starting to sound more than a little desperate.

Trotsky's political orientation and slogans in the 1930s were based on the existence of a millions-strong international working class movement and an enormous workers state (the Soviet Union) that claimed to be trying to overcome capitalism.

Such reality doesn't exist today, and therefore calls for a different set of political interventions—and recognition of different and perhaps greater dangers. Trotsky could count on the objective reality of a Left that could be intersected by a relatively small propaganda group and potentially revolutionized that simply does not exist today—there are no larger parties that we could even theoretically split and transform into vanguards of the international working class. We have it a lot harder today than Trotsky did, and thus we have far more work to do rebuilding the Left. To this extent, the ability of our forebears like Trotsky—and Lenin—to help us has become quite limited, at least to the extent that we can simply repeat their slogans. Instead, we must struggle (really struggle!) to keep their spirit alive under changed—and worsened!—circumstances.

Revolutionaries cannot afford to recoil from sobering realities into the comforts of past certainties, not if they want to remain revolutionary. It may not be possible to resist the inexorability of the present, but I, for one, regret your veering towards becoming just another variety of pseudo-Leftism.

—Chris C.

Washington Post

Sadistic prison guard Charles Graner beats Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib prison near Baghdad.

***WV* replies:**

As our readers will see from our letters policy, published on page 2, *WV* seeks to print letters we receive, publishing replies to them as we deem necessary. Chris C.'s letter reflects politics imbibing of—and in fact even to the right of—the wretched pro-Democratic Party reformist left in the U.S. Printing this letter and our reply will hopefully be a useful heuristic device for our readers, as our reply upholds elementary Leninst-Trotskyist principles against those who turn to "democratic" imperialism in the post-Soviet period.

Partaking of the "death of communism" lies of the bourgeoisie, Chris C. asserts that in the post-Soviet world workers revolution is off the agenda. He takes issue with our straightforward statement that the U.S. forces in Iraq are engaged in "counterinsurgency" bloodletting—from the Haditha massacre to the horrors of Ahu Ghraib and other barbaric results of imperialist war and occupation—reminiscent of that in Vietnam or the atrocities committed during the Korean War, among others. In short, he disputes that, while occurring in a different social and political context, these crimes can be "equated" with these earlier imperialist war crimes.

Nauseatingly, he attempts to *alibi the crimes of the U.S. imperialists in Iraq* and writes: "The reality is that the US troops in Iraq stand between the Iraqi workers and Leftists and the insurgents and Iraqi-government affiliated paramilitaries." He goes on to write: "What is 'bad' for the US is not necessarily good for 'us'—meaning socialist revolutionaries internationally—and might even be worse."

No! The main enemy of the peoples of the world is the bellicose, demented, racist and rapacious U.S. ruling class! That must be the starting point of any would-be revolutionary working within the belly of the imperialist beast. Whole regions of the world, not least the Near East, are composed of artificial states created by the former colonial empires and their present imperialist heirs. The masses living in these artificial creations, overseen by the imperialists' local lackeys, are now on the murderous receiving end of the imperialists' bloodthirsty depredations.

Chris C. paints the volunteer U.S. military (as opposed to a conscript army, such as at the time of the Vietnam War) as "workers in uniform." He also flinches over our insistence on the simple fact that imperialist *racist* arrogance plays a part in the occupation of Iraq. Indeed, his position smacks of the worst sort of "white man's burden" chauvinism. Examples of racist U.S. atrocities abound, such as the slaughter of up to half a million Filipinos between 1899 and 1902 and the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

As to the comparison to cops to which Chris C. objects, we stand by what we have written: The job of a soldier is to kill and *to be killed*. The job of a cop is to kill and *not* be killed. That the U.S. military brass feels alarm by the death of some 2,500 troops in three years of war and occupation shows that they think they can invade, conquer and occupy whole countries without suffering any consequence: it reveals a mentality that increasingly resembles that of a cop rather than a soldier. As we noted in our Haditha article: "These are not 'our troops'! The pictures of the slaughtered in Haditha, the images of Falluja leveled, the photo of Lynndie England, dog leash in hand, abusing a naked Iraqi prisoner—all are graphic reminders of the routine brutality meted out by imperialism's military enforcers."

Chris C. wrote, "The policies of US imperialism can be (and today are being mostly or only) opposed from the *Right*." Let's be clear: by "the Right," Chris C. is not referring to neocons and other elements of the U.S. ruling class, but Islamic fundamentalists. At bottom, he echoes those liberals who grace the pages of the *Nation* and advocate an imperialist presence in Iraq to nurture "democracy" and prevent the further spread of Islamic fundamentalism.

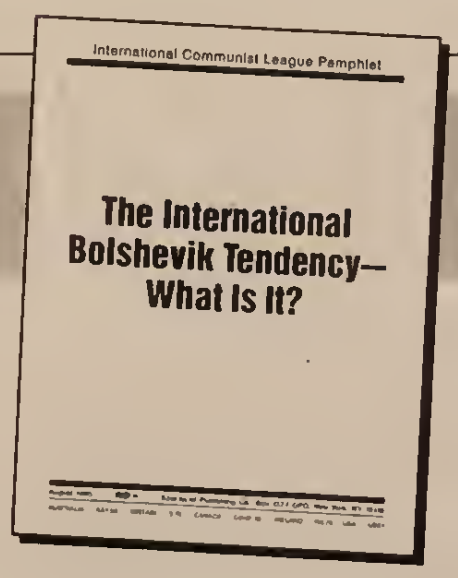
As revolutionary Marxists, we are intransigent political opponents of Islamic fundamentalist forces, even as we stand for their military defense against the attacks of the imperialists and the Zionist Israeli state. Our article on the U.S. imperialist atrocities in Haditha also made clear that we defend Iran's *need* for nuclear weapons to deter a U.S. imperialist attack, without giving an iota of political support to the mullah regime. Such a position is an elementary duty of communists.

Chris C. not only obscenely complains of the "practical difficulties" posed by the elementary demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq, he has also dispensed with Lenin and Trotsky, as, in his words, their "ability to help us has become quite limited." We communists draw our lessons from comrades Lenin and Trotsky, whose revolutionary work in theory and practice, especially their historic victory in leading the October Revolution of 1917 and founding of the Third (Communist) International, is not only relevant to but is the model for our struggle today. As for Chris C., he is indeed a *former* comrade who is adapting to the pressures of bourgeois liberalism and making his peace with U.S. imperialism. ■

International Communist League pamphlet
August 1995

$1 (10 pages)

Order from/
make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



Remembering Sam Hunt

"Sam Hunt 1946-2006" (WV No. 873, 7 July) detailed the political contributions of our longtime cadre, who died on June 2. Below is an excerpt from a reminiscence of Sam by a comrade who worked with him in Japan.

2 July 2006

Dear comrades:

Sam, a coworker of his who became a good sympathizer and I went to Tama Cemetery, to see Sorge and Ozaki's graves. [Soviet spies Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi were executed by the Japanese government in 1944.] We found Sorge's gravesite first, cleaned it, placed our flowers and then started pouring the vodka. After a while we went to find Ozaki's grave, and when we arrived we were surprised to see a whole entourage of people. This is when we first met Ozaki Hotsuki, Hotsumi's younger brother. Sam, his coworker and myself were not proficient in Japanese, but Sam immediately understood the import of this intersection: how would we communicate our message on why we were there? So he grabbed a man and said, "Please translate for me." The man turned out to be a professor of Japanese at the University of Hawaii, and that is how we were able to say in Japanese, "The ICL and Spartacist Group Japan came here to honor Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi as heroic defenders of the October Revolution and the Soviet Union." Thereafter, each November, we would join Ozaki Hotsuki, his daughter and others to honor their memory until 1998. Hotsuki died in 1999 and his circle disbanded.

Communist Greetings,
D.R.

Defend Chinese Deformed Workers State!

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

China's "Market Reforms" —A Trotskyist Analysis—

Two years ago, two left-wing American intellectuals, Martin Hart-Landsberg and Paul Burkett, produced a harsh and sweeping condemnation of the Chinese economy in the "reform" era from a purportedly Marxist perspective. Their article, "China and Socialism: Market Reforms and Class Struggle," was originally published in *Monthly Review* (July-August 2004) and subsequently brought out in book form. In particular, the authors target those

PART ONE

"progressive" intellectuals who regard China as a successful alternative model of economic development to the neoliberal "structural reforms" dictated by U.S. imperialism and the International Monetary Fund that have devastated so many underdeveloped countries. Hart-Landsberg and Burkett write: "Not only do we disagree with those progressives who view China as a development model (whether socialist or not), we think the process by which they arrived at this position highlights an even more serious problem: the progressive community's general rejection of Marxism."

Among the "progressives" with whom they disagree is Victor Lippit, who with his cothinkers at *Critical Asian Studies* (37:3 [2005]) responded with some critical studies of "China and Socialism." Hart-Landsberg and Burkett in turn wrote a lengthy rejoinder (*Critical Asian Studies* 37:4 [2005]).

A political liberal and longtime student of the Chinese economy, Lippit is basically a supporter of China's program of market-oriented "reforms," albeit with some left criticisms. For example, he decries the deterioration of the public health system, especially in the country-side, as "shameful." He would have the Beijing regime expend far more resources on health care, education and improving the conditions of the rural populace, even at the cost of a short-term reduction in economic growth as conventionally measured. Nonetheless, Lippit is definitely bullish on China, citing a study by the Wall Street investment bank Goldman Sachs projecting that China's gross domestic product will surpass that of the United States by 2041.

Corbis

Shanghai's state-owned Hudong shipyard. Chinese deformed workers state is world's third-largest shipbuilding country.

For all their differences, Hart-Landsberg and Burkett on the one side and Lippit on the other share certain basic premises. Both wrongly maintain that the market-oriented "reforms" have resulted in the restoration of capitalism in China and, moreover, that this was inevitable. For Lippit, the modernization of China requires its continuing and ever-greater integration into the world capitalist system. He claims that "capitalism will have to play out its historic role before it can he supplanted," adding that "Welfare-state capitalism of the continental European variety may be the best that can be done at present." For Hart-Landsberg and Burkett, a socialist program in China or elsewhere—which they identify with the confusionist formula of a "worker-community-centered economy"—must have little or no commerce with the corrupting evils of the world capitalist market.

Most crucially, both reject the possibility of proletarian socialist revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries in any historically meaningful time period. Lippit does so expticitly, Hart-Landsberg and Burkett implicitly. Hence the Trotskyist perspective of the modernization of China in the context of a globally integrated and planned socialist economy lies outside the conceptual boundaries of both protagonists. Yet this framework, the antithesis of the nationalist Maoist-Stalinist dogma of building "socialism in one country," is the ***only*** road to the all-round liberation of China's worker and peasant masses.

U.S. Navy

U.S. warships in massive "Valiant Shield" military exercises in Asian Pacific in June. U.S. imperialism has strengthened its deployment in the Pacific Rim as part of its military pressure against China, North Korea.

China Today: Myths and Realities

The ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under Deng Xiaoping introduced its program of market-oriented reforms a few years after the death of Mao Zedong in 1976. This included opening China to, and subsequently attracting, an enormous volume of direct capital investment from Western and Japanese corporations and the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie, concentrated in manufacturing. Mainstream bourgeois ideologues have pointed to China's impressive economic and especially industrial growth as proof positive of the superiority of a market-driven system over a centrally planned, collectivized economy (derogatively called a socialist "command economy"). For his part, Lippit is representative of a layer of left-of-center intellectuals who hold up China as a prime example of a successful *anti*-neoliberal economic strategy, one based on a significant level of state ownership and overall state direction of the economy.

This latter view has the merit of recognizing, in its own way, that the core elements of the Chinese economy, established following the overthrow of the capitalist system in the 1949 Revolution, remain collectivized. State-owned enterprises are dominant in the strategic industrial sectors, such as steel, non-ferrous metals, heavy machinery, telecommunications, electric power and oil extraction and refining. The nationalization of land has prevented the emergence of a class of large-scale agrarian capitalists socially dominating the countryside. The mass of economic surplus generated outside the foreign-owned sector is channeled into state-owned banks as well as the government treasury. Effective control of the financial system has to date enabled the Beijing regime to insulate China from the volatile movements of speculative money-capital that periodically wreak havoc with neocolonial capitalist countries from East Asia to Latin America.

It is now commonplace across the entire political and geographical spectrum, from spokesmen for the CCP regime to Wall Street analysts, to claim that China is far along the road to becoming a global economic "superpower" by the mid 21st century. This view ignores the economic vulnerabilities of China in its relations with the world capitalist market. It ignores the implacable hostility of the imperialist bourgeoisies, above all the American ruling class, to the People's Republic of China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state issuing out of the 1949 Revolution. Further, it ignores the internal ***instability*** of Chinese society, which has seen a significant and growing level of social protest against the consequences of the CCP's bureaucratic misrule.

In the past few years the economic strategy pursued by the CCP regime has been designed to run huge balance of trade surpluses with the United States which has led China to become the world's largest holder of foreign-exchange reserves. This has generated increasing pressures within American ruling circles for anti-Chinese economic protectionism. In any event, the sheer size of the trade deficit with China

cannot be long sustained. A major economic downturn in the U.S. and/or anti-import protectionist measures would be a severe blow to China's industrial economy. Foreign-owned and joint operations and private Chinese companies, as well as some state-owned enterprises, whose production is geared to the export market, would be forced to sharply cut back output and lay off both industrial and white-collar workers. This would have a strongly depressive effect throughout the Chinese economy.

. Recently China has begun to open its banks to partial foreign ownership. If the bankers of Wall Street, Frankfurt and Tokyo acquire a substantial degree of control over China's financial sector, the economic effects are likely to be dire. Some large debt-ridden state-owned enterprises could be forced to cut output and payroll. There would even be a real danger of a sudden, massive outflow of money-capital, such as that which triggered the East Asian financial/economic crisis in the late 1990s.

According to conventional bourgeois public opinion, capitalism has already been restored in China or is rapidly and irreversibly being restored. However, as was the case in the former Soviet Union, the decisive arena in which a capitalist counterrevolution would have to triumph is at the political level, in the conquest of *state power*, not simply through a quantitative extension of the private sector, whether domestic or foreign. In their own way, the imperialist bourgeoisies, centrally the American ruling class, understand that very well. Hence the open support of the U.S. and British governments for the aggressively anti-Communist parties and forces in the capitalist enclave of Hong Kong, a former British colony that is the one part of the People's Republic of China (besides Macao) where the CCP does not exercise a monopoly of political power and organization. Hence also the U.S. rulers' harping on the need for "political liberalization" in China.

Aspiring to replay the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the imperialists aim to promote an anti-Communist political opposition in China primarily based on the new class of capitalist entrepreneurs and those elements of the CCP officialdom and the managerial/professional/technocratic stratum closely tied to domestic and foreign capital.

At the same time, U.S. imperialism has been ratcheting up the military pressure on China, building bases in Central Asia, attempting to surround China with American military installations and concluding a pact last year with Japan to defend the capitalist bastion of Taiwan, whose bourgeoisie holds considerable investments in mainland China. The Pentagon is actively pursuing plans to neutralize China's small nuclear arsenal in the event of an American nuclear first strike, a strategy openly proclaimed by the Bush gang in Washington. As Trotskyists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of China and the other remaining bureaucratically deformed workers states—North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. In particular, we support China and North Korea's testing and possession of nuclear arms as a necessary deterrent against imperialist nuclear blackmail.

Despite and in part because of its rapid economic and especially industrial growth, China has become a seething cauldron of popular discontents. An enormous and strategically powerful industrial proletariat confronts a society of stark and increasing inequalities and inequities. As part of its market-oriented reforms, the Beijing Stalinist regime has starved public health care and primary education of financial resources when, more than ever before, such resources are available to meet the basic needs of Chinese working people. There have been widespread and continual worker protests against layoffs from state-owned enterprises, unpaid wages, pensions and benefits, and similar abuses. The countryside is rife with angry protests by peasants, frequently involving violent clashes with the police, against the seizure of land by local CCP officials engaged in real-estate speculation.

Li/Liaison

AFP

Left: Factory workers producing Nike shoes in Dongguan, China. Right: Migrant workers at Beijing train station.

The ruling bureaucracy is clearly divided between elements who want the economic "reforms" to continue unabated, those who want more state intervention to check the ravages of marketization and thereby stifle discontent, and others who seek a return to a bureaucratically planned economy. At some point, likely when bourgeois elements in and around the bureaucracy move to eliminate CCP political power, the multiple explosive social tensions of Chinese society will shatter the political structure of the ruling bureaucratic caste. And when that happens the fate of the most populous country on earth will be starkly posed: either proletarian political revolution to open the road to socialism or a return to capitalist enslavement and imperialist subjugation.

We stand for a proletarian political revolution to sweep away the oppressive and parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with a government based on democratically elected workers and peasants councils. Such a government, under the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist party, would re-establish a centrally planned and managed economy—including a state monopoly of foreign trade—administered not by the arbitrary "commandism" of a closed-in bureaucratic caste (which produced such disasters as Mao's "Great Leap Forward" in the late 1950s) but by the widest proletarian democracy. It would expropriate the newly fledged class of Chinese capitalist entrepreneurs and renegotiate the terms of foreign investment in the interests of Chinese working people, insisting, for example, on working conditions at least at the same level as in the state sector. A revolutionary workers government in China would promote the voluntary collectivization of agriculture on the basis of large-scale mechanized and scientific farming, recognizing that this requires substantial material aid from successful workers revolutions in the more economically advanced countries.

A proletarian political revolution in China raising the banner of socialist internationalism would truly shake the world. It would shatter the "death of communism" ideological climate propagated by the imperialist ruling classes since the destruction of the Soviet Union. It would radicalize the proletariat of Japan, the industrial powerhouse and imperialist overlord of East Asia. It would spark a fight for a revolutionary reunification of Korea—through political revolution in the beleaguered North and socialist revolution in the capitalist South—and reverberate among the masses of South Asia, Indonesia and the Philippines, ground down by imperialist austerity. Only through the overthrow of capitalist class rule internationally, particularly in the imperialist centers of North America, West Europe and Japan, can the all-round modernization of China be achieved as part of a socialist Asia. It is to provide the necessary leadership for the proletariat in these struggles that the International Communist League seeks to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International—the world party of socialist revolution.

Economic Development and the Communist Worldview

The differences between Hart-Landsberg and Burkett on the one hand and Lippit on the other are not primarily over an empirical assessment of the changing socioeconomic conditions in China during the past quarter century of the "reform" era. Certainly, they do have important differences in this regard—for example, over the quantitative extent to which poverty has been overcome. But what basically separates Hart-Landsberg and Burkett from Lippit is what might be termed a different hierarchy of values. The former elevate egalitarian and communalist values above the expansion of productive forces, disregarding that the latter is a *necessary condition* for liberating the mass of humanity from want and drudgery. Thus they argue in their rejoinder: "China's successes according to mainstream development criteria (economic growth, FDI [foreign direct investment] inflows, and exports), far from creating conditions for actual or potential success on the human welfare front, might have instead undermined the conditions of human development for the majority of Chinese working people."

No less than Lippit, or for that matter the proponents of neoliberalism, Hart-Landsberg and Burkett believe that capitalism in its present "globalized" form is driven to maximize economic growth as measured by the increase in goods and services. This is directly contrary to the Marxist understanding that the capitalist mode of production and the nation-state system, which are rooted in the drive for private accumulation of profit, block the progressive development of productive forces on a global scale. A case in point is the profound and increasing impoverishment of the masses of semicolonial Africa, Latin America and parts of Asia. Writing in the early 1930s, in the context of a world economic depression and resurgent interimperialist rivalries that would soon lead to World War II, Leon Trotsky explained:

> "Capitalism has outlived itself as a world system. It has ceased to fulfill its essential mission, the increase of human power and human wealth. Humanity cannot stand still at the level which it has reached. Only a powerful increase in productive forces and a sound, planned, that is, socialist organization of production and distribution can assure humanity—all humanity—of a decent standard of life and at the same time give it the precious feeling of freedom with respect to its own economy. Freedom in two senses—first of all, man will no longer be compelled to devote the greater part of his life to physical labor. Second, he will no longer be dependent on the laws of the market....
>
> "Technology liberated man from the tyranny of the old elements—earth, water, fire, and air—only to subject him to its own tyranny. Man ceased to be a slave to nature, to become a slave to the machine, and, still worse, a slave to supply and demand. The present world crisis testifies in especially tragic fashion how man, who dives to the bottom of the ocean, who rises up to the stratosphere, who converses on invisible waves with the antipodes, how this proud and daring ruler of nature remains a slave to the blind forces of his own economy. The historical task of our epoch consists in replacing the uncontrolled play of the market by reasonable planning, in disciplining the forces of production, compelling them to work together in harmony and obediently serve the needs of mankind. Only on this new social basis will man be able to stretch his weary limbs and—every man and every woman, not only a selected few—become a full citizen in the realm of thought."
>
> —"In Defense of the Russian Revolution" (1932), reprinted in *Leon Trotsky Speaks* (1972)

This genuinely Marxist vision of the future is completely alien to the thinking of Hart-Landsberg and Burkett.

Anarcho-Populist Nostrums...

What Hart-Landsberg and Burkett counterpose to neoliberalism is the notion of a "worker-community-centered economy." The term as well as the concept are totally foreign to Marxism. "Community"

continued on page 11

Chinese-Language Pamphlet No. 7

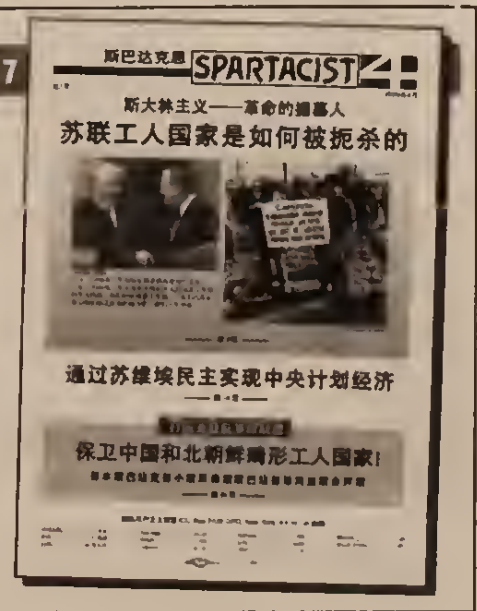
Stalinism—Gravedigger of the Revolution
How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled

For Central Planning Through Soviet Democracy

Down With U.S./Japan Counterrevolutionary Alliance!
Defend the Chinese and North Korean Deformed Workers States!

$1 (20 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



Young Spartacus

Failed Anarchist on "Failed States"

Noam Chomsky: "Radical" Adviser to U.S. Imperialism

BOSTON—On June 6, members of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club attended a Harvard Book Store-sponsored forum in Cambridge, featuring Noam Chomsky as one of two panelists. Chomsky was there to promote his new book, *Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy*. Chomsky's exposure of some of the crimes of U.S. imperialism can open students' eyes to what the U.S. really does internationally, but the "esteemed professor" then ***feeds them the lie*** that this can be changed through the promotion of "pure" democracy with the help of the UN and international law. An SL/SYC speaker at the forum challenged Chomsky:

> "Basically what I see that you're doing, as the title of your book says, is basically—as you have done historically—build faith in this mythical bird called Pure Democracy.... The fact of the matter is that democracy has a class basis. This is what capitalist democracy looks like: It's Lynndie England with a naked, tortured Iraqi on the end of a leash. It's...the racist frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, who faces the very real threat of execution now.... For all your criticisms of the Democrats whose hands are dripping in blood, you called people in the last election to vote for the Democratic Party."

Unlike Noam Chomsky, we understand that under capitalism "democracy" serves as a mask for a system of exploitation, oppression and state repression. Under its facade of "government of the people, by the people and for the people," the U.S. capitalist state is a violent terror machine for the defense of the capitalist class's profit system—a system based on private ownership of the means of production and the concentration of vast amounts of the wealth created by the labor of the working-class masses in the hands of a tiny, exploiting minority. The capitalist state's cops, courts and prisons exist to prevent working people and, in the U.S., particularly the specially oppressed black masses, from fundamentally challenging the racist, oppressive capitalist order. Capitalist "democracy" is in reality the dictatorship of the capitalist class over the working class and oppressed.

It is only through proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class that the basis can be laid for creating an egalitarian, socialist society where production is based on human need and not profit. Democracy for working people can only become a reality by ripping the means of production out of the hands of the capitalist exploiters and replacing their state with a state for the defense of the interests of workers and the oppressed, as a transition to a classless, stateless, communist society.

Far from wanting to smash capitalist states, armchair anarchist Chomsky wants to rescue these from failure! According to Chomsky's book, the salient features of "failed states" such as the U.S. include what he calls the "democratic deficit" or "the sharp divide between public opinion and public policy." Once again, Chomsky arrives with the earth-shattering news flash: the capitalist rulers don't govern based on the interests of the working class and the oppressed! But that won't stop him from promoting the virtues of U.S. capitalist democracy: "The United States was the first modern (more or less) democratic society, and has been a model for others ever since. And in many dimensions crucial for authentic democracy—protection of freedom of speech, for example—it has become a leader among the societies of the world."

Chomsky's regard for U.S. capitalist democracy is superseded only by his regard for the UN Charter and the "sacred" international law that he makes impotent appeals for the U.S. to respect. Behind the anarchists' purported rejection of all states, including the dictatorship of the working class, is a program that in practice upholds the capitalist state. Yet, Chomsky fails to even pretend he is for the destruction of capitalism, openly counseling the imperialist rulers to "democratize" their system. And his virulent anti-communism, typical of anarchists, places him squarely in the camp of the bloody imperialist powers that he purports to criticize. Thus it follows that Chomsky's idea of "free speech" at his own events means telling the communists to shut up and ask their question, as he did at the Harvard forum on June 6. This prompted another SL/SYC member in the crowd to tell Chomsky to "stop manufacturing consent."

It's Canada's Fault?

In response to a question from the floor regarding the recent immigration debate in the U.S., Chomsky gave the usual endless speech of a rambling, pompous professor: saying everything while saying nothing. But then, suddenly, we sat up in our seats as the spectre of *South Park* entered the hall: "We need to form a full assault. It's Canada's fault!" Chomsky said:

> "There was a 9/11 Commission set up, a government commission to recommend a means to produce a threat barrier to the United States. It was set up over *strong* opposition by the Bush Administration, for which it carries a very low priority, and they didn't want it.... As they pointed out that the greatest threat of terror, one of the greatest infiltrations across the border, namely the Canadian border. The *long*, unguarded border reaching across. And that they said, 'You've got to do something about infiltration from the Canadian border.' What has the Administration done? Well, first the Bush Administration since 9/11 reduced the border control altogether, reduced the growth of border patrol. The really *long* length of border.... But they don't care...the Canadian border is left unguarded, the one that's considered the most dangerous." (Emphases his.)

Paramount Pictures

Scene from *South Park: Bigger, Longer & Uncut*. But Chomsky's not kidding when he rants against the "long, unguarded" Canadian border.

Chomsky is now calling on the racist, rapacious American ruling class and its murderous state to save us from the evil clutches of...Canadians! That's right, this "radical" imposter has joined the chorus of hysterical townspeople of *South Park*: "With all their beady little eyes and flapping heads so full of lies, Blame Canada! Blame Canada!"

But unlike the creators of *South Park*, Noam Chomsky wasn't joking. Chomsky's comments about the Canadian border were made just a few days after Canadian police carried out "anti-terror" raids resulting in the arrests of 17 Muslim men. A central and recurring complaint in Chomsky's latest book is that members of the Bush administration "do not consider terrorism a high priority." Chomsky echoes the Democratic Party liberals who complain that Bush is giving low priority to fighting terrorism and who consider the U.S. war and occupation of Iraq as a distraction from the "war on terror." Chomsky complains: "Preventing terrorist attacks is simply not a high priority in comparison with serious geopolitical and strategic objectives—specifically, controlling the world's major energy resources."

It is grotesque that Chomsky posits that the biggest terrorists on the planet, the U.S. imperialist rulers, who also attack the livelihoods of working people at home, could be in the business of "protecting" anyone but themselves and their profit system. The racist atrocity that took place in New Orleans around Hurricane Katrina is proof on its own of the murderous contempt the capitalist rulers have for black, working and poor people in this country. The so-called "war on terror" is in reality a cover for imperialist slaughter abroad and for a war on the rights of labor, immigrants, black people and leftists at home. For all of Chomsky's concern about the "assault on democracy" in the U.S., his recent book doesn't even reference the Patriot Act or comment on the wholesale shredding of the democratic rights of the U.S. population under the rubric of the "war on terror."

While Chomsky complains about the "unguarded" Canadian border, the Canadian capitalist rulers have in fact followed the U.S.'s lead in using a purported "war on terror" to vastly restrict the rights of the population as a whole, as have other "democratic" capitalist governments around the

More...or *Less*?

> "The United States was the first modern (more or less) democratic society, and has been a model for others ever since."
> —Noam Chomsky

UMW

AP

Saul/Philadelphia Inquirer

Jane Therese

(From left to right) National Guard and company thugs mobilized against 1914 Ludlow miners strike: 19 were massacred. Birmingham, Alabama: Cops attack Civil Rights marchers, 1963. Mumia Abu-Jamal: framed up and sentenced to die for speaking out against black oppression. Passengers dragged off bus as "terrorist suspects" by New Jersey cops, September 2001. This is what Chomsky's "(more or less) democratic" U.S. looks like under capitalism.

world. These restrictions are aimed at repressing working-class and social struggle, which will always represent the biggest "threat" for the capitalist rulers.

Disarming Iraq and Iran

Chomsky calls for relying on "diplomatic and economic measures rather than military ones in confronting terror." Indeed, it was such measures that the UN employed with its sanctions against Iraq that resulted in the deaths of over 1.5 million Iraqis, especially children, during the period of "peace" between America's two shooting wars against Iraq. While Chomsky spends several pages in *Failed States* railing against the "murderous regime" of sanctions against Iraq, he fails to mention that he himself advocated these sanctions in 1991 (*Z Magazine*, February 1991). Chomsky's beloved UN, which in his fantasy world is supposed to lead the way to "peace," served as a "democratic" fig leaf for the sanctions and weapons inspections, which were aimed at disarming neocolonial Iraq and setting it up for a one-sided slaughter by U.S. imperialism.

As Marxists, we not only opposed the sanctions and the U.S. war, but stood for the military defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism while giving no political support to the capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein. In the same way, today we oppose the U.S.'s nuclear blackmail against Iran, which it has threatened to attack. As we noted in "U.S. Hands Off Iran" (*WV* No. 863, 3 February):

> "In the event of military attack against Iran by U.S. imperialism or by Israel, or by any other force operating on behalf of the imperialists, we Marxists declare: ***The international proletariat must stand for the military defense of Iran against imperialist attack.*** At the same time, we give not one iota of political support to the reactionary Tehran regime. Our defense of capitalist Iran is conditional: In military conflicts between an imperialist power and a dependent semicolonial country, our policy is revolutionary defensism. We defend the oppressed country against the oppressor country and promote class struggle in the imperialist centers, as well as in the oppressed country. Every victory for the imperialists in their military adventures encourages more predatory wars; every setback serves to assist the struggles of working people and the oppressed."

We have also noted that in the context of threats by the nuclear-armed imperialists, Iran clearly *needs* nukes to defend itself and deter a U.S. attack. Not so Noam Chomsky, who penned an article titled "A Negotiated Solution to the Iranian Nuclear Crisis Is Within Reach" (London *Guardian*, 19 June). While acknowledging that the "very credible US and Israeli threats...virtually urge Iran to develop nuclear weapons as a deterrent," Chomsky's response is to urge the U.S. and Israel to "call off" their threats! And just in case that wasn't too much of a fantastical demand upon the U.S. imperialists, he also calls on them "to take 'good-faith' efforts to eliminate nuclear weapons."

The bottom line for Chomsky is expressed in his *Failed States*: "Of course, every sane person hopes that ways will be found to prevent Iran from developing a nuclear weapons program." The U.S. imperialist madmen, who are unique in having actually carried out nuclear holocaust with their bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, push the same line. And Chomsky is far from alone among liberals and leftists in counseling the mass-murdering imperialists on how "best" to disarm Iran, with the International Socialist Organization and Revolutionary Communist Party's World Can't Wait signing a petition calling on Bush and Cheney to effectively disarm Iran and inaugurate world peace (see "ISO, RCP to Bush: Disarm Iran, 'Lead the Way to Peace'," *WV* No. 870, 12 May).

Anti-Communist Fighter for "Democratic" Counterrevolution

At the June 6 forum, a second SL/SYC speaker challenged Chomsky over his endorsement of a 2003 declaration which echoed the U.S. imperialist hue and cry over the arrests of 78 pro-imperialist "dissidents" in Cuba. Our speaker asked:

> "Please explain why, in 2003, you signed on to an anti-Cuba declaration, penned by none other than Joanne Landy, member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a lifelong advocate of the violent overthrow of the Cuban government. You endorsed this letter. Please tell us why you fought for the fall of the Soviet Union."

Chomsky is typical of the petty-bourgeois liberals and "leftist" intellectuals who lend their "anti-imperialist" credentials to U.S. imperialism's drive to overthrow the gains of the Cuban Revolution. For these types, the abstract notion of (*baargeais*) "democracy," and not the proletarian class character of the Cuban state, is the be-all and end-all. This was expressed clearly in the declaration Chomsky signed: "We support civil liberties and democratic rights everywhere, regardless of the country's economic, political or social system....We support democracy in Cuba. The imprisonment of people for attempting to exercise their rights of free expression is outrageous and unacceptable."

The Spartacist League understands Cuba to be a deformed workers state: a society in which capitalism has been overthrown and workers property forms established, but deformed by the rule of a parasitic, nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy. Following the 1959 Cuban Revolution, the petty-bourgeois Castro government expropriated the holdings of the U.S. imperialists and their domestic bourgeois lackeys. The nationalization of the means of production and the creation of a collectivized, planned economy led to enormous gains for the Cuban working masses and made it possible, with critical Soviet military and economic aid, to provide everyone a job, decent housing, food and education. Despite these achievements, which have been eroded since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Cuban workers state has been bureaucratically deformed from its inception, with the working class excluded from political power. Cuba is run by a Stalinist bureaucratic caste that upholds the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," which means renouncing the struggle for international socialist revolution and undermining the defense of the Cuban Revolution.

We call for the unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state—as well as the other remaining workers states of China, North Korea and Vietnam—against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. While opposing the barbaric institution of capital punishment and the Stalinist bureaucracy's use of it, we support Cuba's military defense against imperialism and all measures that are genuinely in defense of the Cuban Revolution, including the imprisonment of those "dissidents" who are actively collaborating with U.S. imperialism. At the same time, and as we noted in 2003:

> "As Trotskyists, we know full well that the Castro regime metes out repression to those of its opponents, including socialist militants, who are not counterrevolutionaries....
>
> "Workers democracy is completely alien to Stalinism, as it is to the crew of radlibs and others who peddle the cause of the pro-imperialist 'dissidents' in the name of bourgeois democracy. But it is critical for us Marxists, who fight to defend and extend the gains of the Cuban Revolution by replacing the nationalist rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy that seeks to appease the imperialists with the rule of the workers soviets based on a program of proletarian revolutionary internationalism."
>
> —"Defend the Cuban Revolution!" *WV* No. 805, 6 June 2003

Our fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and institute a regime of workers democracy is premised on ***defense af the praletarian property farms*** in the deformed workers states. Chomsky postures as a defender of Cuba against U.S. imperialism, opposing the U.S. sanctions and the imprisonment of the Cuban Five. But far from defending the collectivized economy of Cuba against the imperialist drive toward the restoration of capitalism, Chomsky can't even bring himself to mention its existence in his latest book, theorizing that U.S. hostility toward Cuba stems from "the fear of independent nationalism." Thus, Chomsky's statement that he'd like to see the Castro "regime overthrown by an internal libertarian revolution (and not that one alone)" ("Chomsky on Cuba," 27 August 1994, posted on www.zmag.org) can only be a call for "democratic" capitalist counterrevolution.

Not surprisingly, Chomsky's "models" of democracy are *capitalist* Bolivia, *capitalist* Venezuela and *imperialist* America! Chomsky deflected our question at the June 6 forum by telling us to go listen to his interview on Radio Havana for an answer. In this 28 August 2003 interview, Chomsky announces to the Cuban workers state that "the United States, to its credit, is a very free country, maybe the freest country in the world in many respects" ("Radio Havana Interviews Chomsky," 4 September 2003, posted on www.zmag.org). One wonders if the news reached the ears of the bound and hooded prisoners at Guantánamo Bay.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Revolutionary Vanguard!

For Chomsky, the blood-drenched "Democratic Party is far less objectionable than Bolshevism" (see *WV* No. 829, 9 July 2004). The Bolshevik-led workers revolution, which Chomsky spits on, liberated one-sixth of the planet from the clutches of capitalist exploitation. The destruction of the Soviet Union has been a world-historic defeat for working people internationally. We Trotskyists fought for the unconditional military defense of the degenerated Soviet workers state against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution, and for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. We fight to build a workers party that will make a socialist revolution in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast. In the final instance, this is Cuba's and the other workers states' best defense.

From our labor/black mobilizations to stop the Klan, to our fight against the forces of capitalist counterrevolution through our interventions in the former East Germany and Soviet Union, to our fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal today, we have earned our reputation and proudly carry on the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky. Meanwhile, Chomsky continues to babble about how the "democratic" credentials of the bloodiest empire on the planet have lost their luster. As we stated about Chomsky at the June 6 forum, "You perpetuate that you can have a humane imperialist system, which actually disarms not only the working class but leftists."

In "Noam Chomsky: Imperialism's 'Armchair Anarchist'" (*WV* No. 735, 5 May 2000) we wrote:

> "Just as it took Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, a vanguard party leading the working class, to create the first revolutionary workers state in history out of the ruins of the autocratic Russian empire, so today it will take a revolutionary internationalist vanguard party to lead the fight for successful workers revolution against rotting American imperialism. That is the fight to which the Spartacist League, American section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and Spartacus Youth Clubs are dedicated. Those who set their sights higher than a comfortable academic career as an ideologist for the imperialist war machine should join us in our fight for a communist future for humanity." ■

WV Photo

New York SL protests cutoff of Soviet aid to Cuba, 1991. In opposition to "democratic" counterrevolutionaries like Chomsky, we stand for defense of Cuba against imperialist attack, capitalist restoration.

Karen Robinson

Desperately ill children in Iraqi hospital, 1998. Over 1.5 million Iraqis were killed by UN sanctions, which Chomsky advocated.

Spartacus Youth Club Events

NEW YORK CITY

Saturday, August 5, 5 p.m.

Class: Defend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!
For Workers Political Revolution!

299 Broadway, Suite 318
(between Duane and Reade Streets)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

BAY AREA

Thursday, August 24, 6:30 p.m.

Meet the Marxists
Caffe Strada
2300 College at Bancroft
Berkeley
For more information: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

Thursday, August 31, 6 p.m.

Meet the Marxists
San Francisco State University
Cesar Chavez Student Center
Room T153
For more information: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

The Russian Revolution of 1917

From the February Revolution to the July Days

We print below, edited for publication, the first part of a class given by comrade T. Marlow, which was one in a series of educationals on Leon Trotsky's The History of the Russian Revolution *(1932) held in January of this year as a Spartacist League young cadre school.*

*It was in the course of the year 1917 that Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the October Revolution, came over to the Bolshevik Party. Trotsky had declared his political solidarity with the Bolsheviks to the party's leaders upon his return to Russia in May 1917. Having facilitated the fusion of the Inter-Borough Group of United Social Democrats (known as the "*Mezhrayontsi*") with the Bolshevik Party, Tratsky formally joined the Bolsheviks as part of this fusion in July.*

VAAP

Russian workers demonstration calling for eight-hour workday, 1917. Banner in rear reads "Long Live the Soviet of Workers Deputies."

PART ONE

Trotsky titled the first chapter of his *History of the Russian Revolution* "Peculiarities of Russia's Development"; his summary of the 1917 February Revolution is "The Paradox of the February Revolution." These two themes continue throughout the events that occurred in Russia in 1917, which culminated in the October Revolution. The first goes back to Trotsky's brilliant prognosis, *Results and Prospects* (1906), which forecast not only the possibility, but the necessity for the Russian proletariat to seize power, leading behind it the mass of the peasants. This work, begun in 1904, was completed shortly after the 1905 Revolution, which shook the rotting edifice of the tsarist monarchy to its core. But it did not overthrow the monarchy. That task would have to wait until 12 years later, which is the second of Trotsky's themes. Its completion in the conquest of state power by the Bolsheviks occurred a mere eight months after the February Revolution deposed Tsar Nicholas Romanov and his dynasty.

A key outgrowth of 1905 was the creation of the *soviets* (workers councils). These were formed spontaneously by the insurgent workers and had not been called for by any of the left parties, the Bolsheviks included. Their significance as the most democratic and flexible form of mass organization of the working class quickly became apparent. Soviets reappeared in 1917 during the February Revolution with an added important difference—not only the workers hut also the soldiers were represented in the soviets. As Trotsky notes in his *History*:

> "As a matter of fact, thanks to the tradition of 1905, the soviets sprang up as though from under the earth, and immediately became incomparably more powerful than all the other organisations which later tried to compete with them (the municipalities, the co-operatives, and in part the trade unions). As for the peasantry, a class by its very nature scattered, thanks to the war and revolution it was exactly at that moment organised as never before. The war had assembled the peasants into an army, and the revolution had given the army a political character! No fewer than eight million peasants were united in companies and squadrons, which had immediately created their revolutionary representation and could through it at any moment be brought to their feet by a telephone call."

The politicization of the peasants—driven at bottom by their desire for a sweeping agrarian revolution—was critical. Without the support, overt or tacit, of the peasants, the proletarian revolution could not hope to succeed and survive in backward Russia, with its overwhelmingly agrarian population.

War and Revolution

The strains of World War I really laid the basis for the downfall of the monarchy. Trotsky's chapter on the tsar and the tsarina is one of my favorites: to put it mildly, Nicholas was a dim bulb on the family tree, totally isolated and deliberately ignorant of what was going on in his country (except for his generous support to Black Hundred pogromists, reports of whose activities he eagerly consumed). But with or without the will of the dynasty, Russia could not have avoided participation in the interimperialist conflict. Trotsky placed Russia's participation in WWI somewhere between that of France (a full-blown imperialist power) and China (with its comprador bourgeoisie subservient to the hig powers). In his *History*, he adds:

> "Russia paid in this way for her right to he an alty of advanced countries, to import capital and pay interest on it—that is, essentially, for her right to be a privileged colony of her allies—but at the same time for her right to oppress and rob Turkey, Persia, Galicia, and in general the countries weaker and more backward than herself."

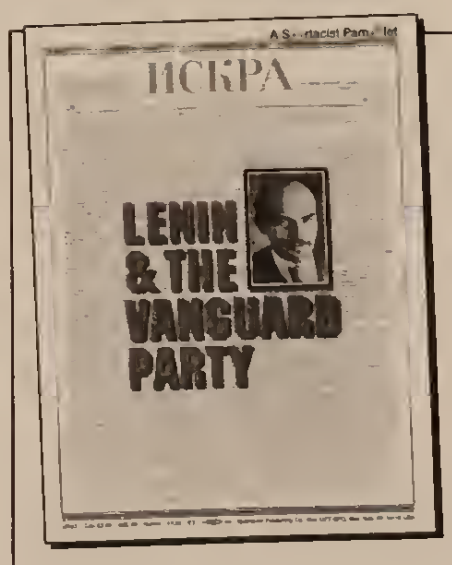
Russia did not do well in the war. There were some successes against the Austrians, but as Trotsky notes, this was less due to the skill of the Russians than to: "The disintegrating Hapsburg monarchy had long ago hung out a sign for an undertaker, not demanding any high qualifications of him."

When it came to the Germans, things went rather badly for Russia. In August 1915, that is, one year after the war began, General Ruszky reported to the Council of Ministers: "The contemporary demands of military technique are beyond our powers; in any case we cannot keep up with the Germans" (quoted in Trotsky's *History*). Two years later, in the aftermath of the revolutionary upheaval and repression of the July Days, and the failure of then-Minister of War Kerensky's June offensive, this same general would rail: "People followed the old banners as sacred things and went to their deaths.... But to what have the red banners brought us? To the surrender of armies in whole corps." The decrepit generals and the bourgeoisie would blame Russia's collapse on the Bolsheviks, whom they slanderously claimed were acting as paid agents of Germany.

By Trotsky's reckoning, some 15 million men, mostly peasants, were mobilized for the war, out of which 5.5 million were counted as killed, wounded or captured; some 2.5 million were killed. Trotsky encapsulated the situation as follows: "'Everything for the war!' said the ministers, deputies, generals, journalists. 'Yes,' the soldier began to think in the trenches, 'they are all ready to fight to the last drop...of my blood'."

The extraordinary casualty rates were due both to incompetent military command and a pervasive lack of supplies, including weapons and ammunition, and even boots. Meanwhile, the capitalists were making huge profits selling (often inferior) goods to the government, paid for by exactions on the working class and also by more and more loans from the City of London and the French Bourse (stock market). Rodzianko, Lord Chamberlain under Tsar Nicholas II, later President of the State Duma (Russian Parliament), and one of the leaders of the Russian big bourgeoisie, got rich by providing low quality, essentially useless wood to be used for rifle stocks. As an aside, one might note that Halliburton has a long line of predecessors! Trotsky speaks of the "shower of gold" coming from the top that funded the lavish parties of the rich, while the lower classes were desperate to find even bread.

What broke the back of the dynasty was that the army no longer wanted to fight, and units were increasingly either



First published in 1978, this pamphlet provides a detailed historical and theoretical account of Lenin's struggle for a vanguard party. Includes: "In Defense of Democratic Centralism"

This edition also includes: "The Fight for a Leninist Vanguard Party"

$2 (56 pages)

Order from/make checks payable to:

Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Random House

Mass burial of Russian soldiers during WWI. Russian deaths totaled 2.5 million, 40 percent of total killed fighting for the Entente.

abandoning the front in mass desertions or refusing to carry out orders. A powerful indication was when the Cossack regiments in Petrograd refused to suppress a workers demonstration in the Vyhorg district—the proletarian core of Petrograd. As Trotsky relates in the *History*:

> "...the officers first charged through the crowd. Behind them, filling the whole width of the Prospect, galloped the Cossacks. Decisive moment! But the horsemen, cautiously, in a long ribbon, rode through the corridor just made by the officers. 'Some of them smiled,' Kayurov recalls, 'and one of them gave the workers a good wink.'"

If the *Cossacks* were winking at the workers, the tsar was in trouble.

The February Revolution

Trotsky's chronology in Volume One of the *History of the Russian Revolution* gives a vivid idea of the tempo of events: on February 23, a demonstration for International Women's Day demanding bread sparks the revolution. By February 25, there is a general strike in Petrograd. The next day, the tsar dissolves the Duma—but neither this, nor the shooting of demonstrators, are to any avail. On the next day, there is a mutiny in the Guard regiments and the formation of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. By February 28, the tsar's ministers are arrested. Attempts to arrange an orderly succession failed—none of the grand dukes wanted to feel the rope, so richly deserved by Tsar Nicholas Romanov, around their own necks.

The revolution came as a surprise not only to the abysmally clueless monarch but also to the assorted political parties. Its spontaneity carried dangers. As Trotsky noted:

> "A revolutionary uprising that spreads over a number of days can develop victoriously only in case it ascends step by step, and scores one success after another. A pause in its growth is dangerous; a prolonged marking of time, fatal. But even successes by themselves are not enough; the masses must know about them in time, and have time to understand their value. It is possible to let slip a victory at the very moment when it is within arm's reach. This has happened in history."

It was only on February 25 that the Bolsheviks decided to issue a leaflet calling for an all-Russian general strike—when Petrograd was facing an armed uprising. What was clearly lacking was political leadership: "The leaders were watching the movement from above; they hesitated, they lagged—in other words, they did not lead. They dragged after the movement" (Trotsky's *History*).

Hence the paradox of the February Revolution: the tsar was overthrown by a massive upsurge of the Petrograd workers, with the support or indulgence of the garrison troops, and the soviets emerged with the real power. Yet the Provisional Government which was formed was dominated by monarchists—its leader was Prince Lvov—and even the Kadets (a bourgeois and landlord party favoring a constitutional monarchy) were considered to be on the left wing! The workers had toppled the monarchy, but the political power which they rightly possessed was handed off to the bourgeoisie like a hand grenade whose pin was already pulled.

How to explain this? On the face of it, the overthrow of the monarchy had been accomplished without the leadership of a revolutionary party. But as Trotsky points out, this is a misleading view. First, there had been the experience of 1905. Subsequent to that, despite the period of deep reaction, the Bolshevik Party was steeling its cadres in all arenas of work, both legal and underground. By 1912, the working class had recovered some fighting spirit, and a series of strikes occurred. The influence of the Bolsheviks within the proletariat was steadily growing. It is certainly within the realm of possibility that the proletariat could have conquered power in the urban centers of Petrograd and Moscow (as was, later threatened in the July Days in 1917). The question was how long they could have held it—without a shift in the attitude of the peasantry, one would likely have had a repeat of the defeat of the Paris Commune of 1871.

The world war changed that. Despite the initial hurst of patriotism in August 1914, in which the Bolsheviks were shunned hy the masses and repressed by the government, the seeds planted hy the Bolsheviks through their intervention into the workers' upsurges from 1912 to 1914 eventually found fertile ground. Alter August 1914, the defeats on the military front, and the corresponding economic suflering in the rear that was hrought about during two and a half years of imperialist carnage, had weakened support for the monarchy to zero. As Trotsky points out, even though the Bolsheviks as a party were repressed to the point of organizational collapse, the individual cadres were still alive and ahle to engage fellow workers on the shop floor. That is, if the Bolsheviks as a party were not in the leadership per se of the February Revolution, their ideas and agitators certainly played a critical role.

Dual Power

This brings us to the period of dual power. The downfall of the monarchy was brought about through the forces of the Petrograd proletariat and the active support (or neutrality) of the military garrison. The cringing liberals had no role, and the big bourgeoisie sought to cover their power with some regurgitated monarchical order. The Provisional Government was headed by Prince Lvov, with a sprinkling of Kadets representing the bourgeoisie and with the deputy chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, Kerensky, assuming the post of Minister of Justice in contravention of a Soviet Executive Committee decision that its memhers not enter the government. In reality, the power belonged to the Soviet, but its leadership was dominated by the Mensheviks and, especially, the Social Revolutionaries (SRs, a leftist party based on the peasantry); the Bolsheviks were a minority, even among the workers. The soviets of February reflected the *consciousness* of February, which accounts for the position of the SRs, who were the predominant party of the peasants and hence the soldiers.

VAAP

Revolutionaries take aim at Petrograd police headquarters, February 1917.

International Publishers

Above: First session of Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Moscow, February 1917. Below: Members of first Provisional Government headed by Prince Lvov, flanked by Kerensky (center) and Miliukov (second from right).

VAAP

As Trotsky noted, the Soviet leadership was ceding power:

> "The bourgeoisie received the power behind the backs of the people. It had no support in the toiling classes. But along with the power it received a simulacrum of support second-hand. The Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, lifted aloft by the masses, delivered as if from themselves a testimonial of confidence to the bourgeoisie."

When the Compromiser leadership crawled before the bourgeoisie, begging it to take the power, they were politically consistent—the Mensheviks thought that the Russian Revolution never could go beyond the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie. Even the sharp Miliukov (head of the Kadets) was astonished and proclaimed his praise to the Mensheviks' betrayal: "Yes, I was listening and I was thinking how far forward our workers' movement has progressed since the days of 1905" (quoted in Trotsky's *History*).

So here you have an official government, representing the bourgeoisie and committed to the imperialist war aims of the Romanovs and the Entente (the alliance of Britain, France and Russia in WWI), and side by side with it the Soviet, created by the insurgent workers and soldiers. Does this mean that there existed two actual governments or a state power of multiple classes? If that were true it would certainly violate the Marxist conception of the state. But it isn't true. If anything, the history of Russia between February and October was continual *conflict* between the Provisional Government and the Soviet—despite and also because of the hacksliding of the latter's Menshevik and SR leaders. Lenin, as usual, got to the core of the issue in his article on the dual power in April 1917:

> "The basic question of every revolution is that of state power. Unless this question is understood, there can be no intelligent participation in the revolution, not to speak of guidance of the revolution.
>
> "The highly remarkable feature of our revolution is that it has brought about a ***dual power***. This fact must be grasped first and foremost: unless it is understood, we cannot advance. We must know how to supplement and amend old 'formulas,' for example, those of Bolshevism, for while they have been found to be correct on the whole, their concrete realisation ***has turned out to be*** different. *Nobody* previously thought, or could have thought, of a dual power.
>
> "What is this dual power? Alongside the Provisional Government, the government of the ***bourgeoisie, another government*** has arisen, so far weak and incipient, but undoubtedly a government that actually exists and is growing—the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies."
>
> —V.I. Lenin, "The Dual Power"

Referring to the Menshevik/SR leaders of the soviets and their capitulations, Lenin adds:

> "They refuse to recognise the obvious truth that inasmuch as these Soviets exist, *inasmuch as* they are a power, we have in Russia a state of the *type* of the Paris Commune.
>
> "I have emphasised the words 'inasmuch as,' for it is only an incipient power. By direct agreement with the bourgeois Provisional Government and by a series of actual concessions, it has itself ***surrendered ond is surrendering*** its positions to the bourgeoisie."

In several instances, the soviets intervened and took actions which are normally the prerogative of the (bourgeois) state power. The first Minister of War in the Provisional Government, Guchkov, complained: "The government, alas, has no real power; the troops, the railroads, the post and telegraph are in the hands of the Soviet. The simple fact is that the Provisional Government exists only so long as the Soviet permits it" (quoted in Trotsky's *History*). However, this did not alter the fact that the Provisional Government was bourgeois, that it was pursuing the imperialist war aims of the bourgeoisie, and that the economy of Russia was still operating on a capitalist basis. The Provisional Government sought to strangle the Soviet in order to exercise its state power unfettered. Please recall Lenin's description of the Soviets as an *incipient* power. Dual power was inherently an unstahle situation, during which the contending classes marshaled their forces for the confrontation which would decide ***which class would rule***. In other words, it would take another ***revolution*** to put state power in the hands of the Soviets. And that is what would happen in Octoher.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated September 1.

Imperialism's Labor Lieutenants

Down With AFL-CIO Tops' Anti-China Protectionism!

With the profit-bloated capitalists looting pensions and ripping up health benefits, working people are saddled with a labor "leadership" that has overwhelmingly capitulated to the bosses' giveback demands. With few exceptions, rather than using the weapons of class struggle, like strikes, to fight against the bosses and their government, the labor tops push corporate boycotts and spend millions in union money to promote the "lesser evil" capitalist Democrats. And nothing more clearly exemplifies the union misleaders' role as "labor lieutenants" of capital than their anti-Communist campaigns against China for "stealing American jobs."

Charging that the Chinese government "systematically denies workers' rights," the AFL-CIO leadership petitioned the Bush administration in June to "immediately take action," such as hitting China with trade sanctions. The labor tops claim that suppression of workers' rights by the Beijing regime gives companies in China a competitive advantage, causing the loss of manufacturing jobs in the U.S. Joining the AFL-CIO in filing the petition were two Congressmen, Democrat Benjamin Cardin and right-wing Republican Christopher Smith, while another 40 Congressmen signed a letter to Bush supporting it. On July 21, the administration rejected the petition but took the opportunity to chime in with "serious concerns with labor rights and working conditions in China" (AP, 21 July).

Pushing national protectionism is poison for the U.S. workers movement; it means scapegoating foreign workers for the loss of jobs in the U.S. instead of fighting the capitalists at home. It is doubly pernicious when directed against China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The fact that capitalist rule was overthrown in China by the 1949 Revolution, leading to the building of a collectivized economy, represents a historic gain for the working class internationally. The aim of the U.S. and other imperialists is to destroy the Chinese workers state and restore capitalist rule in order to turn the Chinese mainland into one gigantic sweatshop.

The imperialists have a two-pronged strategy for counterrevolution in China. On the one hand, they aim to undermine the workers state by strengthening internal counterrevolutionary forces, including through capitalist investment. Thus Washington is today not inclined to disrupt U.S. economic penetration by issuing trade sanctions against Beijing. On the other hand, the imperialists are exerting unremitting military pressure against China. U.S. incursions into Afghanistan and Central Asia have significantly tightened the military vise around China, while over the past decade the Pentagon has strengthened its military deployment in the Pacific Rim, placing antiballistic missile systems in the region and signing a joint declaration with Japan last year in defense of capitalist Taiwan.

Just as workers in the U.S. must defend their unions against the bosses despite the sellout labor leadership, it is the duty of the international working class, especially in the U.S., to ***defend China against imperialism and internal counterrevolution***, despite the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regime's accommodation to capitalism. Insofar as it offers up low-wage Chinese workers to U.S. corporations, the Beijing bureaucracy acts as a labor contractor for the American bourgeoisie. The same Stalinist regime conciliates imperialism at the international level, by such acts as voting in the United Nations Security Council to condemn the North Korean deformed workers state's missile testing. CCP rule thus undermines the system of nationalized property and the defense of the deformed workers state itself. It is the task of the Chinese working class, led by a Trotskyist party committed to defending and extending the gains of the 1949 Revolution, to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy through ***proletarian political revolution***.

As the accompanying article "China's 'Market Reforms'—A Trotskyist Analysis" makes clear, Beijing's economic measures are deeply contradictory. While penetration by offshore Chinese and imperialist capital strengthens internal counterrevolutionary forces, increased trade and investment have led to a marked increase in development, including through the importation of industrial machinery.

But who are the AFL-CIO tops to scream about the lack of workers' rights in China? These same labor fakers, who accept the capitalist profit system and defend the interests of U.S. imperialism, have for decades overseen massive attacks on the wages, benefits, jobs and working conditions of their own members. The United Auto Workers misleaders, who are among the loudest voices clamoring for trade restrictions against China, caved in to the Delphi and GM bosses' demands for givebacks and job-slashing without even the pretense of a fight at those companies, not to speak of the need to organize non-union auto plants. A real fight on behalf of workers in the U.S. could also begin at Wal-Mart—not through campaigns against the Chinese exports that fill Wal-Mart's shelves but through a concerted effort to unionize Wal-Mart. That will take the kind of hard class struggle that built the industrial unions in the 1930s.

In 2004, an alliance of AFL-CIO unions issued a petition calling on the Bush administration to pressure Beijing to revalue its currency, the yuan (also called renminbi), or face sanctions. The so-called China Currency Coalition united trade unions like the Teamsters, Machinists and others with capitalist enterprises, manufacturers' associations and 35 (mainly Democratic) Congressmen. Two members of that coalition, Democratic Senator Charles Schumer and Republican Senator Lindsey Graham, sponsored a bill that threatens to slap a draconian 27.5 percent tariff on all Chinese imports. We oppose the labor bureaucracy's efforts to deny China the elementary right of any state to engage in economic commerce, to buy and sell on the world market. Not accidentally, the recent AFL-CIO petition effort feeds into the drive by the Democratic Party—the other party of capitalist imperialism—to retake control of Congress from the Republicans in the November elections, in part by portraying Bush as "soft" on China.

Andrew Stern, head of the Service Employees International Union and of the Change to Win Coalition, led a delegation to China in 2002 that broke with AFL-CIO protocol by meeting with the leadership of the All-China Trade Union Federation. But despite its split from the AFL-CIO last year and its "global union" rhetoric, Change to Win does not in any way represent a break with the class collaboration and chauvinist protectionism of the AFL-CIO tops. The UNITE HERE hotel, restaurant and garment workers union, a key component of Change to Win, has a long history of collaborating with the textile bosses in pressuring the U.S. and Canadian governments to limit Chinese imports.

The anti-Communist trade-union bureaucracy has a long track record of dirty work on behalf of U.S. imperialism, particularly its championing of "free trade unions" as a means of undermining the Soviet Union and East European deformed workers states during the Cold War. In the 1980s, the AFL-CIO tops channeled millions of dollars of CIA money to Polish Solidarność, a reactionary movement masquerading as a trade union that was in the forefront of the drive for capitalist restoration in East Europe. In 1989-92, as the fate of the Soviet Union hung in the balance, the AFL-CIO tops funneled in money and "advisers" to win combative Soviet miners to support U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary Boris Yeltsin. More recently, the AFL-CIO sponsored the "Labor Committee for a Free Cuba," a collection of Cuban *gusano* counterrevolutionaries and CIA Cold Warriors who dream of smashing the Cuban Revolution and retaking the island for their imperialist masters.

AP

Undated photo of anti-China UAW protesters in Washington, D.C. Anti-Communist protectionism is poison for U.S. workers.

The U.S. labor tops are trying to repeat in China the scenario played out in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, where capitalist counterrevolution, prepared by decades of Stalinist misrule, plunged the working people into mass unemployment, falling life expectancy and all-around social degradation. Capitalist restoration in China would mean even deeper misery, poverty and devastation for its population, and would further embolden the capitalists worldwide in their attacks against workers and minorities.

Working-class struggle must be consciously waged as an *internationaal* fight, based on the understanding that the interests of labor and capital can never be reconciled. In the U.S., that understanding means fighting to break the ties forged by the labor bureaucracy to the Democratic Party and the capitalist state and building a revolutionary workers party. As we wrote a decade ago in "Protectionism vs. Class Struggle: Exchange on Boeing Strike" (*WV* No. 634, 1 December 1995): "Our watchword is not the deadly dangerous trap of 'defending American jobs' against foreign competition, but the words which Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels inscribed on their banner nearly 150 years ago: 'Workers of the world, unite'."■

Abortion...

(continued from page 16)

Throughout the 1990s, bourgeois feminist groups such as NOW ***demobilized*** protest in defense of abortion clinics by preaching reliance on the Democratic Clinton administration. During Clinton's eight years in office, safe access to abortion was effectively gutted across much of the country, as the number of abortion providers plummeted 14 percent between 1992 and 1996, and a huge number of laws chipping away at abortion rights were passed. While occasionally paying lip service to women's formal right to abortion, the Democrats spout the "family values" rhetoric of the Republicans to win over their religious constituency.

On July 25, the U.S. Senate passed a bill criminalizing anyone who takes an underage girl across a state line to avoid parental notification laws. Last year, the House passed an even more comprehensive national parental notification law, and Bush promises to sign any version that comes to him. Forty-four states have parental notification or consent laws on the books. ***Down with "squeal rules"—abortion rights for teens!***

For decades anti-woman bigots along with the KKK and other fascists have terrorized women seeking abortions. Seven abortion clinic doctors and workers have been killed. State legislatures have passed every possible restriction to strangle access to abortion. Democrats and Republicans alike have axed welfare and slashed medical care. What is urgently needed is a fight to defend and extend women's rights, including the right to abortion. We wrote in the Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.:

> "In seeking to forge a Leninist party as a tribune of the people championing the rights of all the exploited and oppressed, we fight for the workers movement to take up the struggle for women's rights. We call for mass mobilizations backed up by the social power of the labor movement to defend abortion clinics against rightist mobs. We place no reliance on the bourgeois state, the enemy of women's rights, to defend the clinics. We fight for free abortion on demand as part of the necessary struggle for free, quality health care for all, in order to ensure that legal abortion can become a reality for working, minority and immigrant women."

The legal right to abortion was won as a result of the massive social struggles of the 1960s and 1970s, the civil rights movement and the radicalization that took place during the Vietnam War years. This short but intense period shook loose some gains for black people and women from a bourgeoisie in fear of losing its control. But as the all-sided attacks on abortion rights show, reforms are always reversible under capitalism. The liberation of women requires a socialist revolution, which will uproot the private property system and replace the family—the main source of women's oppression in class society—with socialized childcare and housework, to bring women fully into social and political life.■

China...

(continued from page 5)

is a conventional bourgeois term that serves to obscure the class divisions and conflicts of interest in society. Applied in particular to China, the notion of a "worker-community-centered economy" obscures the class difference between workers and peasants. The latter is a petty-bourgeois stratum whose income is derived from the ownership and sale of commodities. Peasants have a material interest in high prices for the foodstuffs and other agricultural produce that they sell relative to the price of the manufactured goods that they buy both for production purposes (e.g., chemical fertilizer, farm equipment) and for personal consumption. Moreover, the interest of peasants in high prices for foodstuffs is not eliminated by the transformation of family farms into agricultural collectives. The income of the collective's members is still largely dependent on the prices received for their produce, whether from a government procurement agency or on the private market.

Despite their professed Marxism, Hart-Landsberg and Burkett's outlook amounts to a form of anarcho-populism. Their notion of a "worker-community-centered economy" has an affinity with the classic program of a federation of politically autonomous and economically largely self-sufficient communes associated with the 19th-century anarchist adventurer Mikhail Bakunin. This can be seen by the nature of their criticism of the Chinese economy during the Mao era. They maintain that over-centralization of the economy was inefficient and, more importantly, implicitly identify a centrally planned economy with authoritarian political rule:

> "Economic planning had become overly centralized and, as the economy grew more complex, unable to effectively and efficiently respond to people's needs.... "There was a critical need to build on the strengths of China's past achievements while empowering workers and peasants to create new structures of decision making and planning. Among other things, this implied a restructuring and decentralization of the economy and state decision making to enhance the direct control of the associated producers over the conditions and products of their labor."

Hart-Landsberg and Burkett condemn the increasing inequalities generated by the market-oriented "reform" program. However, the achievement of a uniform level of wages and benefits across different enterprises, industries and regions necessarily requires a centrally administered economy. Only such a system is capable of redistributing economic resources from more productive enterprises, industries and regions to less productive ones.

In the roughly 150 pages of "China and Socialism" and the rejoinder to Lippit et al., Hart-Landsberg and Burkett do not explain how a "worker-community-centered economy" would operate in practice. For the most part they use the formula as a mantra to ward off the evils of neoliberalism. At one point they give as a hypothetical example "the creation of a national healthcare system," explaining that this:

> "would require developing a construction industry to build clinics and hospitals, a drug industry to treat illnesses, a machine-tool industry to make equipment, a software industry for record keeping, an educational system to train doctors and nurses, etc., all shaped by the developing needs and capabilities of the people on local, national, and regional levels."

Nowhere do they indicate the political institutions and structural economic mechanisms necessary to achieve this laudable goal. How would the fraction of total, available economic resources expended on the health care system be determined as against other needs, such as investment in industrial expansion and infrastructure, military defense, education, pensions, etc.? The coordination of different economic activities (e.g., construction, medical equipment, computer software) to develop a health care system would require centralized planning and administration. Such a system is ***entirely compatible*** with the active democratic participation of workers at the point of production, for example, advising on the best use of technology, establishing and enforcing safety standards, maintaining labor discipline and the like. The division of total economic resources among competing needs should be debated and decided at the highest level of a government based on proletarian democracy—i.e., the rule of workers and peasants councils. Proletarian democracy is essential for the rational operation of a planned economy.

Burke/Life

UPI

Above: Mao's People's Liberation Army enters Beijing, January 1949. Chinese Revolution smashed landlord/capitalist rule. Below: Chinese troops in Kaesong, Korea in 1951. Chinese army defended North Korea during 1950-53 war.

...And Maoist-Stalinist Ideology

Lippit points out that the Chinese economy in the Mao era was institutionally modeled on that of the Soviet Union under Stalin and that "there wasn't even a hint of worker control in either country." Hart-Landsberg and Burkett do not dispute that. What they find attractive in pre-"reform" China are certain elements of late Maoist ideology, notably the rhetorical egalitarianism associated with the Cultural Revolution of 1966-76.

The grotesquely misnamed "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was launched by Mao to purge the wing of the bureaucracy, led by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, that had led China during its recovery from the devastating results of the "Great Leap Forward" of the late 1950s. The latter was an insane adventure in economic autarky, exemplified by backyard steel furnaces, which ended in total collapse and widespread starvation. During the destructive frenzy of the Cultural Revolution, millions of students were mobilized as Red Guards, supposedly to fight against bureaucratism and so-called "capitalist roaders." In January 1967, when workers in Shanghai organized a general strike to defend their standard of living, alongside a national railway strike, Mao sent the Red Guards to smash the strikes.

During the Cultural Revolution, material self-interest was denounced as a "bourgeois" attitude. "Building socialism" was defined as changing the social psychology of the masses such that they identified themselves with the collective well-being ("serving the people"). A well-publicized credo of a Maoist partisan at the time was: "I must remember Mao's teachings to set myself *high* political standards and *low* living standards."

Hart-Landsberg and Burkett do not subscribe to this kind of "socialist" asceticism. But they do divorce socialist consciousness from the overcoming of economic scarcity and the achievement of material abundance in a future communist society, in effect *counterposing* technological progress to the egalitarian development of mankind. In their reply to Lippit et al. they contend:

> "Human development in the Marxist view does not simply get floated up on a sea of productive forces and consumer goods produced by capital, but rather occurs largely in and through the class struggle—understood (even while capitalism still rules, as well as after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat) as a long struggle for the de-alienation of all the conditions of production."

Significantly, they here identify raising the productive forces and increasing consumption levels with *capitalist* development. Unlike Hart-Landsberg and Burkett, Marxists do not counterpose class struggle to raising the productive forces of society. Quite the contrary. The ultimate goal of working-class struggle is to overthrow the capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois nation-state system, which *limit* the productive forces, and replace them with an internationally integrated and planned socialist economy. And the goal of the latter is to create a global communist civilization in which all members of society have access to

continued on page 12

Li Zhensheng

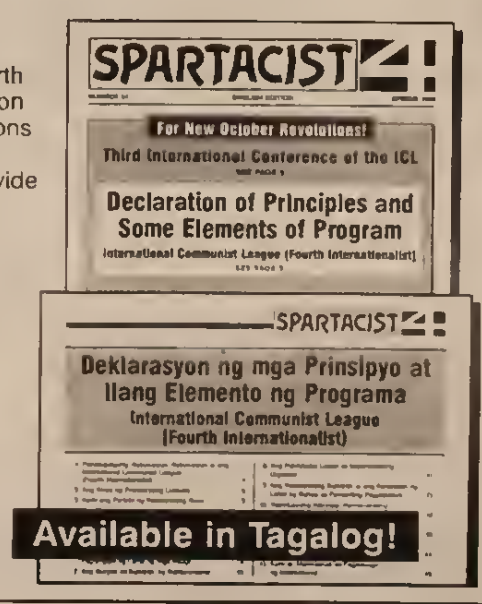
Red Guards humiliate government official, September 1966. Mao unleashed Cultural Revolution against rivals in Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy.

ICL Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program

The Declaration of Principles of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) is a concrete expression of our purpose: to build national sections of a democratic-centralist international which can lead the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution.

Chinese	$1	Japanese	$2
English	$2	Polish	$1
French	$2	Portuguese	$1
German	$2	Russian	$1
Greek	$1	Spanish	$1.50
Indonesian	$1	Tagalog	$1
Italian	$1	Turkish	$1

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



China...

(continued from page 11)

material and cultural resources sufficient to fully realize their capacities.

It is, as they say, no accident that "China and Socialism" was first published in *Monthly Review*. This has long been the main journal of American left-wing intellectuals of Maoist persuasion or sympathies going back to the 1960s when its leading figure was Paul Sweezy. Sweezy asserted that "the experience of the Chinese Revolution...has shown that a low level of development of productive forces is not an insuperable obstacle to the socialist transformation of social relations" (*Monthly Review*, November 1974).

The whole framework for the present-day debate between Lippit and Hart-Landsberg/Burkett is fundamentally false: that the choice is either integration into the capitalist world market or one form or another of pseudo-egalitarian national economic self-sufficiency. For Mao, the doctrine of "self-reliance" in "building socialism" was a typical Stalinist expression of making a virtue out of necessity. Socialism, the lower stage of communism, presumes a classless, egalitarian society based on material abundance. The notion that socialism can be achieved in one country is profoundly anti-Marxist. Socialism demands an internationally planned economy in order to direct productive resources on a global scale. In reality, "socialism in one country" in China, as in the USSR of Stalin and his heirs, meant opposition to the perspective of workers revolution internationally and a general accommodation to world imperialism.

Magnum

Mao welcomes Nixon to China in 1972 while U.S. rains bombs on Vietnam.

When China entered the Korean War in late 1950, the American imperialists and their allies like Japan imposed a trade embargo against China, prohibiting the export of a wide range of industrial products, especially technologically sophisticated capitalist equipment. This embargo was maintained for the next two decades. During the 1950s, the Soviet Union's aid to and trade with China contributed to its rapid economic development—on a par with existing growth rates—particularly the construction of large-scale, modern industrial plants. However, as the rift between the two nationalistic bureaucracies in Beijing and Moscow deepened, the Kremlin leaders severed economic relations with China in the early 1960s. It was then that Mao and his ideologues began preaching the virtue of "self-reliance," i.e., national economic autarky, as a basic principle in "building socialism."

However, a few years later the international political climate changed radically when China entered into a strategic alliance with American imperialism against the Soviet degenerated workers state. This was signaled in 1972 when Mao embraced U.S. Commander in Chief Richard Nixon while American warplanes were bombing North Vietnam. Beijing's alliance with Washington was sealed in blood by China's invasion of Vietnam in 1979. In return, the imperialists opened their markets and sources of supply to China. In the last half decade of the Mao era, the value of China's trade, mainly with the advanced capitalist countries, more than doubled, albeit from a very low base. However, the ideological posture of "self-reliance" was maintained.

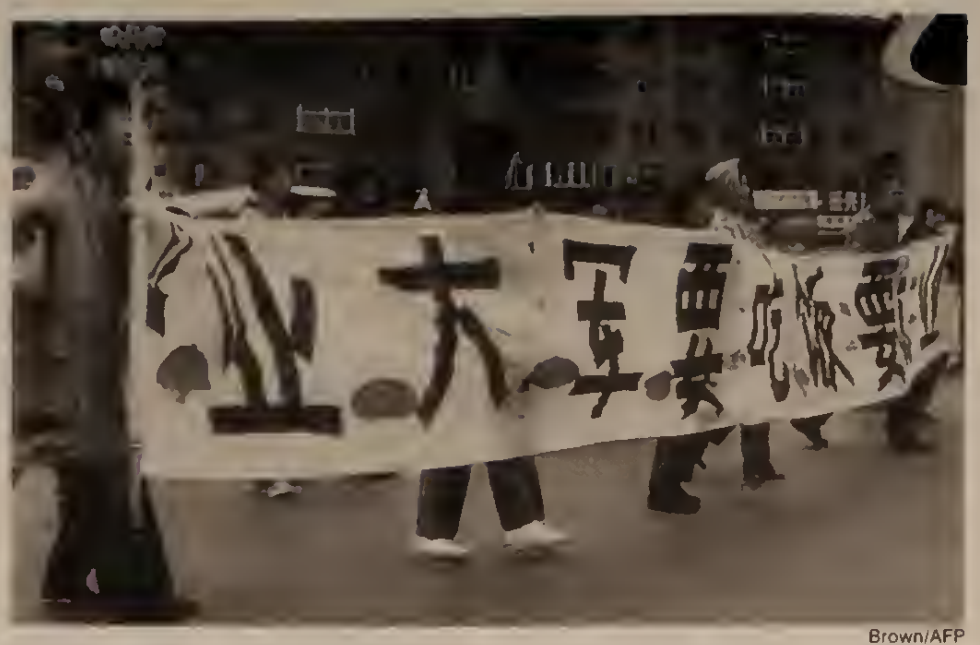
Hart-Landsberg and Burkett denounce the strategy of export-led growth that China has pursued for the past few decades. To be sure, they insist that they do not oppose foreign trade as such but only foreign trade governed by the laws of capitalist profitability: "The problem faced by workers is not export production per se, but rather the absence of alternatives to ***profit-driven*** export activity—alternatives that serve the needs of human development" (emphasis in original). But China exists in a world dominated by capitalist corporations, banks and states; thus its exports are necessarily subject to the laws of the capitalist world market.

As revolutionary Marxists, we do not oppose as such China's extensive economic relations with the capitalist world through trade and joint ventures with Western and Japanese corporations. A government based on workers and peasants councils in China, led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party, would seek to utilize the world market to accelerate economic development. But in doing so it would re-establish a state monopoly of foreign trade, while renegotiating the terms of foreign investment. More fundamentally, a revolutionary socialist government in China would *actively promote proletarian revolutions internationally*.

The real crime of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy—past and present—is that it has helped to perpetuate and indeed strengthen the capitalist-imperialist system on a global scale. In particular, China under both Mao and Deng was a strategically important component in the U.S.-led alliance against the Soviet Union during the last two decades of the Cold War. The Chinese Stalinists thus bear direct and no small measure of responsibility for the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR, a world-historic defeat for the international proletariat.

In the post-Soviet period, the CCP regime has continued to accommodate the interests and aspirations of American imperialism. Thus the government of Hu Jintao has endorsed Bush's global "war on terror," the political rationale for the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan and the current military threats against Iran, the second-largest supplier of China's oil imports. Beijing has collaborated with Washington and Tokyo in brokering "negotiations" aimed at stopping nuclear weapons development by North Korea. Any weakening of the defense of the North Korean deformed workers state against imperialist militarism will redound against China. While railing at China's commercial relations with the capitalist world, Hart-Landsberg and Burkett make no mention of the real crimes of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy—from Mao to Deng to Hu Jintao—against the international proletariat. In utter contrast to the Beijing Stalinist bureaucrats past and present, among the very first acts undertaken by Lenin, Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders of the 1917 October Revolution in Russia was to forge the Communist International as the necessary instrument to lead proletarian revolutions against the rapacious capitalist system.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



Brown/AFP

World Journal

Above: Laid-off factory workers protest in northeastern city of Liaoyang, March 2002. Below: Overturned police buses in Dongyang city in China's Zhejiang province, after mass protests against stifling pollution, spring 2005.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

- ❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
  (includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
  International rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail
- ❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
- ❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (incluidas Spanish-language *Spartacist*)
- ❑ I would like to contribute $_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

874

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Lebanon...

(continued from page 1)

the call for imperialist troops to Lebanon, calls for "political and economic sanctions against the state of Israel," presumably to be implemented by, among others, French imperialism. As our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France underlined in a July 23 leaflet, French president Jacques Chirac's proposals "simply represent France's bid to use the bloodbath—caused in large part by UN resolution 1559 [calling for Syria to get out of Lebanon and for Hezbollah to be disarmed]—to reinsert itself into its former colony and attempt to regain leverage in the oil-rich Near East."

The fake socialists are grotesquely and explicitly promoting their "own" imperialist rulers, who have waged war against the immigrant and Muslim populations of their countries, as a force for peace in the Near East. In Britain, Lindsey German, of the Stop the War Coalition and the Socialist Workers Party, signed a letter published in the London *Guardian* (28 July) complaining of Blair's "total subservience to the US" and declaring, "Our country is being humiliated.... We therefore call on the government to join the vast majority of the world's states, the UN secretary general and the Archbishop of Canterbury in calling for an immediate and unconditional ceasefire." And in Berlin, a July 21 rally concluded with the singing of the Lebanese and *German* national anthems!

With Israel bogged down in fierce fighting with Hezbollah, the entry of imperialist "peacekeepers" would only serve to hail out the Zionists by assuming the task their military forces have been incapable of carrying out—the disarming of Hezbollah. That is exactly what happened in Lebanon in 1982, when UN "peacekeepers" disarmed Palestinian fighters, setting up the massacre at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. At protests in London and elsewhere, our comrades carried signs reading: "Remember Sabra and Shatila—No reliance on the UN!"

In the U.S., the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) complains of the "weakness of the mainstream U.S. antiwar movement toward Israeli war crimes," and criticizes the Democrats for acting as "vocal cheerleaders for Israel" (*Socialist Worker* online, 28 July). Of course, the Democrats are superhawks for Israel, as they have been for decades. But the ISO sought to build a liberal-pacifist antiwar movement premised on appealing to just such Democratic capitalist politicians to oppose "Bush's war" in Iraq.

Unlike Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, which touched off massive protests in the Zionist garrison state, there has been widespread popular support for the current campaign. Nonetheless, there have been courageous protests against the assault on Lebanon, including a demonstration of 5,000 in Tel Aviv on July 22. Notably, 150 demonstrated against the war on July 25 in Haifa, a city that had been hit by Hezbollah missiles and where eight maintenance workers at a train depot died in a single barrage. The U.S. press has given wide coverage to Hezbollah's rocket attacks, which have hit innocent civilians, while grossly playing down the infinitely greater terrorism carried out by Israeli forces in Lebanon.

AP

July 30: Enraged protesters at main UN building in Beirut, after Qana atrocity.

By standing up to the Israeli assault, Hezbollah has won widespread support among the Arab masses, including among Sunni Muslims. Even the Sunni-dominated regimes of Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, which initially denounced Hezbollah for "provoking" Israel, have backtracked in the face of growing popular support for Hezbollah. Gratifying though it may be to see Hezbollah hold out against the Israeli war machine, there must be no illusions that Hezbollah is anything other than a reactionary fundamentalist movement that seeks to establish an Iran-style theocracy in Lebanon. Hezbollah represents a deadly danger, especially for women, secular Muslims and Christians.

That masses of the oppressed in the Near East today look to reactionary Islamic fundamentalism for their liberation is a direct result of the political bankruptcy of the bourgeois nationalists and of the historic betrayals by the Stalinist parties that tailed and capitulated to them. In the 1950s, Communist parties in Iran and Iraq attracted mass support based on their association with the 1917 October Revolution, which overturned capitalist rule in Russia. But the Stalinists betrayed the aspirations of their supporters, derailing potentially revolutionary situations by supporting bourgeois nationalists like Nasser in Egypt, Mossadeq in Iran, and Qassim in Iraq (see "Near East, 1950s—Permanent Revolution vs. Bourgeois Nationalism," *WV* Nos. 740 and 741, 25 August and 8 September, 2000). Throughout the Cold War, the U.S. manipulated and cynically reinforced religious fundamentalism as an organized force against Communism, most clearly expressed in the billions funneled to arm and train *mujahedin* reactionaries fighting Soviet forces in Afghanistan in the 1980s.

The struggle against Zionist aggression and imperialist neocolonialism requires a fight against capitalist rule, both in the imperialist centers and in the Near East. ***Down with the U.S.-Israeli axis of terror!***

We print below a July 21 leaflet by the Spartacist League/U.S.

* * *

With Israeli troops poised to invade southern Lebanon, relentless Zionist bombardment is turning large areas of the country into a pile of rubble and twisted metal. At least 350 civilians have been slaughtered, the country's infrastructure is in ruins, and Beirut is once again being devastated. Out of a population of less than four million, some 500,000 have been displaced. Meanwhile, the bloody Zionist rulers continue their murderous rampage against Palestinians in Gaza, pounding the densely populated strip, murdering dozens. The master-race mentality of the Zionist rulers dictates that for every Israeli killed, whether soldier or civilian, a score of Arabs must die. Behind Israel's latest harvest of blood stand the U.S. imperialists, who have given Israel a green light while continuing to enforce their own savage occupation of Iraq and beating the war drums against Syria and Iran. This alone should underscore the futility of appealing to the U.S. imperialists or the United Nations to come to the aid of Lebanon or the Palestinians. ***The myriad peoples of the Near East will not know peace, prosperity or justice until bourgeois rule in the region is overthrown through a series of socialist revolutions.***

Israeli Lt. Gen. Dan Halutz has ominously stated that Israel would "turn back the clock in Lebanon by 20 years," a threat of total devastation recalling the 1975-90 civil war. Israel has called up thousands of reservists, having already made several incursions into southern Lebanon where they faced fierce fighting by Hezbollah forces. It is notable that amid the chauvinist frenzy whipped up by Israel's rulers, some 2,000 people demonstrated in Tel Aviv on July 16 against the assault on Lebanon. As Trotskyists, we in the Spartacist League militarily defend Hezbollah against the Israeli military machine in this conflict, while maintaining our political opposition to this reactionary fundamentalist outfit. ***Israel out of Lebanon, Gaza and all the Occupied Territories! Defend the Palestinian people! Down with U.S. aid to Israel!***

Israel's latest offensive comes in the context of the murderous U.S. occupation of Iraq. American imperial barbarism, which includes the torture chambers of Abu Ghraib and mass murders such as in Haditha, has also stoked and unleashed an orgy of ethnic and religious bloodletting there. A recent UN report on Iraq stated that in the month of June alone some 3,000 civilians had been slaughtered—100 per day. In the first half of this year, on average, nearly 80 civilians were killed each day. Now the U.S. is ratcheting up its saber rattling against Syria and Iran, claiming they are the real powers behind Hezbollah.

In the event of an attack on Iran or Syria, whether by the U.S. or by Israel acting as its proxy, it is the duty of the proletariat in the U.S. and around the world to stand for the military defense of Iran and Syria, without giving political support to either the Ba'athist dictatorship in Damascus or the reactionary mullah regime in Tehran. In the face of imperialist nuclear blackmail, we say that Iran needs nuclear weapons and adequate delivery systems to defend itself and to deter an imperialist attack. Additionally, as part of our unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state, we support that country's development and testing of nuclear weapons and delivery systems. ***Hands off Syria and Iran! No UN sanctions against North Korea! U.S. out of Iraq, Afghanistan, the Near East and Central Asia!***

While the Beirut government, which came to power last year with Washington's support, appeals to the Bush administration to rein in Israel, the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties pledge their solidarity with the murderous Israeli rulers. For their part, the European imperialist powers and the United Nations debate whether or not Israel's onslaught is "excessive" or "disproportionate," and several bourgeois Arab leaders have condemned Hezbollah for "adventurism" after it seized two Israeli soldiers. In the face of Israel's savage offensive, there are increasing calls for a UN "peacekeeping" presence in southern Lebanon. An undated Web statement by the liberal "antiwar" outfit United for Peace and Justice demands a "Security Council resolution calling for an immediate and unconditional ceasefire" and "an end to US blocking of UN action." Beware illusions in the UN, an imperialist den of thieves and their victims.

From the Korean War to the starvation sanctions against Saddam Hussein's Iraq, the UN has acted as a tool of imperialist depredation around the world. It was the UN that disarmed Palestinian fighters during Lebanon's bloody civil war, setting up the 1982 massacre of some 2,000 civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps by Christian rightist forces directed by Israeli troops under the leadership of the now-comatose butcher Ariel Sharon. ***No to UN intervention!***

AP

Demonstrators in Haifa, northern Israel, protest assault on Lebanon and war on Palestinians, July 25.

Israel and the U.S. state that their aim is to disarm and crush Hezbollah. This can in the end be accomplished only by the annihilation of southern Lebanon's plebeian Shi'ite population, a larger of the numerous mutually hostile communities in the country. Far from being a nation, Lebanon is an artificial statelet carved out of Syria by the French imperialists following World War I. The civil war that ravaged Lebanon and killed over 150,000 people represented the bloodiest expression of the intercommunal strife that has always plagued the country.

The reformist Workers World Party, which prettifies Hezbollah as a "national resistance movement," declares that Islamic fundamentalism "is the ideological form whose actual content is the struggle against imperialism" (*Workers World* online, 20 July). Far from it. During the period of the Cold War against the Soviet Union, U.S. imperialism (and Israel vis-à-vis Hamas) fostered the growth of Islamic reaction as a counterweight to Communism and secular nationalism. This was most clearly expressed in the billions funneled by the U.S. to the bloodthirsty *mujahedin* butchers fighting Soviet troops in Afghanistan in the 1980s. We said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to extend the gains of the 1917 October Revolution to the Afghan peoples. It is an indictment of the political

continued on page 14

WW Photo

New York City: Spartacists at protest against Israel's attack on Lebanon, July 29.

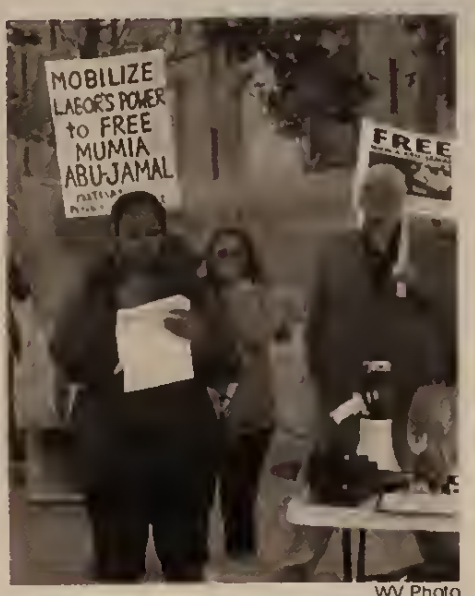
At Bay Area Rally for Mumia

Class-Struggle Defense vs. "New Trial" Reformists

On June 9, about 60 people gathered in San Francisco for an event sponsored by the Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal. The reformist group Socialist Action (SA), which dominates this "Mobilization," was, again, pushing its touching faith in the capitalist "justice" system. Thus, the slogans on its call for the June 9 event included: "One court decision from execution! One court decision from new trial & freedom!" SA and other reformist outfits have consistently appealed to the mainstream liberals who view Mumia's conviction as an isolated "miscarriage of justice," rather than what it is: a conscious racist frame-up of an innocent man. The death penalty hangs over the head of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an articulate spokesman for the oppressed and exploited, a former Black Panther member and a MOVE supporter.

Behind the slogan for a "new trial" stands an entire strategy *counterposed* to the necessary mobilization of the social power of the working class to fight for Mumia's freedom now. As we wrote in "For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!" (*WV* No. 872, 9 June):

> "The call for freedom for victims of the capitalist frame-up system has historically been a staple of the workers movement: Free Sacco and Vanzetti, Free the Scottsboro Boys, Free Huey Newton, Free Angela Davis. The demand for their freedom expressed the belief that their imprisonment for even an hour was an outrage. Since 1995, the call to free Mumia has been explicitly rejected as the basis for major mobilizations by the reformists of the Workers World Party (WWP), Socialist Action (SA) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), among others.
> "At a January 1999 'Emergency Leadership Summit Meeting,' representatives of SA, Solidarity, WWP, the RCP's Refuse & Resist, International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and others adopted a strategy and slogans for the April 24 'Millions for Mumia' demonstrations and beyond. Following a debate, the 'free Mumia' slogan and opposition to the death penalty were rejected in favor of calling for a new trial."



WV Photo

PDC representative speaking at San Francisco rally sponsored by Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, June 9.

Thus, while attending the June 9 rally, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee took no political responsibility for its explicitly reformist character—i.e., we did not endorse it. Over the objections of SA honcho and Mobilization spokesman Jeff Mackler, a comrade from the PDC (a legal and social defense organization associated with the SL) was able to address this gathering. Powerfully counterposing a program for a class-struggle fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty to SA's strategy of relying upon the good graces of the bourgeois state, comrade Carla Wilson explained:

> "We place all our faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatsoever in the so-called justice of the capitalist courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings for the cases we support, we recognize that the courts, prisons and police exist to maintain, to organize violence and terror, for the rule of one class over others....
> "In the summer of 1995, after a death warrant was signed, a powerful movement demanding that his life be saved erupted across the U.S. and around the world. His execution was stayed. But he is still in grave danger. Following this massive movement of millions in his defense, thousands of people were actually *demobilized* by reformist 'socialist' organizers of protests for Mumia—from Workers World Party to Socialist Action to the ISO [International Socialist Organization]. They tailored their appeals to what was acceptable to Democratic Party liberals who fled Mumia's campaign in droves because they could not stomach that [Arnold] Beverly's confession exposed the fraud of American 'justice' and showed the unity of purpose between the cops, the courts and the capitalist government—the same government responsible for killing Haditha civilians today in Iraq....
> "What's needed is a labor-centered fight, a mobilization of the labor movement and thousands and millions of others in the streets, built on the principle of political independence from the capitalist class enemy and its state. The labor tops' allegiance to the capitalist system is one of the chief obstacles to this. And it's important now that we try to mobilize to unleash labor's power in defense of Mumia and all the oppressed. Millions of voices must once again be heard demanding Mumia's freedom and the abolition of the death penalty. This is one of the struggles that will help to forge a revolutionary workers party that will fight for socialist revolution to get rid of this racist capitalist state."

SA's Mackler felt compelled to respond from the rally platform, and he fully confirmed the programmatic gulf that separates a class-struggle defense policy from that of the reformists:

> "If there is a new trial even before a racist criminal justice system, the San Francisco Labor Council will have representatives there because it passed a resolution calling for a new trial and Amnesty International and the European Parliament and the president of the California State Senate and the American Federation of State and County Municipal Workers, the SEIU and the postal workers, they have all called for a new trial along with thousands of organizations and millions of others. Their representatives will be in the courtroom....
> "We do not need to denounce anyone like the San Francisco City Council who six months ago passed a resolution for a new trial for Mumia or the National Education Association representing 1.8 million people or the California Labor Federation, 1.8 million."

Let's be clear: the difference between us and the likes of SA has nothing to do with "denouncing" other forces that have gone on record in defense of Mumia. As Mackler & Co. are well aware, it was the work of the Partisan Defense Committee and the SL that first brought Mumia's case to the international workers movement, liberal Democrats, civil rights organizations, death penalty abolitionists and the left, when many refused to come to his defense. Since taking up Mumia's case in 1987, the SL and PDC have advocated pursuing all possible legal means in Mumia's case and mobilizing the broadest possible forces on a principled united-front basis. At the same time, we realize that the courts will respond only if the pressure of the organized working class and its allies, organized independently and against the class enemy, is brought to bear.

We denounce the so-called socialists' abasement before bourgeois public opinion and the damage they have done to the cause of freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal. A lesson can be gained by looking at the case of professional boxer Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, framed up in the mid 1960s on false murder charges because of his advocacy of the right of black armed self-defense. After an international protest campaign, Carter won a new trial. He was convicted anew, the liberals fled his cause and Carter spent another decade in prison. Today, many of the liberals to whom the reformists appealed for Mumia's defense have fled, while the workers, blacks and youth who were the foot soldiers for Mumia are politically demobilized. Central responsibility for this rests with the strategy of reformists like Workers World and Socialist Action who rejected a class-struggle fight for Mumia, instead organizing activists on the basis that justice could be won from the capitalist courts.

Mackler & Co.: Reformist *Demobilizers*

The fact that, in a liberal enclave like San Francisco, the June 9 rally drew only 60 people speaks for itself. The reformists' strategy demobilizes not only protest on the street, but on the legal front as well. Thus, while Mackler recounted much of the evidence that proves Mumia innocent, he deliberately avoided one key piece of that evidence—the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that Beverly and not Mumia shot and killed Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner, the crime for which Mumia was framed up and sentenced to death.

Lebanon...

(continued from page 13)

bankruptcy of Arab nationalism and a sign of the reactionary political climate ushered in by the 1991-92 capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR that millions of Arabs today perceive the Islamic fundamentalists to be the best fighters against imperialism and Zionism.

Capitalist rule, which fuels national, ethnic and religious divisions, has driven the constant bloodshed that defines the Near East. As one after another "peace" plan heralds further massacre and immiseration of Palestinians, as every proclamation of "democracy" covers for bloody imperialist occupation and internecine bloodletting, it could not be clearer that there will be no equitable resolution to the conflicting claims of the peoples of the region until bourgeois rule is overthrown and imperialist subjugation ended. This is particularly the case in assuring the right of national self-determination for both the Palestinian Arab and the Hebrew-speaking peoples.

The fight for workers rule in the Near East crucially includes shattering the Zionist garrison state from within through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution. Key to this perspective is the forging of Marxist workers parties throughout the Near East to unite the proletariat—Arab, Persian, Kurdish and Hebrew, Sunni and Shi'ite, Muslim and Christian—in struggle against imperialism and against the Zionists, mullahs, sheiks and all the other capitalist rulers. Such parties, sections of a reforged Trotskyist Fourth International, are essential to break the proletariat from fundamentalism and from all forms of nationalism in the struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East.

The conquest of power by the proletariat in the Near East does not complete the socialist revolution, but only opens it by changing the direction of social development. But that social development can only be consolidated through the international extension of the revolution, particularly to the advanced, industrialized imperialist centers. Defense of those subjugated by the imperialists around the globe demands the pursuit of class struggle in the U.S. and other imperialist centers, pointing toward a proletarian struggle for power. The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, is committed to the fight to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the multiracial proletariat in the struggle to sweep away U.S. imperialism through socialist revolution.■

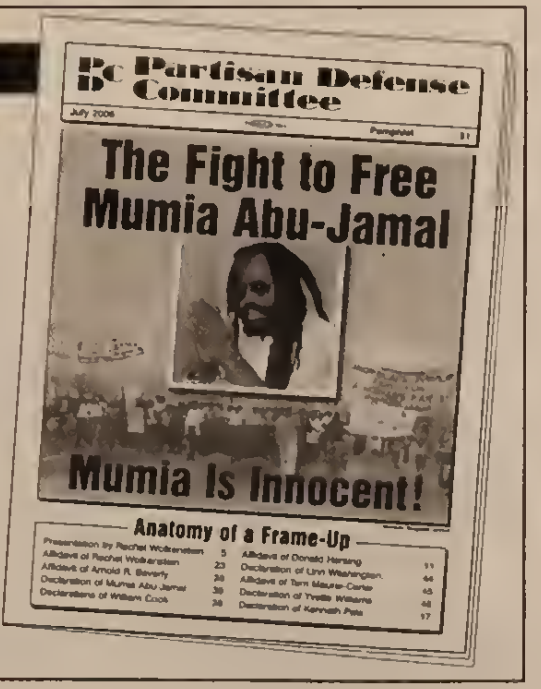
Just Out!

This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom.

$1 (48 pages)

Bundles are available:
15 copies for $10

Order from/pay to:
Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013



Mumia...

(continued from page 16)

Mumia's trial that the Philly police used similar methods.

Mumia's frame-up was not only racist—it was politically driven as well. The police and FBI had Mumia in their sights since his Black Panther youth and continued their vendetta as he became known as "the voice of the voiceless" for his searing commentaries on racism, poverty and repression—a role Mumia continues to play through his writings from death row.

The three issues covered in Mumia's new brief point to the racist and political bias that saturated his trial and appeals, proving that Mumia, like Dred Scott in 1857, has no rights that a court is bound to respect. One issue is the racist bias of the late hanging judge Albert Sabo, a member of the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) who presided over Mumia's 1982 trial and again at his post-conviction (PCRA) hearings in the 1990s. The court filings highlight a 2001 affidavit of court reporter Terri Maurer-Carter, who disclosed that at the time of the trial she overheard Sabo say, "I'm going to help them fry the n----r." During the 1995 PCRA hearings, Sabo routinely quashed Mumia's subpoenas, sustained prosecution objections and found all of Mumia's witnesses "incredible." Sabo jailed PDC attorney Rachel Wolkenstein, then a member of Mumia's legal team, and told another defense lawyer, "Counselor, justice is just an emotional feeling."

The brief also exposes the prosecutor's racist jury-rigging at the trial. Excluding black jurors was an official policy of the Philadelphia D.A.'s office, codified in a 1987 training video directing prosecutors to strike "blacks from the low-income areas" from juries because they have "a resentment for law enforcement." Statistical studies prove that this was the practice throughout the 1980s. Mumia's brief documents that for his trial "a black person's odds of being struck were *ten times* higher than someone who is white" (emphasis in original).

Mumia's third challenge strikes at the prosecution's outrageous closing argument that the jury should err on the side of convicting Mumia because he would have "appeal after appeal." This argument blatantly erased the reasonable doubt standard, telling the jury that in case of douht they should convict Mumia. Mumia's brief also responds to the prosecution's own appeal of Judge Yohn's 2001 ruling, which seeks to reverse the overturning of Mumia's death sentence. Yohn found the sentence to be unconstitutional because the sentencing form and jury instructions did not allow jurors to freely consider all the "mitigating circumstances" weighing against a death sentence. Yet Mumia has remained on death row this entire time.

Mumia's case is what the death penalty is all about. It is a legacy of chattel slavery and the ultimate weapon in the government's arsenal of repression aimed at the working class and oppressed. The capitalist rulers want to see Mumia dead because they see in him the spectre of black revolution, a voice of defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression. Acting as their spearhead is the F.O.P., which has tried to intimidate Mumia's supporters at every step.

On July 19, the day before Mumia filed his court brief, more than 130 British lawyers released a letter to the court calling to overturn his conviction. Their letter emphasizes that the courts' blatant bias against Mumia must be seen "in the light of the Katrina hurricane disaster in New Orleans, when television viewers in every country of the world witnessed an unparalleled display of racism on a massive scale, allowed (some would say enabled) by the US government." The National Lawyers Guild and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund will be filing *amicus* (friend of court) briefs on Mumia's behalf.

Spartakist

July 13: KfsV, PDC's fraternal organization in Germany, during protest against Bush's visit to Stralsund. Banner reads: "Mobilize the Power of the Working Class: Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, Now!"

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is an object lesson in the class character of the capitalist state—centrally the cops, courts, prisons and military—which is an apparatus of violence used to preserve bourgeois rule by suppressing the working class and oppressed. An international movement of millions stayed the executioner's hand in 1995 after Mumia's first death warrant was issued. But that movement was systematically demobilized by reformist organizations that tailored their appeals to the liberal "mainstream," to those who saw in Mumia's case a "miscarriage of justice" that could be remedied if only he got a new, "fair" trial. As Rachel Wolkenstein stated earlier this year, in a talk printed in *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal*:

> "This meant tying Mumia's defense to what Democratic Party politicians would accept, like the need for a new trial to clean up the image created by Sabo's indisputably racially biased trial and PCRA proceeding. This meant denying the truth about the capitalist state and its vendetta against black militants, the COINTELPRO targeting of Mumia, the murderous attacks on the MOVE organization.
>
> "Appealing to the 'mainstream' also meant ambiguity on the question of Mumia's innocence—and on whether he lives or dies, is entombed for life or goes free—so long as there is a new trial. It meant rejecting the very reasons that millions around the globe had taken up Mumia's cause: revulsion with the injustices inherent in capitalism—poverty, racial and ethnic bias, war. There was broad identification with Mumia's fight against the 'system' and for justice for all of humanity."

Every legal remedy must be pursued on Mumia's behalf. But Mumia himself told the French Communist Party's newspaper *L'Humanité* (25 April) that he had "very little hope in a favorable decision" by the Third Circuit court. Since first taking up Mumia's cause in 1987, the PDC has warned against any illusions in bourgeois "justice," placing *all* our faith in mobilizing the social power of the working class and the oppressed in defense of Mumia. If successful, the fight for Mumia's freedom would, as Wolkenstein stated in her talk, "strike a blow against the government's 'anti-terror' campaign and the evisceration of democratic rights. It would give labor a sense of its own power. The fight for Mumia is the fight for black liberation, for the liberation of us all, part of the struggle for socialist revolution."

We must mobilize now to make Mumia's fight once again a rallying cry against racist "legal lynching," against black oppression, against government repression. ***Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!*** ■

Why? As comrade Wilson pointed out in her speech to the June 9 rally, the Beverly confession makes clear that Mumia's case consists of a conscious, racist, political frame-up of an innocent man. This is an "inconvenient truth" for liberals and their reformist tails. Dave Lindorff—a regular contributor to the radical-liberal *CounterPunch*—was an early and loud voice trashing the Beverly confession. His book *Killing Time* (2003) has been lauded by, for example, the ISO. For its part, Socialist Action has totally disappeared the Beverly confession. (For more detail on the Beverly confession and the liberal left's response, see the new PDC pamphlet, *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!*)

In this same spirit, Mackler & Co. put a gloss on the capitalist courts' placing Mumia's case on a "fast track," when in Decemher the Court of Appeals ruled that Mumia could raise three issues on his appeal. For SA and Mackler: "The worst—but least expected—scenario would be one in which Sabo's unconstitutional sentencing instructions are upheld, and Mumia faces execution" (*Socialist Action*, December 2005). Least expected? The harsh fact is that every court to which it has been presented has refused to hear the Beverly evidence, and the Court of Appeals—like every other court in this case—has refused to hear the countless other violations of Mumia's rights. ***That is what makes our efforts to bring Mumia's case to the working class, the left and organizations of the oppressed and youth so urgent at this time.***

In the course of such a campaign, we seek "unity in action" while in no way compromising "freedom of criticism." That means we will join with others to demand Mumia's freedom and the abolition of the racist death penalty while maintaining our political independence and programmatic integrity. Such a policy differs starkly from groups such as the Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal (LACFMAJ). At the June 9 rally, LACFMAJ's speaker Carole Seligman did a credible job of dealing with the Beverly confession and raising the need for labor to take up the fight to free Mumia. However, she avoided any explicit criticism of the SA-led Mobilization's perspective. Thus, the LACFMAJ essentially provided a "left" cover for the reformists.

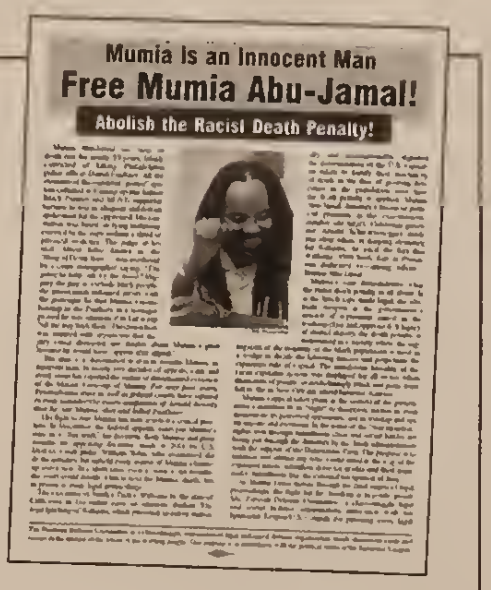
As against such political waffling, James P. Cannon, the first secretary of the International Labor Defense and founder of American Trotskyism, excoriated the reformists of his time and their "policy of 'respectability,' of the 'soft pedal' and of ridiculous illusions about 'justice' from the courts of the enemy," a policy that "seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle" ("Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?" *Labor Defender*, January 1927; reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator* [1958]). It is to this revolutionary tradition that we look when pursuing the fight to free Mumia now and to abolish the racist death penalty! ■

Join the Campaign!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.


Mumia Is an Innocent Man
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

Partisan Defense Committee
e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net • Web site: www.partisandefense.org
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099 .....(212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867 .....(312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462 .....(510) 839-0852

WORKERS VANGUARD

Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

New Legal Papers Filed

Terry/Gamma-Liaison

We print below a 1 August statement by the Partisan Defense Committee.

The fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is at a critical juncture. A prize-winning journalist, former Black Panther Party spokesman, supporter of the MOVE organization and defiant opponent of racist state terror, Mumia was railroaded to death row in 1982 on false charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. On July 20, Mumia filed his opening legal brief in the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit in Philadelphia, which last December put his case on a "fast track" for decision. The forces of the capitalist state have long been determined to carry out Mumia's legal lynching as a warning to those who challenge racist cop repression, to fighters against U.S. imperialist depredations, to workers who stand up for their rights on the picket lines. The Partisan Defense Committee—a legal and social defense organization associated with the Marxist Spartacist League—calls on all opponents of racist injustice, and in particular the labor movement, to mobilize for ***freedom now*** for Mumia!

Mumia's life is in grave danger. The court is expected to rule in a matter of months whether he will live, die or have further legal proceedings. Both Mumia and the prosecution are appealing a 2001 ruling by U.S. District Court judge William Yohn, who overturned Mumia's death sentence but upheld every aspect of his frame-up conviction. The Third Circuit has refused to hear any evidence of Mumia's innocence and has only allowed him to challenge three of the more than two dozen constitutional violations in his case. For more than five years, state and federal courts have refused to hear the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Daniel Faulkner. In an affidavit reprinted in the PDC pamphlet *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!*, Beverly says that he was hired to kill Faulkner, who was reportedly interfering with prostitution, gambling, drugs and police payoffs, and that "Jamal had nothing to do with the shooting."

The courts have suppressed the Beverly evidence because it demonstrates that the injustice done to Mumia was not the work of one rogue cop, prosecutor or judge but the workings of a "justice" system whose purpose is to repress the working class, minorities and the poor on behalf of the capitalist ruling class. The fight to free Mumia must be waged on the basis that he is an innocent man, the victim of a political and racist frame-up. The need to mobilize around this understanding is underscored by the fact that Beverly's confession and other proof of Mumia's innocence—including the suppression and coercion of eyewitnesses by police and prosecutors and their fabrication, some two months after his arrest, of a phony "confession" by Mumia—cannot even get a hearing in the capitalist courts.

The Beverly confession has been derided by liberals like the writer Dave Lindorff and all but ignored by reformist left organizations. Many liberals object to Mumia's treatment in the courts but see it as at most an "aberration" in an otherwise fair and just legal system, and they regard the idea that the cops would frame up an innocent man as absurd. But to see that such frame-ups are routine procedure requires looking no further than a special prosecutor's report released on July 19, which examines nearly ***150 cases*** in which Chicago cops used electroshock, suffocation and torture to beat bogus confessions out of black "suspects." Although the Chicago report is mainly a damage-control job, it nonetheless confirms that there was widespread torture and that police brass knew about it and gave a commendation to the cops who were doing it. It was well-documented at the time of

continued on page 15

Free Abortion on Demand!

Defend Mississippi Abortion Clinic!

Jackson, Mississippi: Protester at July 15 rally against targeting of state's only remaining abortion clinic.

Gauntt/Jackson Clarion-Ledger

The fundamentalist fanatics of Operation Save America (OSA), a reincarnation of the murderous Operation Rescue, have completed an eight-day siege from July 15 through July 22 at the last remaining abortion clinic in Mississippi. In addition to targeting the Jackson Women's Health Organization clinic, OSA rampaged at some two dozen other locations in the Jackson area, towing five-foot-tall posters of fetuses, screaming through loudspeakers, burning a Koran and a gay rights rainbow flag. A second week of intimidation and confrontation has been threatened by Oh Saratoga!, another crazed emanation from Operation Rescue.

Six clinics have been forced to close in the state during the past decade, leaving the Jackson clinic the sole survivor for the last two years. Groups like OSA have been emboldened by the bipartisan assault on abortion rights, and their stated strategy is to make Mississippi the "first domino to be tipped" in ending abortion in every state. OSA has similarly besieged clinics elsewhere, from Colorado to Texas to North Carolina.

The Jackson clinic annually serves some 4,000 women. Many travel many hours to endure a 24-hour waiting period, which forces them to miss work, scramble for nonexistent day care and sometimes sleep overnight in their cars in the clinic parking lot. Teens whose only source of school "sex education" is ignorant "abstinence only" tirades must get signed consent from ***both*** parents. Mississippi also has the nation's most sweeping "conscience clause," which allows health workers to refuse to provide abortion-related services or referrals.

Jackson is a 70 percent black city in the poorest state in the nation, where over 20 percent of the population lives below the poverty level. Mississippi has been devastated even further by the racist capitalists' abandonment of the victims of Hurricane Katrina. In the Mississippi Delta region, the poorest section of the state, there are no abortion options. The Jackson clinic regularly receives phone calls from women asking what they can do to end their pregnancies themselves. Some 87 percent of U.S. counties have no abortion clinics, making abortion virtually inaccessible in wide swathes of the country.

Groups including Anti-Racist Action, the American Civil Liberties Union, Feminist Majority Foundation, National Organization for Women (NOW), Radical Women, Unity Mississippi and World Can't Wait have courageously participated in protests in Jackson against the anti-abortion bigots, enduring death threats. But the political strategy of the protest organizers rests on appealing to the capitalist state's courts, cops and politicians. On July 21 and 22, a coalition including NOW gathered to appeal to the legislators at the capitol, whose state flag incorporates the Confederate stars and bars, symbol of slavery. Michelle Colon of NOW invited anyone opposed to the "tactics" of OSA to join, even groups that are not "pro-choice"!

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 875 | GCU C-701 | 1 September 2006

Lebanon

Down With UN Intervention! Israel Out Now!

For over a month, Lebanon was a place of carnage, destruction and horror inflicted by relentless Israeli bombardment hacked up by some 30,000 invading troops, all with the full support of U.S. imperialism. Over 1,000 men, women and children were slaughtered, nearly a quarter of the population was displaced, and the infrastructure of the country was devastated. The Zionist regime of Ehud Olmert and Amir Peretz declared that their intent was the annihilation of Hezbollah. But Hezbollah not only survived the onslaught, it inflicted significant casualties on the Israeli military as well as damage to tanks and other vehicles. Israel's setback in Lebanon has touched off a crisis for the Olmert regime, while Hezbollah is now idolized by much of the region's Arab population.

The failure of Israel's campaign in Lebanon is really what is behind the United Nations-sponsored cease-fire agreement, which Israel has repeatedly violated. Having opposed a cease-fire for weeks, the Bush administration suddenly switched track when it became clear that Israel was running into trouble in pursuing its military objectives. The crux of the agreement is a plan to deploy some 15,000 UN troops in southern Lebanon, although no foreign power was exactly jumping to place its forces between Hezbollah and Israel and get caught in a potential quagmire. But after initially offering only 200 troops, the French imperialists, Lebanon's former colonial overlords, have now committed 2,000 troops and the Italians up to 3,000.

The purpose of this imperialist UN force is to try to accomplish what the Israeli military could not—the neutralization of Hezbollah and its fighters. It is a set-up for more repression against the peoples of Lebanon. It was U.S., French and Italian "peacekeepers" in Lebanon who disarmed Palestine Liberation Organization fighters in 1982, laying the basis for the massacre of some 2,000 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps at the hands of fascistic Christian forces organized by the Israeli military. In the recent conflict, we called for the military defense of Hezbollah while maintaining our political opposition to that reactionary Islamic fundamentalist outfit. Today, we demand the full and immediate withdrawal of all Israeli forces from Lebanon and say: *UN troops out of Lebanon now!*

Addario/NY Times

Lebanese return to devastated south Beirut, August 14.

U.S. Out of Iraq, Afghanistan! Hands Off Iran!

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

As they carried out their slaughter in Lebanon, the Zionist rulers continued their campaign of repression and murder in the Occupied Territories. Nearly 200 Palestinians have been killed since late June, when militants seized an Israeli soldier. Dozens of Palestinian legislative and government officials from Hamas remain in Israeli prisons, while several imperialist powers, as well as Israel, have continued their embargo of the Palestinians as punishment for the election of a Hamas government in January. *Defend the Palestinian people! Down with the embargo! All Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories—Gaza, the West Bank, East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights!*

A July 21 leaflet issued by the Spartacist League/U.S. that was distributed at protests throughout the country warned against any illusions in the UN or other imperialist agencies as protectors of the oppressed masses of the Near East and declared: "*The myriad peoples of the Near East will not know peace, prosperity or justice until bourgeois rule in the region is overthrown through a series of socialist revolutions*" ("Down With Zionist Onslaught Against Lebanon, Gaza!" *WV* No. 874, 4 August). Opposed to this Marxist perspective, the reformist left internationally has given either open or backhanded support to imperialist "peacekeepers."

In Britain, Socialist Workers Party leader Lindsey German signed a letter on behalf of the Stop the War Coalition (StWC) pleading with the Tony Blair government to call for "an immediate and unconditional ceasefire." Then, shortly after the UN-brokered cease-fire went into effect, the StWC canceled an August 19 London demonstration. For the StWC there was nothing left to protest, even as the imperialists were gathering forces to occupy Lebanon! In France, the pseudo-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) cosigned a call for an August 12 Paris demonstration calling on the Chirac government to "act without delay for an unconditional ceasefire" and demanding that the European Union (EU) impose "sanctions against the Israeli government." These fake socialists promote as a force for peace the imperialist rulers who have waged war against the immigrant and Muslim populations of their countries, who carved up the Near East into a cauldron of national, ethnic and religious bloodletting, who slaughtered countless millions in their former colonies. And now they're getting the "cease-fire" they called for, in the form of the biggest "peacekeeping" force in the EU's history.

In the U.S., the Workers World Party (WWP), which acts as press agents for the Hezbollah fundamentalists, covers for imperialist intervention by refusing to oppose the UN intervention to which Hezbollah agreed. In 1982, when Israel invaded Lebanon in the midst of the Lebanese civil war, the WWP helped build a demonstration that June, which demanded "effective U.S. action to achieve Israeli withdrawal." It was such "action" that led straight to Sabra and Shatila.

Imperialist Hands Off Iran!

The U.S. firmly backed Israel's onslaught against Lebanon as part of its attempt to build a "new Middle East" by stamping out any regime or political force that does not bow to its dictates. In Iraq, the bloody U.S. occupation is resulting in the deaths of thousands each month, mainly now at the hands of sectarian violence. Meanwhile, U.S./NATO forces continue to pound the peoples of Afghanistan, where the imperialist occupation has meant continued brutal oppression of women and tribal warfare.

Syria and Iran, both of which support Hezbollah, have been repeatedly threatened by the U.S. and allied imperialists. A 21 August *New Yorker* article by Seymour Hersh stated that the U.S. and Israel had made preparations for an attack on Hezbollah well before the group abducted two Israeli soldiers on July 12. Hersh quoted a "Middle East expert" who said, "The White House was more focused on stripping Hezbollah of its missiles,

continued on page 14

South Africa: Permanent Revolution vs. "Two-Stage" Stalinist Betrayal...8

Defend Canadian Public Workers Union!
Defend the Palestinians!

Zionist Backlash Over "Boycott Israel" Call

The following was issued on August 11 as a special supplement to Spartacist Canada, *publication of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

For standing in defense of Palestinian national rights, the Ontario division of the Canadian Union of Public Employees [CUPE] has come under furious attack from the government, media and sections of the labour bureaucracy and NDP [social-democratic New Democratic Party]. Apologists for Zionist state terror rail that CUPE Ontario's defense of Palestinian rights equals support to terrorism. Others have viciously slandered the union stance as anti-Semitic. All opponents of Israel's murderous assault on Lebanon and its ongoing oppression of the Palestinian people must defend CUPE Ontario against this pro-Zionist right-wing backlash!

CUPE Ontario's late May convention, attended by 900 delegates representing 200,000 union members, unanimously adopted a resolution calling to "support the international campaign of boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel until that state recognizes the Palestinian right to self-determination." Endorsing a July 2005 call to action by 180 Palestinian organizations, the resolution specifically demands the dismantling of the "apartheid wall" built to seal off the West Bank, as well as the right of return for all Palestinian refugees. These demands are squarely in the interests of working people throughout the world. Unions elsewhere, including the COSATU labour federation in South Africa, have now raised similar calls.

CUPE Ontario's stance slammed into a ramped-up "war on terror" that targets the Muslim population for state repression, as well as the [Conservative Party leader Stephen] Harper government's hardline support for Israel. Canada was the first country to cut off aid to the Palestinian Authority following the election of Hamas earlier this year, acting even before the United States, Ottawa's senior partner and Israel's chief paymaster. Harper has obscenely described the death and destruction raining down on Lebanon as a "measured" response by Israel.

CUPE Ontario's call for active labour support to Palestinian national rights marks a break with the pro-Zionist consensus that has historically dominated in the Canadian labour bureaucracy and especially the NDP. Some unions, notably the Steelworkers Toronto Area Council, have defended CUPE Ontario against the right-wing onslaught. But in the main, the labour misleaders have distanced themselves from or actively oppose CUPE Ontario's stance. Among the most vile is New Democrat MP [Member of Parliament] Pat Martin, who raved in a letter to the rabidly Zionist *National Post* (5 June) that "the state of Israel deserves the support of the international labour movement.... As a trade unionist and an NDP MP, I do not want to be associated in any way with the Ontario CUPE resolution."

Both the national and B.C. [British Columbia] CUPE leaderships have made clear that they disagree with the CUPE Ontario resolution. The president of CUPE Local 2063 led a pro-Zionist picket of the union's Toronto offices. It has been widely reported that a member of the University of Toronto teaching assistants Local 3902 is preparing a lawsuit against the union, attacking its right to defend causes that are "irrelevant" to its members' interests. This is a frontal attack on the right of the labour movement to champion causes on behalf of the oppressed and an open invitation to union-busting by the capitalist state. ***Defeat the Zionist backlash—Defend union rights!***

Also joining the chorus against CUPE Ontario is Canadian Auto Workers president Buzz Hargrove. While denouncing CUPE Ontario's "finger-pointing and boycotts," Hargrove salutes Israel's rulers —including war criminal Ariel Sharon, who he calls a "brave leader"!—for making "genuine progress" by pulling out of Gaza last year (*Toronto Star*, 5 June). Seeking to line up the working class behind the bourgeoisie's anti-Palestinian backlash, this labour traitor reserves his ire for "the election of the terrorist organization Hamas."

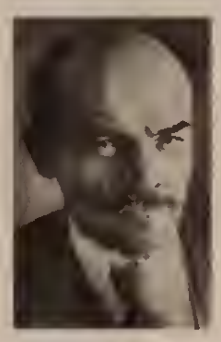
Contrary to Hargrove's whitewash, Israel's "disengagement" from Gaza, combined with the wall sealing off the West Bank, has allowed the Zionist rulers to even more effectively strangle the Palestinian population economically while giving the army a freer hand for military terror. Gaza is little more than a concentration camp: an impoverished, devastated strip where 1.4 million Palestinians are trapped, surrounded by the sea, an electrified fence and a wall sealing its border with Egypt.

Relentless state terror and devastation by Israel have long been visited upon the Palestinians. Combined with the political bankruptcy of Palestinian nationalism, exemplified by the ignominious 1993 Oslo deal between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel, this has driven much of the Palestinian people into the arms of the reactionary, anti-woman and anti-Semitic outfit Hamas. The latter's electoral victory was met with a starvation embargo. Now, with their imprisonment of much of the Palestinian cabinet, the Zionist rulers, like their U.S. patrons, are asserting their "right" to carry out "regime change" against any Palestinian government not to their liking. ***Down with the starvation embargo! No U.S./Canadian aid to Israel! Free the Hamas ministers, legislators and other victims of Zionist repression! Israel out of Lebanon, Gaza, the West Bank and all the Occupied Territories!***

Boycotts, Divestment and the Class Struggle

To his credit, CUPE Ontario president Sid Ryan has refused to buckle in the face

TROTSKY



LENIN

Bolshevism and the Spanish Civil War

Seventy years ago, the Spanish working class rose up against General Franco's attempt to overthrow the Republican government, which touched off the 1936-39 Civil War. As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky and his Spanish comrades stressed, the road to defeating Franco's fascist forces lay in the seizure of state power by the proletariat. But the treacherous leaders of the working class —centrally the Stalinists, joined by the social democrats, anarchists and the centrist POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification)—allied with the Republican bourgeoisie in a popular-front government. Their collaboration in the suppression of the insurgent workers paved the way for the victory of Franco's forces.

According to the Socialists and Stalinists, i.e., the Mensheviks of the first and second instances, the Spanish revolution was called upon to solve only its "democratic" tasks, for which a united front with the "democratic" bourgeoisie was indispensable. From this point of view, any and all attempts of the proletariat to go beyond the limits of bourgeois democracy are not only premature but also fatal. Furthermore, on the agenda stands not the revolution but the struggle against the insurgent Franco.

Fascism, however, is not feudal but bourgeois reaction. A successful fight against bourgeois reaction can be waged only with the forces and methods of the proletarian revolution. Menshevism, itself a branch of bourgeois thought, does not have and cannot have any inkling of these facts.

The Bolshevik point of view, clearly expressed only by the young section of the Fourth International, takes the theory of permanent revolution as its starting point, namely, that even purely democratic problems, like the liquidation of semi-feudal land ownership, cannot be solved without the conquest of power by the proletariat; but this in turn places the socialist revolution on the agenda.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Lessons of Spain: The Last Warning," 17 December 1937, reprinted in *The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)* (Pathfinder, 1973)

CORRECTION

In the article "Defend Mississippi Abortion Clinic!" (*WV* No. 874, 4 August), we wrote: "NOW gathered to appeal to the legislators at the capital, whose state flag incorporates the Confederate stars and bars, symbol of slavery." While the "stars and bars" flag is certainly a symbol of slavery, the flag that is incorporated into the Mississippi state flag is the much more well-known Confederate battle flag. The "stars and bars" was the official flag of the Confederacy from 1861 until 1863. Due to the similarity between the Union flag and the "stars and bars," the Confederate battle flag was more frequently used during the fighting.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Bonnie Brodie

EDITOR: Ray Bishop

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemery Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Broslus (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, Michael Davisson, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alan Wilde

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is August 29.

No. 875 **1 September 2006**

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Bush, the Democrats and the London "Terror" Scare

The "war on terror" has been ratcheted up yet again after British authorities arrested some two dozen British-born Muslims on August 10, claiming that they had engaged in a conspiracy to blow up airplanes flying to the U.S. The record of British security in combatting "terror" includes the July 2005 killing of Brazilian-born electrician Jean Charles de Menezes, who police later admitted had nothing to do with the London bombing that month, and the shooting of a young Muslim in his London home this summer, then releasing him and his brother without charges. The criminal 2005 subway bombing was carried out by individuals of whom British security had never heard. So why should anyone believe anything issuing from the Blair government about the latest arrests?

The current scare comes at a very convenient time for both Tony Blair and George Bush. Each administration has faced growing popular opposition to their neocolonial occupation of Iraq, as that country plunges ever downward in a bloody spiral, as well as increasing skepticism over demands to sacrifice civil liberties in the name of "national security." So now they're grabbing at a new opportunity to try to ram through more draconian measures.

New York Times Magazine (20 August) writer Christopher Caldwell noted that even before the arrests, Blair had stated that "civil liberty arguments are not so much wrong as just made for another age." Caldwell chillingly laid out Blair's meaning: forget about "the rights of defendants"—the British state will no longer even pretend "to build bridges between communities and classes." Blair's New Labour government had already enacted laws allowing "terror suspects" to be held for 28 days without charges. Following the arrests, Bush's Homeland Security chief, Michael Chertoff, lauded Britain's "ability to hold people for a period of time" as "a tremendous advantage," and Attorney General Alberto Gonzales called for a "side-by-side review of American and British counterterrorism laws" (*New York Times*, 15 August). Of course, Britain doesn't have a Constitution. No doubt Gonzales & Co. would find it more convenient if Bush were simply made King.

The Democratic Party seized on the London events to grab the mantle of "national security" for themselves in the run-up to the November Congressional elections. As the *New York Times* (11 August) reported, "Democrats attacked Republicans as failing to improve airline security and, most of all, argued that the decision to invade Iraq had been a distraction that depleted United States resources and allowed the world to become more dangerous." In fact, the terrorist followers of Osama bin Laden—Washington's Frankenstein's monster—and the like are responding in their own distorted way to the ravages of U.S. imperialism.

The "war on terror" is nothing but a pretext for imperialist wars abroad and for a war at home against the rights of not only immigrants, but also the black population and ultimately the working people as a whole. Immediately following the August 10 arrests, U.S. police and customs officials manipulated the hysteria to not only hassle passengers—even seizing orthotics and lubricated condoms!—but also to treat workers in the airline industry as potential "enemies within." Already subject to union-busting attacks, airport workers suddenly faced new rules and restrictions, some of which were dropped after airline executives screamed they were costing big bucks. And the Bush administration received a setback when a black federal judge in Detroit ruled on August 17 that the National Security Agency's warrantless wiretapping program is unconstitutional.

As we pointed out at the onset of the "war on terror," what the capitalist rulers get away with will be determined by class and social struggle. What is crucial is to mobilize the social power of the labor movement to fight against the rulers' imperialist military adventures abroad and their attacks on our rights at home. ■

---

of the pro-Zionist barrage. He told one reporter, "I come out of Ireland and know about the right to self-determination. You can't have self-determination without a viable state." Indeed, there are many parallels between Israel's oppression of the Palestinians and the long history of Britain's suppression of Irish national rights.

As defenders of the Palestinian people and opponents of Israel's blitzkrieg in Lebanon, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste stands with CUPE Ontario against the Zionist-orchestrated anti-union offensive. At the same time, we oppose the political strategy of calling for boycotts, divestment and sanctions against Israel promoted by the CUPE Ontario resolution. Such a strategy is not merely ineffective: it is counterposed to the only road to social and national liberation for the oppressed Palestinians, which lies through the ***class struggle*** of the international proletariat.

The CUPE Ontario resolution appeals to "international law," i.e., the United Nations. A CUPE Ontario call to join an August 12 protest at the Israeli consulate prominently includes the slogan "Support UN Peacekeeping." And in a July 31 letter to Stephen Harper, Sid Ryan calls for the Canadian government to stop backing Israel and return to "the proud history and tradition of Canada's role as an international peacekeeper."

The UN and the Canadian imperialist rulers are not and have never been "peacekeepers"! From the 1950-53 Korean War to the starvation sanctions that killed 1.5 million Iraqis, the UN has acted as a tool of imperialist depredation around the world. It was the UN that disarmed Palestinian fighters during Lebanon's 1975-90 civil war, setting up the 1982 massacre of 2,000 civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps by Christian rightist forces

Getty

April 5: Suffering under Israeli and imperialist sanctions, Palestinians in Gaza plead for aid at World Food Program office.

directed by Israeli troops under the leadership of Ariel Sharon. Under successive Liberal and Tory governments, Canadian UN troops have for decades acted as border guards for the Zionist rulers, including today in south Lebanon. Against the current Israeli attack on Lebanon, we stand in military defense of Hezbollah without giving that reactionary fundamentalist outfit any political support whatsoever. *No to UN intervention!*

Campaigns for divestment and sanctions sow illusions that pressuring the Canadian government, corporations and campus administrations will produce a more benevolent policy toward the Palestinians. This is often promoted as a "peaceful" alternative to military defense of the Palestinians against Israel's rampage. What is urgently needed is the mobilization of the working class in this country (and in the U.S. and elsewhere) in concrete acts of solidarity with the besieged Palestinian and Lebanese masses—for example, refusing to handle military goods to Israel and organizing material aid to the Palestinians.

This perspective can only be realized by mobilizing workers *against* their own rulers, not by fostering illusions in the supposed benevolence of the imperialist state. While defending CUPE Ontario against the Zionist hysteria, reformist left groups like the International Socialists (I.S.) and Communist Party (CP) have uncritically backed the calls for sanctions and divestment. This reflects their own dead-end stance of pushing the Canadian rulers to take a stand against their senior partners in Washington. Typical is a July 15 statement by the Canadian Peace Alliance, whose steering committee includes I.S. and CP supporters, demanding "in the name of humanitarianism and Canada's historic diplomatic role that our government reverse its shameful support for US and Israeli aggression."

As revolutionary Marxists, we advance the perspective of a socialist federation of the Near East. That requires struggle by the Arab, Hebrew-speaking and other working classes of the region to smash the Zionist state and the despotic regimes in the surrounding Arab countries. We defend the Palestinians in their struggle against Zionist rampage and occupation. However, as long as the conflict remains one of nation against nation, the Palestinians can only lose out to the heavily armed (including with nuclear weapons) and more technologically advanced Zionist state.

At bottom, the Israeli/Palestinian conflict is one of interpenetrated peoples, two populations laying claim to the same small piece of land. There can be no equitable resolution to the conflicting national claims of the Palestinians and Hebrew-speaking people under capitalism. It is necessary to break the Hebrew-speaking proletariat from Zionist chauvinism and the Palestinians from Arab nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism. That requires the construction of Leninist-Trotskyist parties committed to the overthrow of capitalist rule in Israel and throughout the region. We have no illusions that this will be an easy task. Winning the Hebrew-speaking proletariat to champion defense of the Palestinians will likely require a historic event like the victory of social revolution in another country in the Near East extending a hand of proletarian internationalism to the Israeli workers.

From North America to the Near East, a *class* axis of struggle is desperately needed. Here in Canada, we fight to break the working class from the grip of the pro-capitalist NDP and labour bureaucracy, winning it to champion the cause of the oppressed—from the Palestinians abroad to immigrants, Native people and the Québécois at home. In the fight to forge a revolutionary workers party, the proletariat will become conscious of its power as a class to sweep away the rapacious, war-mad capitalist system through socialist revolution. ■

Spartacist Forums

Capitalist Rulers Left Blacks, Poor to Die

New Orleans: One Year After Katrina
Racist Atrocity Continues

Speaker: Barry James, Spartacist League
with a guest speaker from New Orleans
and an update on the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Saturday, Sept. 16, 3 p.m.
6 Harrison Street, Manhattan
(Take the No. 1 subway to Franklin St., walk west on Franklin to Hudson, one block south on Hudson to Harrison)

NEW YORK

For more information: (212) 267-1025 or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

Against Capitalists' Divide-and-Rule!

The Fight for Immigrant Rights and Black Liberation

Speaker: Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee

Saturday, Sept. 16, 3 p.m.
Immanuel Presbyterian Church
Geneva Room, 3300 Wilshire Blvd.
(One block west of Wilshire/Vermont Red Line Station)

LOS ANGELES

For more information: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

Saturday, Sept. 23, 4 p.m.
YWCA, Classroom 2
1515 Webster St. (at 15th St.), Oakland
(2 blocks from the Oakland City Center/12th St. BART Station)

BAY AREA

For more information: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

Defend Chinese Deformed Workers State!

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

AP

China Labour Bulletin

Left: Hu Jintao, now Chinese president, visiting Wall Street, April 2002. Right: Tianwang Textile Factory workers struck for almost seven weeks in 2004 against Hong Kong bosses after privatization of plant.

China's "Market Reforms" —A Trotskyist Analysis—

We print below the second and concluding part of this article. Part One appeared in WV *No. 874 (4 August).*

PART TWO

Martin Hart-Landsberg and Paul Burkett have very little to say about China in the Mao era in *China and Socialism: Market Reforms and Class Struggle* (which originally appeared as a lengthy article in *Monthly Review*, July-August 2004). And that little is confused and contradictory. They concede that "at the time of Mao's death in 1976, the Chinese people remained far from achieving the promises of socialism." But since a main theme of theirs is that capitalism has been "restored" in China, they clearly regard Mao's China as socialist in some sense and as qualitatively different from and better than what exists in China today. In their rejoinder to Victor Lippit, which appeared in *Critical Asian Studies* (37:4 [2005]), they write of "China's movement away from socialism."

For his part, Lippit argues in the roundtable discussion of *China and Socialism* that appeared in *Critical Asian Studies* (37:3 [2005]): "Such a system cannot be called 'socialism'; my own preference is to use the term 'statism'." Moreover, he maintains that socialism is not possible in the present historical epoch, especially in economically backward countries. Like Hart-Landsberg and Burkett, he does not define what he means by socialism. From the context he clearly means something close to full communism: a society in which the productivity of labor has reached a level sufficient to overcome economic scarcity.

Despite their profession of a Marxist theoretical framework, Hart-Landsberg and Burkett evidently do not consider the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat to be relevant in understanding post-1949 China. Yet Karl Marx developed this concept to explain a post-revolutionary society still characterized by economic scarcity and inequality, differential wage labor and a coercive state apparatus:

> "What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it *emerges* from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges. Accordingly, the individual producer receives back from society—after the deductions have been made—exactly what he gives to it....
> "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*."
>
> —*Critique of the Gotha Program* (1875); emphasis in original

Manifestly, the People's Republic of China, from Mao Zedong to Hu Jintao, was and is very different from the normative concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat developed by Marx in the latter part of the 19th century. China is a nationally isolated and bureaucratically ruled workers state in an economically backward country confronting hostile and more powerful capitalist-imperialist states.

As is well known, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels believed that proletarian revolutions would first occur in West Europe and would then extend to North America. Hence, they envisioned the dictatorship of the proletariat as a relatively brief, harmonious transition to socialism. The actual course of history, beginning with the first successful socialist revolution in economically backward Russia in 1917, turned out to be more complex and contradictory. Nonetheless, the Bolshevik Party of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky never thought that socialism could be built in Russia alone. In fact, they directed their entire activity, from the founding of the Third International on, to the construction of revolutionary workers parties across the globe to lead the struggle for the proletarian overthrow of capitalist rule internationally.

However, the failure of international revolution, particularly the defeat of the 1923 German revolution, and the increasing isolation of the young Soviet workers republic, combined with the devastation of World War I and the Civil War, laid the material basis for the growth of nationalist bureaucratism. Beginning in 1923-24, the Soviet Union underwent a bureaucratic-nationalist degeneration under the increasingly despotic rule of Joseph Stalin. Nonetheless, Soviet global power remained a partial counterweight to world imperialism, thus making possible the Chinese Revolution of 1949 and the consolidation of the bureaucratically deformed workers state that emerged from it. During the Korean War of the early 1950s, the U.S. rulers not only threatened but actually considered using nuclear weapons against Red China. They did not do so mainly for fear that this might lead to war with a nuclear-armed USSR.

The victory of the Communist-led, peasant-based "Red Armies" over the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang in 1949 destroyed the military apparatus of the semicolonial Chinese capitalist state. Chiang Kai-shek and his cohorts fled with the remnants of their armed forces to the island of Taiwan under the protection of American imperialism. The new Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regime immediately established a monopoly of political power and organization. The Chinese bourgeoisie was thus politically expropriated, and a few years later the economy was nationalized. At the same time, any movement on the part of the working class toward independent political activity was ruthlessly suppressed. Mao and his colleagues proceeded to construct a state modeled in its basic economic and political structures on the Soviet Union under Stalin.

Mao's China: Ideology and Reality

During the 1960s, Maoism, with its appeals to egalitarianism, mass mobilizations and moral as against material incentives, was attractive for many left-wing intellectuals around the world. Hart-Landsberg and Burkett reprise that attitude, though they are much more critical of Mao's China than was the earlier generation of Western Maoist intellectuals, such as Paul Sweezy. Still, they describe China in the Mao era as "achieving full employment, basic social security, and generalized equality for Chinese working people."

Certainly, income distribution in China was far more egalitarian than in the neocolonial capitalist countries of Asia like India and Indonesia. But it was not more egalitarian than in the Soviet Union in this period, and was actually less so in certain important respects. In the mid 1950s, China instituted a wage and salary structure in state-owned enterprises modeled on that of the Soviet Union, and that structure was maintained throughout the Mao era. The income ratio of the top administrative grade to the lowest working-class grade was 15 to 1. Moreover, as in the USSR, high-level party and government functionaries, enterprise managers and the like in China could and did supplement their official income through various forms of parasitism and corruption.

The widening socioeconomic gulf between rural and urban China did not begin with the market-oriented "reforms" of Deng Xiaoping. It was already pronounced in the last years of the Mao era. Between 1952 and 1975, the non-agricultural population's average per cap-

ita consumption increased by 83 percent compared to only 41 percent for rural toilers (Carl Riskin, *China's Political Economy: The Quest for Development since 1949* [1987]). In 1980 (at the start of the "reform" era), city dwellers consumed 60 percent more food grain per capita and ate almost two and a half times as much meat as members of the rural communes. The difference in ownership of manufactured consumer goods (e.g., watches, sewing machines, radios) was even greater. Overall, average consumption in urban China was two to three times as much as in the countryside.

By contrast, in the Soviet Union during the 1960s and '70s there was an appreciable *narrowing* of the gap between the living standards of the rural and urban populace. A large fraction of collective farms voluntarily transformed themselves into state farms whose workers received uniform wages and benefits not dependent upon fluctuating agricultural output and government procurement prices. By the early 1980s, the earnings of farmers in the USSR were actually increasing at a faster rate than those of factory and office workers. This greater degree of egalitarianism was possible only because the Soviet Union had by then attained a productive level far greater than that of China.

The economic strategy pursued by the CCP bureaucracy during the Mao era was basically similar to that of Stalin's Russia in the 1930s. Consumption levels of both peasants and workers were held down to maximize the economic surplus, which was then concentrated in heavy industrial investment. Between 1952 and 1975, industrial growth averaged 11 percent a year. At the beginning of this period, industrial output accounted for 20 percent of China's net material product; at the end, the figure was 45 percent. The construction of a substantial, relatively modern heavy industrial sector during the Mao era laid the basis for the high rates of economic growth and the overall improvement in living standards under Deng and his successors. However, the highly capital-intensive nature of this industrial investment limited the expansion of the urban working class and the corresponding reduction in the social weight of the peasantry. Between 1952 and 1975, the non-agricultural component of the labor force only increased from 16 to 23 percent.

By the last years of the Mao era, the regime's economic strategy was encountering increasing obstacles and contradictions while generating popular discontent. In large measure due to the inefficiencies of bureaucratic commandism, labor productivity had stagnated since the mid 1950s, rising less than 1 percent per year. To offset this, an ever-larger fraction of total national income was expended on investment in heavy industry, rising from 24 percent in the mid 1950s to 33 percent in the early 1970s. The massive economic resources devoted to industrial expansion were mainly extracted from the peasantry through heavy taxation and compulsory deliveries of grain and other agricultural produce at artificially low prices. In addition, the real wages of urban workers were essentially frozen for two decades. The American left-wing intellectual Maurice Meisner, who is generally quite sympathetic to Mao's China, nonetheless recognized:

> "As consumption and popular living standards suffered, the accumulation rate rose to maintain the high pace of heavy industrial development. Without real gains in productivity, it is unlikely that these high levels of accumulation and investment could have been sustained much longer without further impoverishing the population."
>
> —*The Deng Xiaoping Era: An Inquiry into the Fate of Chinese Socialism, 1978-1994* (1996)

In their condemnation of China during the "reform" era, Hart-Landsberg and Burkett ascribe great importance to the elimination of guaranteed lifetime employment in state-owned enterprises as a decisive step toward the supposed restoration of capitalism. They write in their rejoinder to Lippit: "Such material insecurity is, in fact, the essence of capitalism's social separation of workers from the conditions of their production."

Certainly, Chinese workers regarded guaranteed lifetime employment and benefits (called the "iron rice bowl") as one of the main social gains of the 1949 Revolution. However, a country as poor and economically backward as China obviously could not provide hundreds of millions of peasants with jobs in state-owned industrial enterprises, much less ones that were guaranteed for life and at a level of wages and benefits two to three times that of the income of members of the rural communes.

In order to maintain social order, the CCP regime during the Mao era forcibly prevented peasants from migrating to the cities in search of jobs. Moreover, the regime did not provide jobs in the state sector to all members of the increasing urban labor force. During the Cultural Revolution, some 17 million urban youths upon graduating from school were shipped off to the rural communes, forcibly separating them from family and friends. If they had been given a choice, how many of these youths do Hart-Landsberg and Burkett think would have opted to work on a collective farm rather than take almost any job in the city where they lived, even if it didn't come with a lifetime guarantee and was paid below the prevailing wage? By the last years of the Mao era, the rural communes had become a massive reservoir of disguised unemployment and underemployment.

René Burri

Members of agricultural commune near Shanghai, 1964.

Part of the purpose of the Cultural Revolution was to cut back the living conditions of the working class in the name of a phony "socialist egalitarianism." Furthermore, guaranteed lifetime employment in a *given enterprise* was not economically rational and increasingly impeded maximizing labor productivity through new investment. A large fraction of China's industrial plant was built during the First (and most successful) Five Year Plan in the mid 1950s. This embodied the most up-to-date technology then available to China via the Soviet Union. By the 1970s, many industrial enterprises had become technologically obsolescent. Maximizing labor productivity for a given level of investment required shutting some enterprises and replacing them with new ones or retooling with newer, labor-saving technologies. In either case, a large number of specific, existing jobs would be eliminated.

A genuinely socialist government would re-employ the redundant workers elsewhere at comparable wages and benefits, including providing relocation and retraining at state expense. Of course, Deng and his successors did not do that. Workers laid off from state-owned enterprises were left to fend for themselves, and many suffered real deprivation. But then again, the Mao regime effectively kept real wages frozen for two decades through bureaucratic commandism and police-state repression.

The market-oriented reforms initiated by Deng were an attempt to address within the framework of Stalinist bonapartism the inefficiencies of bureaucratic commandism. As we wrote in the 1980s:

> "Within the framework of Stalinism, there is thus an inherent tendency to replace centralized planning and management with market mechanisms. Since managers and workers cannot be subject to the discipline of soviet democracy (workers councils), increasingly the bureaucracy sees subjecting the economic actors to the discipline of market competition as the only answer to economic inefficiency."
>
> —"For Central Planning Through Soviet Democracy," *WV* No. 454, 3 June 1988; reprinted in *"Market Socialism" in Eastern Europe* (July 1988)

Young Spartacus

April 2001 Berkeley protest against ROTC.

Contradictions of the "Reform" Era

When Mao died, China, while having constructed a substantial, relatively modern heavy industrial sector, was still a predominantly rural, peasant country. Over three-quarters of the labor force was engaged in farming and over 80 percent of the population lived in the countryside. One impetus for the "market reforms" was that agricultural output had failed to keep pace with industrial growth; indeed, the low level of agricultural productivity was a fundamental barrier to rapid and extensive industrialization. Today, over 50 percent of the labor force is employed in manufacturing, construction, transport and the service sector, and 40 percent of the population is urbanized. From a Marxist standpoint, this is a *progressive* development of historic import. So too is the corresponding quantitative and qualitative expansion of China's industrial capacity.

At the same time, the policies of the Beijing Stalinists have victimized and immiserated significant sections of the working class and rural toilers, widened the gulf between rural and urban China, spawned a class of capitalist entrepreneurs with familial and financial ties to the CCP officialdom as well as offshore Chinese capitalists, and generated an affluent managerial/professional/technocratic stratum enjoying Westernized lifestyles.

Hart-Landsberg and Burkett on the one side and Lippit on the other express the opposite poles of that contradiction. The former select evidence to argue that everything has gotten worse for the working people of China. They point to the stark and increasing social inequalities, the growth of urban unemployment, the deterioration in public health care and primary education. Lippit selects evidence in the opposite direction. He points out that the large majority of working people—rural as well as urban—have experienced a considerable improvement in their living standards, though at greatly uneven rates. He cites studies showing that hundreds of millions of peasants have been lifted out of poverty during the past few decades.

In neither *China and Socialism* nor in their rejoinder to Lippit do Hart-Landsberg and Burkett cite the easily accessible statistics indicating the basic measure of changing economic conditions of the working class. Between 1979 and 1998 there was an average annual increase in the price-adjusted earnings of manufacturing workers of 4 percent. Only in 1988 and 1989 was there a decrease because of the exceptionally high rate of inflation at that time. Between 1999 and 2002 (according to the 2003 *China Labor*

continued on page 11

Available in Chinese!

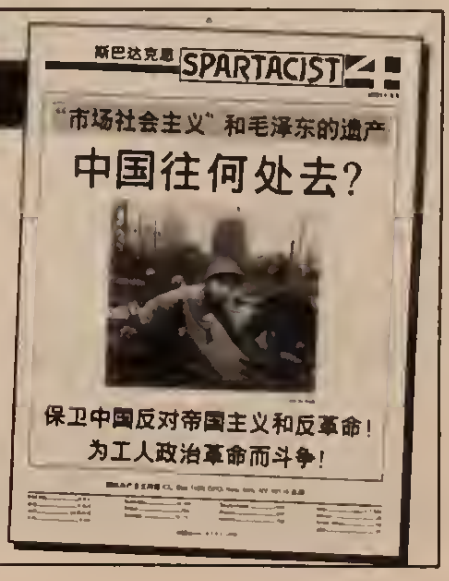
"Market Socialism" and the Legacy of Mao

Whither China?

Defend China Against Imperialism, Counterrevolution!
For Workers Political Revolution!

$1 (24 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



The Russian Revolution of 1917

From the February Revolution to the July Days

We print below, edited for publication, the second and concluding part of a class given by comrade T. Marlow as part of a series of educationals on Leon Trotsky's The History of the Russian Revolution *(1932), which was held in January of this year as a Spartacist League young cadre school. The first part appears in* WV *No. 874, 4 August.*

PART TWO

During the February Revolution and the subsequent month, Lenin was still in exile in Switzerland, desperately trying to find a way to get to Russia. During March, the attitude of the Bolshevik leaders in Russia came very close to the position of the Mensheviks. On March 15, *Pravda*, then edited by Stalin, Kamenev and Muranov, carried an article which declared:

> "Our slogan is not the empty cry 'Down with war!' which means the disorganization of the revolutionary army and of the army that is becoming ever more revolutionary. Our slogan is bring pressure [!] to bear on the Provisional Government so as to compel it to make, without fail, openly and before the eyes of world democracy [!], an attempt [!] to induce [!] all the warring countries to initiate immediate negotiations to end the world war. Till then let everyone [!] remain at his post [!]." [Trotsky's emphases]
>
> —Leon Trotsky, *Lessons of October* (1924)

This article was wholly in the spirit of the "revolutionary" defensism of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries (SRs)—i.e., the Russian Revolution had achieved the main task of overthrowing the monarchy, and the "revolution" and its "free people" had to defend themselves against the German Kaiser. What this really meant was that the war aims of the Russian bourgeoisie would continue, now under the cover of "democracy" rather than the Romanov eagle. This defensism stood in stark contrast to the position of revolutionary defeatism advocated by Lenin and the Bolsheviks during WWI. In opposition to the Mensheviks and the social-democratic leaders throughout Europe who either outright supported their own imperialist ruling class, or begged the imperialists for a just peace, Lenin maintained that the working class had no side in the interimperialist war and that the only road to peace was for the working class of each of the belligerent nations to turn the imperialist war into a civil war to overthrow the capitalist rulers.

A measure of how far the Bolsheviks had gone toward conciliating the Mensheviks following the February Revolution was that, as Trotsky notes in his *History*, in some of the provinces the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks had entered into united organizations. In fact, party leaders such as Stalin were advocating fusion with the Mensheviks at the beginning of the April party conference. As you should recognize, Lenin had his work cut out for him.

Lenin had made many key positions clear in his "Letters from Afar" of March. He was explicit that any conciliation of defensism vis-à-vis the imperialist war was a split question. In his *History*, Trotsky cites a March letter from Lenin: "Our party would disgrace itself forever, kill itself politically, if it took part in such deceit.... I would choose an immediate split with no matter whom in our party, rather than surrender to social patriotism...." In any case, the speech Lenin gave upon his arrival in Petrograd on April 3 on the socialist character of the Russian Revolution should have been less of a surprise to the Bolsheviks than it apparently was.

VAAP

Menshevik-organized demonstration in Petrograd, 18 June 1917. Bolshevik banner (middle) reads: "Long Live Social Revolution." Predominance of Bolshevik slogans reflected growing influence of party among workers, soldiers.

Lenin's Fight to Rearm the Party

On April 4, Lenin presented the brilliant theses now known as the "April Theses." In the space of only a few pages, Lenin reasserted the strategic aims of the Bolsheviks, from which they had been sliding, and promulgated a whole new tactical orientation for the party. This included the abandonment of old slogans, such as the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," in favor of a direct struggle for proletarian power in Russia. In doing so, Lenin repudiated in practice the faulty formula of a two-class dictatorship, arriving at essentially the same conception of the Russian Revolution as Trotsky had outlined as early as 1905 and which became known as the theory of permanent revolution. Trotsky understood that the completion of the democratic revolution in backward Russia was conceivable only as the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasantry, and that the seizure of power by the working class in Russia would place on the order of the day not only the democratic, but also the socialist tasks. This would give a powerful impetus to international socialist revolution, which was necessary for the development of socialism in Russia. [For further background on the Mensheviks', the Bolsheviks' and Trotsky's conceptions of the Russian Revolution, see: "The Russian Revolution of 1905," *WV* No. 872, 9 June.]

Lenin's April Theses also called for the construction of a new, revolutionary Third International. The need for a new international and a break with the social-chauvinists, including the wavering centrist elements that followed German social-democratic leader Karl Kautsky, had been a demand by Lenin since the beginning of the imperialist war.

There was no small opposition to Lenin—he had to wage a ***fight*** to win over the party, at times even threatening to go outside the Central Committee and appeal directly to the ranks. In short, that posed a faction fight and a split. It is notable that when the April Theses were published in *Pravda* on April 7, not a single member of the Central Committee would cosign Lenin's article. In fact, the editors of *Pravda* wrote: "As for the general scheme of Comrade Lenin, it seems to us unacceptable in that it starts from the assumption that the bourgeois-democratic revolution is ended, and counts upon an immediate transformation of this revolution into a socialist revolution" (quoted in Trotsky's *History*). The seriousness of the situation within the party was well summarized by Trotsky:

> "The central organ of the party thus openly announced before the working class and its enemies a split with the generally recognised leader of the party upon the central question of the revolution for which the Bolshevik ranks had been getting ready during a long period of years. That alone is sufficient to show the depth of the April crisis in the party, due to the clash of two irreconcilable lines of thought and action. Until it surmounted this crisis the revolution could not go forward."

Bourgeois-Democratic or Socialist Revolution?

The "Old Bolsheviks," including Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev, seemed to believe that the old slogan of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" had been realized in some amalgam of the Provisional Government and the soviets—later, in October of 1917, Zinoviev and Kamenev, in opposition to the Central Committee vote for armed insurrection, would explicitly proclaim that: "The Constituent Assembly plus the soviets—that is that combined type of state institution towards which we are going" (quoted in *Lessons of October*). That would have been the death of the Russian Revolution.

Before the convocation of the all-Russian conference of the Bolshevik Party on April 24, events in Petrograd strongly underlined that Lenin's reorientation of the party was correct and overdue. Perhaps as a slap in the face to the soviets, on April 18, Miliukov, leader of the Kadets and at that point the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Government, made public a letter reaffirming Russia's commitment to the imperialist war. On the Western calendar this occurred on May 1—the international workers holiday. On that day in Petrograd there were peaceful and celebratory demonstrations. Miliukov's letter provoked deep outrage among the masses of Petrograd, and on April 20, as Trotsky describes in his *History*: "The masses came out with arms in their hands. Among the bayonets of the soldiers glimmered the letters on a streamer: 'Down with Miliukov!'" Trotsky goes on to note: "The slogan carried into the streets by the armed soldiers and sailors: 'Down with the Provisional Government!' inevitably introduced into the demonstration a strain of armed insurrection."

This was a far cry from the almost festive demonstration of only a month before when 800,000 came out for the funeral of the martyrs of the February Revolution. The April 20 demonstration was not to be the last time that the Petrograd masses came out, arms in hand, with the evident

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BAY AREA

Thursday, September 14, 6 p.m.
The State and Revolution
SF State University, Cesar Chavez Student Center, Room T-153
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

Tuesday, September 12, 7 p.m.
Meet the Marxists
Columbia University
Hamilton Hall Lobby
For more information: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, September 30, 7 p.m.
Video Showing:
From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal
Tia Chucha's Café Cultural Bookstore
12737 Glenoaks Blvd., #22, Sylmar
For more information: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

intent to seize state power but without the leadership to carry the struggle to victory. That leadership would only be in place in October.

So the Bolshevik conference convened alongside a serious revolutionary manifestation of the Petrograd workers—and this was keenly felt by the Bolshevik workers inside the plants and in the lower-level soviets. Lenin was above all an astute politician! As Trotsky relates in *Lessons of October*:

> "This manner of formulating the question is most highly significant. Lenin, after the experience of the reconnoiter, withdrew the slogan of the immediate overthrow of the Provisional Government. But he did not withdraw it for any set period of time—for so many weeks or months—but strictly in dependence upon how quickly the revolt of the masses against the conciliationists would grow.... He based himself exclusively on the idea that the masses were not at the moment capable of overthrowing the Provisional Government and that, therefore, everything possible had to be done to enable the working class to overthrow the Provisional Government on the morrow.
>
> "The whole of the April Party Conference was devoted to the following fundamental question: Are we heading toward the conquest of power in the name of the socialist revolution or are we helping (anybody and everybody) to complete the democratic revolution? Unfortunately, the report of the April Conference remains unpublished to this very day, though there is scarcely another congress in the history of our party that had such an exceptional and immediate bearing on the destiny of our revolution as the conference of April 1917.
>
> "Lenin's position was this: an irreconcilable struggle against defensism and its supporters; the capture of the soviet majority; the overthrow of the Provisional Government; the seizure of power through the soviets; a revolutionary peace policy and a program of socialist revolution at home and of international revolution abroad."

P.I. Volkov

Lenin gives speech to Petrograd Soviet, April 1917.

Bakhmeteff Archive

Kerensky tries to rally troop morale at the front, 1917.

The First Coalition Government and the June Congress of Soviets

Prior to April, and with the exception of Kerensky, who had joined the Provisional Government as Minister of Justice in March, the Compromiser (SR and Menshevik) leadership of the Soviets had tried to give up the power of the soviets without openly joining the bourgeois government. In early May, the first coalition government was formed. Kerensky (who had joined the SRs after the February Revolution) became the Minister of War. Mensheviks and SRs also took on ministerial posts in the Provisional Government. This was a political betrayal of the mass base of the soviets, but it flowed harmoniously with the basic politics of the Compromisers. As Trotsky relates in *Lessons of October*:

> "As a matter of fact, the Mensheviks had for many years tapped away like so many woodpeckers at the idea that the coming revolution must be bourgeois; that the government of a bourgeois revolution could only perform bourgeois tasks; that the social democracy could not take upon itself the tasks of bourgeois democracy and must remain an opposition while 'pushing the bourgeoisie to the left.' This theme was developed with a particularly boring profundity by Martynov. With the inception of the bourgeois revolution in 1917, the Mensheviks soon found themselves on the staff of the government. Out of their entire 'principled' position there remained only one political conclusion, namely, that the proletariat dare not seize power."

On May 1, the leadership of the Petrograd Soviet voted to enter the coalition government. As a gesture to the masses, Miliukov was forced to resign as foreign minister the next day. (In his *History*, Trotsky notes one proposal by an SR leader to defuse the crisis precipitated by Miliukov's note: "Chernov found a brilliant solution, proposing that Miliukov go over to the Ministry of Public Education. Constantinople as a topic in geography would at any rate be less dangerous than as a topic in diplomacy.") Miliukov's resignation was just a sop to the masses, since the government continued to carry out the policies of the bourgeoisie, especially with regard to the war.

On June 3, the first All-Russian Congress of Soviets opened. To give an idea of the masses represented by the soviets, Trotsky writes in his *History* that "The right to a vote was accorded to soviets containing not less than 25,000 men. Soviets containing from 10,000 to 25,000 had a voice." But it was not the factories and barracks who were in control, but rather the Compromisers who entered the first coalition government in May. One of the "achievements" of this Congress was to give formal approval to a new offensive against the German forces. This ill-fated plan, issued by Kerensky, was in fact the Russian bourgeoisie's partial payment to the Entente for the massive loans from Britain and France. It is doubtful that any member of the Russian bourgeoisie thought this military attack could succeed. As Trotsky relates in his *History*:

> "The American journalist, John Reed, who knew how to see and hear, and who has left an immortal book of chronicler's notes of the days of the October Revolution, testifies without hesitation that a considerable part of the possessing classes of Russia preferred a German victory to the triumph of the revolution, and did not hesitate to say so openly. 'One evening I spent at the house of a Moscow merchant,' says Reed, among other examples. 'During tea we asked eleven people at the table whether they preferred "Wilhelm or the Bolsheviks." The vote was ten to one for Wilhelm'."

This would not be the first time in history that the bourgeoisie became defeatist—just look at the Paris Commune. In the aftermath of the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, the workers took power in Paris to defend the city. Thiers and all the great French patriots then began to beg for Bismarck, their enemy of yesterday, to intervene. With the assistance of the Prussians, the bourgeois French army was allowed to first bombard, and then enter, Paris. In the repression that followed, tens of thousands of Communards and workers were either executed on the spot or imprisoned. And note that the crushing of the Commune of 1871 was not so far distant in time in 1917—it's less than the span of time separating us today from the end of World War II.

A Shift in the Balance of Forces

The Bolsheviks issued a call for a demonstration in June while the Congress of Soviets was in session. This was not intended to be a call for an insurrection, although the impetus came from the Bolshevik military organization. No matter, that's how the Mensheviks and SRs took it, because they knew that the Petrograd masses were shifting to the Bolsheviks. They used their position at the head of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet to pass a resolution prohibiting any demonstrations for three days. Delegates were sent from the Congress of Soviets to the working-class districts—as Trotsky put it, "If the mountain was not allowed to come to the prophet, the prophet at least went to the mountain."

Not wishing a direct assault against the Soviet, the Bolsheviks stood down. But as Trotsky notes, the emissaries of the Mensheviks and SRs were met with disdain and hostility. One example from the *History*: "The workers of the Putilov factory agreed to paste up the declaration of the congress against the demonstration only after they learned from *Pravda* that it did not contradict the resolution of the Bolsheviks." This reaction was comparatively mild. Elsewhere, the Bolsheviks' decision was not so easily accepted:

> "The masses submitted to the decision of the Bolsheviks, but not without protest and indignation. In certain factories they adopted resolutions of censure of the Central Committee. The more fiery members of the party in the sections tore up their membership cards. That was a serious warning."

The Mensheviks and SRs were out for blood—shades of things to come in just a few weeks. On June 10, the Menshevik paper declared: "It is time to brand the Leninists as traitors and betrayers of the revolution" (quoted in Trotsky's *History*). The next day, the Menshevik leader Tseretelli demanded that the Bolsheviks be disarmed. What he really meant was disarming the workers. As Trotsky summarized: "In other words, that classic moment of the revolution had arrived when the bourgeois democracy, upon the demand of the reaction, undertakes to disarm the workers who had guaranteed the revolutionary victory." Trotsky later notes: "To carry the Compromise policy through to a successful end—that is, to the establishment of a parliamentary rule of the bourgeoisie—demanded the disarming of the workers and soldiers."

The Mensheviks decided on a public show of force in a demonstration on June 18. The march was to replicate the peaceful parade in March to honor the martyrs of February. At that time, some 800,000 had turned out. This time, half that number marched, but the vast majority were from the factories and barracks. In his *History*, Trotsky describes the procession:

> "The first Bolshevik slogans were met half-laughingly—Tseretelli had so confidently thrown down his challenge the day before. But these same slogans were repeated again and again. 'Down with the Ten Minister-Capitalists!' 'Down with the Offensive' 'All Power to the Soviets!' The ironical smiles froze, and then gradually disappeared. Bolshevik banners floated everywhere. The delegates stopped counting the uncomfortable totals. The triumph of the Bolsheviks was too obvious.... One of the factories carried a placard: 'The right to Life is Higher than the rights of Private Property.' This slogan had not been suggested by the party."

Trotsky went on to note: "The demonstration of June 18 made an enormous impression on its own participants. The masses saw that the Bolsheviks had become a power, and the vacillating were drawn to them." The contradiction between the growing strength of the Bolsheviks and the decline of the authority of the Menshevik/SR leadership of the Soviet would condition the entire period leading up to the October Revolution.

The July Days

It is interesting to note that in the period from February through June, the Bolsheviks had undergone a virtually uninterrupted growth of influence in the working class and also among the Petrograd garrison. Revolutions rarely occur with such a seamless transition, and Russia in 1917

continued on page 12

VAAP

Government troops occupy Bolshevik headquarters in Kshesinskaya mansion, seized from the party following July Days.

South Africa

Permanent Revolution vs. "Two-Stage" Stalinist Betrayal

In 1994, after more than a decade of massive struggles by the predominantly black working class and township poor, the white-supremacist police-state regime in South Africa was replaced by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC). The black African, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian working people were promised that their everyday conditions of life would be greatly improved by redistributing the country's wealth from the affluent white ruling elite. Instead, under the bourgeois-nationalist regimes of Mandela and his successor, Thabo Mbeki, conditions for the working class, rural toilers and township masses have in many important respects gotten worse.

Almost a million workers have been laid off through the privatization of government-owned industry and other kinds of capitalist restructuring. Sixty percent of the adult jobless black African population has never been employed. Two million people have been evicted from their homes because they could not pay the sky-high utility bills, and some ten million have had their electricity and water cut off. At the same time, a small black elite has arisen who drive Mercedes, vacation in Dubai and clink champagne glasses with the Randlords of the Anglo-Gold Ashanti corporation. The income of white families has increased substantially while that of the overwhelming majority of blacks has plummeted.

A key factor in the ANC's accession to power was the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, which for decades had supported the ANC materially and diplomatically. During the Cold War, the ANC and other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois "Third World" movements and regimes were able to play off Moscow and Washington, thereby achieving a certain latitude in which to maneuver. But as the Moscow Stalinist regime under Mikhail Gorbachev fell apart, the ANC leaders openly embraced "power sharing" with the white racist South African rulers, a section of whom accepted that ANC rule no longer posed a threat to the white economic oligarchy. Today, despite the change in the political and judicial superstructure, South Africa remains, as it was under the white-supremacist apartheid system, a country in which the black masses live in Third World poverty while most whites enjoy First World conditions. We have thus described South Africa under the ANC as a neo-apartheid capitalist state.

Nothing more clearly exposes the fact that the ANC-led regime is the enemy of the workers and the oppressed than its response to the AIDS pandemic that has ravaged South Africa. According to the United Nations, in 2005 an estimated 5.5 million South Africans were HIV positive and some 320,000 died from AIDS. Women are among the hardest hit by the pandemic. Today, over 39 percent of pregnant women in the province of KwaZulu-Natal test HIV-positive. An effective, scientific response to this crisis has been willfully frustrated by the *criminal policies* of the ANC-led government. Mbeki himself outrageously refuses to acknowledge the scientific fact that the HIV virus causes AIDS! On August 24, police using pepper spray attacked protesters in Cape Town who, as part of a national day of protest by the Treatment Action Campaign, were calling for the firing of the health minister and demanding that prisoners be treated with anti-retroviral drugs.

Reuters

May 18: Johannesburg rally during one-day COSATU general strike protesting unemployment, poverty.

A key agency upholding the government is the heavily overlapping leadership of the reformist South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). As part of the governing "Tripartite Alliance," the SACP/COSATU tops keep the country's powerful and combative working class tied to the bourgeois nationalists of the ANC, who in turn are the black front men for the dominant white capitalist class. Leading SACP cadres are senior officials in the government, including those branches directly engaged in the brutal repression of labor struggles and township protests: the Security Ministry and the intelligence service.

In the last two years, major labor strikes and militant township protests have signaled growing hostility on the part of the black masses toward the ANC regime. The future of the Tripartite Alliance is now being intensely debated within the workers movement and among broader layers of society. Amid the anger and bitter disillusionment among their working-class supporters, the SACP tops recently came out with a discussion document in which they openly criticized the central ANC leadership (*Bua Komanisi!* Special Edition, May 2006). The document raised the possibility of running candidates in future elections in the party's own name, within the framework of the Alliance. Such candidacies would have a purely token character, in no way challenging, much less weakening, the ANC's governmental power. The document categorically rejects "watering down the ANC's overwhelming electoral majority."

AP

Cape Town, August 18: Treatment Action Campaign activists protest government's criminal AIDS policies, call for resignation and arrest of health minister.

Along somewhat similar lines, the COSATU bureaucrats have issued a discussion document ("COSATU Political Discussion Document—Possibilities for Fundamental Social Change") in preparation for a congress in September strongly condemning the "neoliberal" policies of the Mbeki regime. It points out that the share of national income going to the workers has decreased while the share raked off in corporate profits has markedly increased. Nonetheless, the COSATU misleaders cite favorably surveys through 2004 that "have confirmed that the overwhelming majority of COSATU members support COSATU's approach of strategic engagement from within the Alliance."

The sordid reality behind the ideological claptrap of the SACP document is the maneuvering inside the ANC itself. The SACP/COSATU tops are backing Mbeki's main factional opponent, Jacob Zuma. Mbeki's former deputy president, Zuma combines a "man of the people" posture with appeals to Zulu tribalist nationalism.

The SACP leaders have always used the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of "two-stage revolution" as an ideological justification for their historic alliance and interpenetration with the ANC. According to this schema, conditions are not currently ready for socialism. Therefore, first must come a political bloc with "progressive" bourgeois nationalists, which in South Africa is called the "National Democratic Revolution" (NDR). Then, some far-off and unspecified time later, this will evolve into socialism. Thus the recent document asserted "the inextricable linkage between the NDR and the imperative of 'building socialism now'," while reaffirming "our commitment to the ANC-led Alliance."

South Africa's black workers and poor know damn well that the country is not moving toward socialism but in the opposite direction: toward increasingly brutal capitalist exploitation and immiseration. The SACP leadership is in some difficulty as it has failed to produce the gains it promised the masses. Hence, in order to repair the damaged credibility of the Alliance, the SACP/COSATU tops have adopted a more leftist stance toward the Mbeki regime while promising to fight for more worker-friendly policies. This is a cynical political con game. In order to go forward in its struggles, the working class must break with the ANC-led Alliance and with the reformist politics of class collaboration packaged as

Break with the Bourgeois ANC—No Support to Mbeki, Zuma! Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

the National Democratic Revolution.

In opposing the "two-stage revolution" schema—a formula for class betrayal—Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League, stands for the program and perspective of permanent revolution developed by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky. This posits that in countries of combined and uneven development, the outstanding democratic tasks historically associated with the bourgeois revolutions can only be carried out through the assumption of power by the working class. In South Africa, genuine national liberation and the destruction of black oppression require proletarian revolution and its extension to the advanced capitalist (imperialist) countries of North America, West Europe and Japan. In fighting for that goal, we seek to build a Leninist revolutionary vanguard party of the working class that would champion the cause of the vast unemployed urban masses, the landless, immigrants, women, agricultural laborers and all of those oppressed under neo-apartheid capitalism.

Upsurge in Labor Struggles, Township Protests

All too little has changed in the "new" South Africa. Retaining an ironclad grip on the economic resources of the country (mines, banks, factories and land), the white bourgeoisie subcontracts out the task of administering the capitalist state to the ANC.

Last year saw the largest strike wave since the ANC assumed power, as workers protested starvation wages in the face of booming profits and fat bonuses to management. Militant actions by South African Airlines workers grounded both domestic and international flights, stunning the company by their determination and the level of public support. In the first national mine workers strike since the late 1980s, 100,000 members of the National Union of Mineworkers shut down the gold sector, supported in an important (and unprecedented) action by two historically white craft unions.

In June 2005, COSATU called a one-day general strike against unemployment and poverty, supposedly meant to launch a series of rolling mass actions. A rally at Johannesburg Library Gardens was characterized by heightened anti-ANC sentiment. When the COSATU bureaucrats persisted in raising desperate cries of "Viva ANC! Viva!", a large section of the crowd of up to 50,000 replied "Phansi!" (Down!).

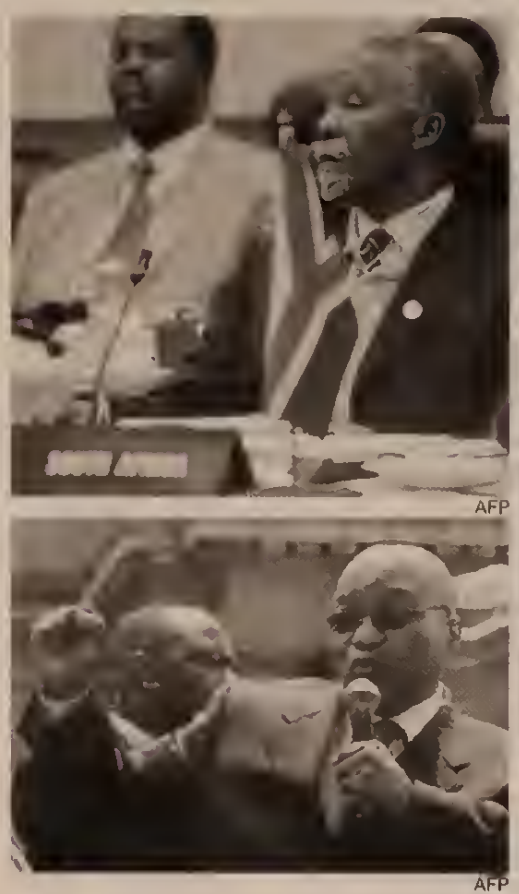
For the past two years, a wave of protests—mainly over lack of water, electricity and decent housing—has swept South Africa. The most dramatic upheaval occurred in the Merafong township of Khutsong on the West Rand, where residents called for a boycott of the local elections in March 2006 and turned the area into a "no go zone" for the ruling party. When Defense Minister and ANC national chairman Mosiuoa "Terror" Lekota attempted to call a pro-government rally, he was greeted with chants of "voetsek" (f--k off).

In the township of Soshanguve, north of Pretoria, residents used rakes, spades and building tools to drive off security guards who had dismantled their shacks the night before. Police then arrived and fired on the crowd with rubber bullets and stun grenades. In Durban, a march by the Shack Dwellers Movement, which organized an electoral boycott, was attacked by the cops. Protesters were beaten while in police custody. These scenes of revolt and repression take place almost daily in the "new" South Africa.

Jacob Zuma: Anti-Working-Class Politician

The SACP and COSATU tops have sought to deflect the growing anger against the government among the working class and township poor into support for the Zuma "camp" of the ANC. When Mbeki dismissed Zuma as deputy president in June 2005, the COSATU leadership, the SACP and the ANC Youth and Women's leagues came to his defense. Mbeki is widely viewed as a coldblooded, arrogant technocrat whose main priority is placating the white corporate elite and their imperialist senior partners, as well as their black junior partners. But as a bourgeois politician and Zulu traditionalist, Zuma is no less a class enemy of the proletariat than Mbeki. Criminally, the SACP/COSATU tops have told the working class to take sides in a power struggle between two bourgeois politicians whose reactionary politics are ***indistinguishable***. Opposing Mbeki is not the same as opposing class collaboration with the bourgeois ANC. ***Break with the ANC! Forge a revolutionary workers party!***

The obscenity of the SACP's pro-Zuma position became utterly manifest during his recent trial for the rape of an HIV-positive woman, which resulted in his acquittal. In his trial testimony, Zuma ignorantly proclaimed that he showered after sex to minimize the chance of catching AIDS! Meanwhile, his supporters paraded outside the courthouse carrying the slogans "Burn the Bitch" and "100% Zulu-boy." Disgustingly, the Young Communist League joined the pro-Zuma protests, rendering absolutely contemptible the SACP's claims to stand against Mbeki's HIV denialism and against women's oppression.


AFP

AFP

Gideon Mendel

Top left: South African president Thabo Mbeki. Left: Former Mbeki deputy Jacob Zuma. Squatter camp in Soweto (above) epitomizes impoverishment, oppression of black masses under ANC-led regime.

One of the most sinister aspects of these events was their fostering of tribalist enmities. Many Zulus and others saw Zuma's dismissal as an anti-Zulu plot by Mbeki and other Xhosa central leaders of the ANC. The historically Xhosa region of the Eastern Cape in fact contains some of the most destitute areas in the country. In reality, the ANC represents the interests of the (overwhelmingly white) capitalist class against workers of all racial and ethnic groups: Zulu, Xhosa and other black Africans, Indian, coloured and white. Since coming to power, the ANC has increasingly worked to pit different sectors of the oppressed against each other.

The Tripartite Alliance: A Nationalist Popular Front

The Tripartite Alliance between the ANC, SACP and COSATU is a nationalist popular front in which the power of the African working class is held in check by its subordination to the supposedly "progressive" national bourgeoisie. The SACP's class-collaborationist alliance with the bourgeois ANC goes back at least to the 1930s. The central purpose of the SACP discussion document is to provide a theoretical and historical rationale for maintaining the Alliance.

According to the document, the post-1994 period was a "democratic breakthrough" opening up progressive possibilities under the ANC regime. Focusing its criticism overwhelmingly on the GEAR policy—an anti-worker austerity plan implemented in 1996 under Mandela to attract foreign investment and boost profits—the document argues: "***Relative to the transformational potential of the 1994 conjuncture,*** this project [GEAR] ***represents a serious strategic setback for the working class (and the national democratic revolution)***" (emphasis in original). The document draws the conclusion that it is necessary to rebuild a mass-based ANC in order to fight for a "progressive developmental" (i.e., capitalist) state.

Even on its own terms, this account whitewashes the fact that the SACP initially endorsed GEAR and has played an active role in the ANC-led government for ten years. Underlying GEAR was not the sudden conversion of the central ANC leadership to neoliberal ideology but the imperatives of the world capitalist system: driving down the cost of labor in order to increase the international competitiveness of South African business.

Those like the SACP who argue that some other set of economic policies—e.g., the 1994 COSATU-authored Reconstruction and Development Program—could promote the welfare of labor and capital simultaneously are peddling a nationalist lie. And the purpose of that lie is to obscure the fundamental fact that modern society is divided into two main classes—the capitalist exploiters and the exploited proletariat—whose interests are irreconcilable.

By centering its criticisms on Mbeki's particular policies, the SACP seeks to disguise the class nature of South African society and the neo-apartheid capitalist state. Thus the document asserts: "The post-1994 democratic state is not inherently capitalist, it is, in fact, a sharply class-contested reality." Furthermore, in regard to the judiciary, the police and intelligence forces, the document declares that "demagogic attacks on these institutions are short-sighted and reckless."

As Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky argued repeatedly, there is no such thing as a class-neutral "democracy"; every state is an apparatus of repression—based on armed bodies of men, principally the army and police—that protects the social interests and property forms of the ruling class. Lenin wrote in *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918): "Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed people at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the ***formal*** equality proclaimed by the 'democracy' of the capitalists and the thousands of ***real*** limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into ***wage-slaves***" (emphasis in original). The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes. The capitalist state cannot be reformed. It must be smashed through socialist revolution.

Ironically, a counter-polemic against the SACP document published in an official journal of the ANC, *ANC Today* (13 June 2006), cites Marx to refute the notion that South Africa is not a capitalist society with a capitalist state: "In reality, the statement that South Africa 'is not inherently capitalist' is mere demagogy, with no scientific, Marxist foundation." Indeed it is!

Apartheid's purpose was the procurement, reproduction and control of super-exploited African labor for white-owned capital, initially centered on the mining industries. The legal edifice may have changed, but the fundamental basis of South African capitalism, including the enormous disparities between racial groups, has not. During the anti-apartheid struggles, the SACP and COSATU leadership consciously maneuvered to tie the working class to the bourgeois-nationalist ANC despite the masses' far more radical aspirations, thereby laying the basis for neo-apartheid capitalism. Exploitation, immiseration and oppression can be eliminated only through a ***proletarian socialist revolution*** modeled on the October 1917 Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.

Menshevik/Stalinist "Two-Stage" Betrayal

The 1917 October Revolution was the great event of the 20th century. Leading

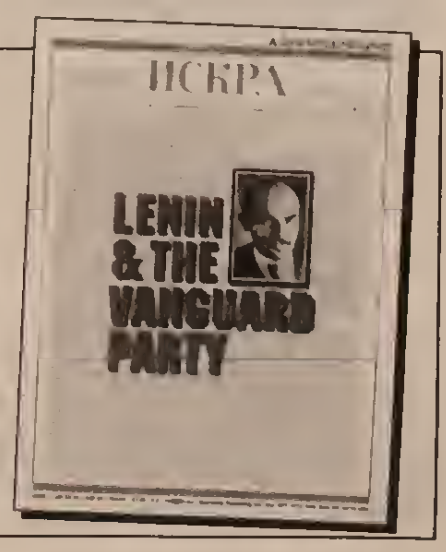
continued on page 10

First published in 1978, this pamphlet provides a detailed historical and theoretical account of Lenin's struggle for a vanguard party. Includes: "In Defense of Democratic Centralism"

This edition also includes: "The Fight for a Leninist Vanguard Party"

$2 (56 pages)

Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



South Africa...

(continued from page 9)

the vast, impoverished peasant masses, the small Russian working class, concentrated centrally in a few industrial centers, seized political power across one-sixth of the globe. The Russian Revolution smashed the old state apparatus, inherited from the tsarist autocracy, replacing the class dictatorship of capital with the dictatorship of the proletariat based on democratically elected councils (soviets) of workers and peasants.

Despite the enormous poverty and backwardness that the Bolsheviks confronted (and the later degeneration of the Soviet workers state under Stalinist rule), the October Revolution laid the basis for a planned economy that would transform the country into an industrial powerhouse whose military might served as a counterweight to U.S. imperialism. Full employment, housing and health care were won only through the overthrow of capitalism.

Against the Mensheviks, the original proponents of "two-stage revolution," Lenin wrote a few months after the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy while Russia was in revolutionary turmoil:

> "The leaders of the petty bourgeoisie—the intellectuals, the prosperous peasants, the present parties of the Narodniks [populists]...and the Mensheviks—are *not* at present in favor of a revolution against the capitalists....
>
> "The conclusion is obvious: only the assumption of power by the proletariat, backed by the semi-proletarians, can give the country a really strong and really revolutionary government" (emphasis in original).
>
> —"A Strong Revolutionary Government" (May 1917)

This statement shows that Lenin had in effect come to the understanding earlier put forward by Trotsky that the revolution in Russia could be consummated only through the proletarian seizure of power.

As later practiced by the Stalinists, the "two-stage revolution" policy led not to socialism but to bloody counterrevolution. The second stage, so to speak, occurred when the bourgeois nationalists turned on and massacred their Communist would-be allies and the workers and peasants who supported them, such as in China in 1927 and Indonesia in 1965.

Gold Fields Ltd.

AP

Neo-apartheid capitalism: Nelson Mandela at New York Stock Exchange on day South African gold corporation began trading, 2002; gold miner in Boksburg.

Winstar

Muravei-Guide

no credit

Stalin's 1927 autographed photo (center) sent to Chiang Kai-shek: "To the Guomindang's victory and China's liberation." Left: In line with Stalinist policy, Shanghai workers welcomed Chiang Kai-shek's troops into city, April 1927. Right: Execution of Communist Party member, one of thousands massacred following Chiang's coup.

ited to a "national-democratic revolution" placing the bourgeoisie in power, Stalin and Bukharin, despite objections by Trotsky, continued the policy of the liquidation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) into Chiang Kai-shek's bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang (GMD), which soon engaged in a civil war against imperialist-backed Northern warlords in the name of unifying China.

In early 1927, the GMD army marched on Shanghai, then controlled by a local militarist backed by the British. Under CCP leadership, 500,000 workers staged a general strike that developed into a successful insurrection. Communist-led workers effectively took over this key metropolis. But the Shanghai proletariat laid down its arms on Stalin's orders. And shortly after Chiang's troops entered the city, where they were welcomed by the victorious workers, Chiang staged a bloody coup that beheaded the Chinese proletariat. Tens of thousands of Communists and revolutionary-minded workers were slaughtered. Following this catastrophic defeat, the battered CCP, under Moscow's instructions, shifted its support from Chiang to a rival "left" GMD bourgeois nationalist, Wang Jingwei, who controlled the major city of Wuhan. A few months later, Wang in turn massacred his Communist would-be allies and their working-class supporters.

Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution

It was in the aftermath of the crushing defeat of the Chinese Revolution (and part of his struggle against the treacherous and disastrous Stalinist leadership of the world Communist movement) that Trotsky generalized his theory of permanent revolution, which he had first developed in 1904-06 with regard to the course of the revolutionary struggle in tsarist Russia. Permanent revolution *rejects* the nationalist bloc between the proletariat and its capitalist class enemy.

By the late 19th century, the major imperialist powers had subjugated the rest of the world through either conquest or commercial/financial dependency, while the struggle among them for economic and military predominance intensified. In countries of belated capitalist development, the propertied classes emerged as too dependent on and tied to imperialism to complete the historic tasks of social and economic modernization. "Progressive developmental" capitalism in a country like South Africa or those of Latin America is an illusion. However, in many cases foreign investment has created a force capable of breaking the hold of imperialist domination and opening the road to social progress: the industrial proletariat.

Thus, Trotsky wrote in *The Permanent Revolution* (1929): "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution to their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation."

In South Africa, adequate housing for millions in the townships and shantytowns, electricity and clean water for the entire population, free quality education, the eradication of *lobola* (the bride price) and female genital mutilation, the mobilization of all available scientific and medical resources in combating the AIDS pandemic: these desperately needed measures require the socialist transformation of the economy and society. South Africa's industrial proletariat has the power and class interests to unite all of the oppressed in a determined battle for a revolutionary workers government.

Lenin, Trotsky and the other leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution never believed (contrary to Stalin's later falsifications) that socialism could be built in a single country, especially not in a relatively poor country besieged by world imperialism. As Trotsky wrote in *The Permanent Revolution*: "In a country where the proletariat has power in its hands as the result of the democratic revolution, the subsequent fate of the dictatorship and socialism depends in the last analysis not only and not so much upon the national productive forces as upon the development of the international socialist revolution."

As we wrote shortly after the ANC succeeded the apartheid regime:

> "The consolidation or simply the survival of a socialist revolution in South Africa *requires* its international extension. This was the core of the Bolsheviks' program....
>
> "For the moment South Africa is a weakened link in the chain of the world capitalist system binding the neocolonies of the Third World to the imperialist states of North America, West Europe and Japan. It is necessary to mobitize the forces of the proletariat to *break* that chain at its weakest links, and then fight like hell to take the battle to the imperialist centers, seeking allies against the vicious enemy of all the oppressed—international capital. Thus, the fight to build a South African Bolshevik Party is inseparable from the struggle we in the International Communist League are waging to reforge an authentically Trotskyist Fourth International."
>
> —"South African Powder Keg: Part Four," *WV* No. 606, 16 September 1994, reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12

A socialist revolution in South Africa would reverberate among working people and the oppressed the world over, finding strategically powerful allies in the proletariat of the imperialist centers.

For a Revolutionary Vanguard Party

Reflecting the growing popular discontent with the Mbeki government, several groups and individuals outside the Alliance have raised the call for a new mass workers party, for example, Trevor Ngwane of the Anti-Privatization Forum (APF). The Johannesburg-based APF functions as a kind of political sandbox for various pseudo-Trotskyist organizations in South Africa, including the Cliffite Keep Left group and the Democratic Socialist Movement, which is affiliated with the Taaffeite Committee for a Workers International. Trevor Ngwane himself is a former ANC local councillor who was expelled from the party in 2000 for opposing the extensive privatization of government-owned industries.

In a brief document titled, "The Vanguard and the Mass" (February 2005), Ngwane calls for "a party which groups the majority of workers together on politics which reflects their own interests" and denounces any conception of an independent vanguard party as amounting to "not really a vanguard—just a sect." Ngwane's "Socialist Group" in the APF issued a similar call three years ago. In response, we wrote in "South Africa: Union Militants Protest COSATU Alliance with ANC" (*WV* No. 808, 29 August 2003): "This is essentially a call for a 'party of the whole class.' The model for this is the (old) British Labour Party.... We reject the notion that the South African working

continued on page 14

Bound Volumes

WORKERS VANGUARD

Now Available!
Vol. 36 (Jan.–Dec. 2005)

Newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

Volumes 1 to 36, 1970 through 2005 include one year of *WV* except:
Volume 1 includes 1970-73
Volumes 4 to 9 include six months each, 1976-78

All volumes are indexed and available on microfilm.

$35 each (includes postage)

Discounts available for larger orders of any combination of *WV* and *Spartacist* bound volumes: 4 to 10 volumes $29 each; 11 or more volumes $28 each (prices include postage).

Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

China...

(continued from page 5)

Statistical Yearbook) wages increased at an annual average of close to 12 percent. In the past few years, major industrial centers like Shenzhen and Shanghai have actually begun to experience a labor shortage, especially among skilled workers. As a consequence, employers are offering higher wages and improved benefits to attract labor. Hong Liang, an economist with the Wall Street firm Goldman Sachs, commented, "We're seeing an end to the golden period of extremely low-cost labor in China" (*New York Times*, 3 April).

However, despite China's economic growth rate of close to 10 percent for more than two decades, not all sections of the Chinese working class have experienced an improvement in their living standard. Quite the contrary. Beginning in the mid 1990s, small and medium-sized state-owned industrial enterprises were privatized, typically sold off to their former managers at giveaway prices. As a result of these privatizations, along with mergers and outright closures, some 20 to 30 million workers, disproportionately women, were laid off. Those who were fortunate found new jobs, mainly in the private sector, but generally had to take a cut in pay and received little or none of the extensive benefits provided by state-owned enterprises.

One major region was especially economically devastated by the closures: the northeast "rust belt," where a large fraction of older industrial plants was concentrated. Here as much as 40 percent of the working class is jobless. Overall, unemployment is estimated to range from 6 to 13 percent of the economically active urban population. The National Development and Reform Commission, a government agency overseeing economic policy, projects that if the economy grows by 8 percent this year, China will generate an additional eleven million jobs. That is less than half of the official number of 25 million urban unemployed plus new entrants into the workforce (*Economist* [London], 25 March).

It is generally recognized that the "reform" era has seen a widening of inequalities, both within the cities and between urban and rural areas. In addition to the new class of rich capitalists, urban China now has a significant layer of petty-bourgeois professionals whose living standards are broadly similar to those of their equivalents in advanced capitalist countries. Meanwhile, according to the *China Human Development Report 2005*, put out by the United Nations Development Program, the gap between the average disposable income of urban and rural Chinese has reached 3.2 to 1.

Such statistics should not obscure the fact that in important respects there has also been a substantial improvement in the conditions of the peasantry. The consumption of electricity in rural areas increased almost eightfold between 1978 and 1997. Most peasant families possess some household appliances. Lippit points out that by 1997 two-thirds of rural households had at least a black and white television set, a basic means of access to modern cultural life.

Flickr.com

Peter Turnley

Shanghai skyline, rice farming in Sichuan province. Chinese Stalinists' "market reforms" have spurred economic growth while increasing inequalities between urban centers and rural hinterlands.

However, in other important respects the conditions of the peasantry have worsened. The rural communes of the Mao era provided rudimentary medical care, primary and secondary schooling, old-age pensions and other social programs. Between 1980 and 1983, the Deng regime dissolved the communes, replacing them with family farms with long-term leases—the "household responsibility system." The social programs formerly provided by the communes were supposed to be taken over by the local government. Given the extreme decentralization of China's system of government finance, the meager revenues of rural townships and villages were wholly inadequate for this. Peasant families had to pay out of pocket for medical care and schooling for their children. The social consequences were predictable:

> "Despite commendable progress in providing access to education, serious imbalances remain. Rural areas lag far behind cities and China's illiterate population is concentrated in rural areas. Great differences remain in school quality, and the gap in educational opportunities widens as students get older.
>
> "Significant gaps also remain in the health of urban and rural residents and among residents of various regions. Rural child and maternal mortality are twice as high in rural areas as in cities.... All indicators point to distinct gaps in nutrition between rural and urban children."
>
> —*China Human Development Report 2005*

There has been a sharp upsurge in what are officially called "mass incidents of unrest" in the countryside. These peasant protests and riots have been directed against the seizure of land by local officials without proper compensation and against arbitrary taxation, corruption and other bureaucratic abuses. In response, the Hu Jintao regime has promised, under the slogan of a "new socialist countryside," to improve the conditions of the peasantry. The tax burden has been reduced, tuition fees at primary and secondary schools will be eliminated for many rural students, and the central government is slated to spend more money in rural areas for social programs and investment in infrastructure. However, as the *Economist* (11 March) pointed out:

> "These measures do not herald any remarkable policy shift. Central-government spending on the countryside will still amount to only 8.9% of total government expenditure, up from last year's 8.8% but down from 9.2% in 2004. Abolishing the agricultural tax and other fees imposed on peasants will save each rural dweller an average of 156 yuan ($19) a year—about 4.8% of net income."

A real narrowing of the gap between rural and urban China will require a massive redistribution and reallocation of economic resources. The introduction of modern technology in the countryside—from combines to chemical fertilizer to the whole complex of scientific farming—would require a qualitatively higher industrial base than now exists. In turn, an increase in agricultural productivity would raise the need for a huge expansion of industrial jobs in urban areas to absorb the vast surplus of labor no longer needed in the countryside. Clearly, this would involve a lengthy process, particularly given the still limited size and relatively low level of productivity of China's industrial base. Both the tempo and, in the final analysis, the very realizability of this perspective hinge on the aid that China would receive from a socialist Japan or a socialist America, underlining the need for an international proletarian revolution.

China's Proletariat and World Socialist Revolution

While Hart-Landsberg and Burkett argue that conditions have worsened for the peasantry and the working class of China during the "reform" era, the crux of their position lies on a fundamentally different plane. They condemn the development of the largest industrial working class in the world and identify this with the "restoration" of capitalism. Here their anarcho-populist outlook is directly counterposed to a Marxist understanding of social progress and the class difference between workers and peasants. In their rejoinder to Lippit, they quote with approval a statement by Tai-lok Lui, a leftist academic who participated in the discussion on *China and Socialism* in *Critical Asian Studies*: "The post-1978 economic reform has brought about the real proletarianization of China's workers and farmers. They have been truly subordinated to the market and separated from the ownership of the means of production."

What does Tai-lok Lui, who equates "market reforms" with the restoration of capitalism, mean when he writes that the enormous growth of China's proletariat has been accompanied by their separation from "the ownership of the means of production"? What he is presumably referring to, in addition to privatizations in industry, is the liquidation of the rural communes of the Mao era that encompassed the large majority of the population. These communes were basically an aggregation of backward peasant holdings utilizing labor-intensive methods and relatively primitive technology. Insofar as China under Mao was relatively more egalitarian than under Deng and his successors, this was an equality of poverty in an overwhelmingly rural society.

To understand the historical significance of the transformation of a large fraction of China's peasantry into proletarians, it is useful to look back at Karl Kautsky's *The Agrarian Question* (1899). Lenin considered this a very important contribution to an understanding of the modern world economy. (Kautsky's later rightist revisionism and hostility to the Bolshevik Revolution do not negate the value of his earlier works.) There is, of course, a fundamental difference between the class character of the late 19th-century imperial Germany that Kautsky described and the People's Republic of China. Nonetheless, there is a parallelism in the social effects of the proletarianization of

continued on page 12

VAAP

Jean Weinberg

Banner at December 1917 Russian workers demonstration includes call: "Long Live Soviet Power Which Has Paved the Way for Peace Among Nations." Leon Trotsky's 1936 *The Revolution Betrayed* presents Marxist analysis of degeneration of October Revolution under Stalinist bureaucracy.

1917...

(continued from page 7)

was no exception. The forces of counterrevolution were far from dead, and the ruling class wanted revenge for the humiliation of the June demonstration.

The June 18 demonstration showed clearly that at the base in the factories and some of the garrisons of Petrograd, the Bolsheviks had become the majority, or close to it. It was far from clear that the same situation applied in the provinces or on the front. The full impact of the offensive ordered by Kerensky on June 16—a fully predictable debacle—had yet to become known. But in Petrograd, the masses had reached the boiling point. Everything was in collapse, including transport, food and fuel. The February Revolution was sparked by a mass desire both to be rid of the Romanov dynasty and to put an end to the war—but several months later the murderous war was still raging.

The July 3-5 events were a semi-insurrection. Rejecting attempts by Bolshevik orators to contain the July 3 demonstration, soldiers marching in their regiments shouted "Down! Down!" As Trotsky relates in the *History*: "Such cries the Bolshevik balcony had never yet heard from the soldiers; it was an alarming sign. Behind the regiments the factories began to march up: 'All power to the Soviets!' 'Down with the ten minister capitalists!' Those had been the banners of June 18th, but now they were hedged with bayonets." The Bolsheviks had tried to restrain the masses, but were unable to do so. Trotsky noted: "The Central Committee was oftener and oftener compelled to send agitators to the troops and the factories to restrain them from untimely action. With an embarrassed shake of the head, the Vyborg Bolsheviks would complain to their friends: 'We have to play the part of the fire hose'."

The insurrectionary sentiment of the workers and soldiers was captured by Trotsky in his descriptions of their military preparations: "On the morning of July 3, several thousand machine-gunners, after breaking up a meeting of the company and regimental committees of their regiment, elected a chairman of their own and demanded immediate consideration of the question of an armed manifestation." Trotsky continues:

> "In the yard of the barracks a no less feverish work was going on. They were giving out rifles to the soldiers who did not possess them, giving bombs to some, installing three machine-guns with operators on each motor truck supplied by the factories. The regiment was to go into the street in full military array....
>
> "The longest struggle took place at the Putilov Factory. At about two in the afternoon a rumour went round that a delegation had come from the machine-gun unit, and was calling a meeting. About ten thousand men assembled. To shouts of encouragement, the machine-gunners told how they had received an order to go to the front on the 4th of July, but they had decided 'to go not to the German front, against the German proletariat, but against their own capitalist ministers'."

Politizdat

Novosti

Above: Soldiers and workers demonstrate in Petrograd under banners reading, "Down With the 10 Minister Capitalists!" and "All Power to the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies!" Below: Troops fire on protesters during the July Days.

Raskolnikov, a naval officer and a Bolshevik, desperately phoned the party headquarters for advice, since the Kronstadt sailors were determined to go out arms in hand. After initially opposing the demonstration, the Bolshevik leadership acquiesced. Rather than leaving the masses leaderless, the Bolsheviks went into battle with the demonstrators to provide leadership for an orderly retreat.

The July Days represent the last gasp of the February Revolution, and a foretaste of October. All the contending classes were put on notice, and the counterrevolution did not shrink from battle. While the demonstrations of July 3 and 4 showed the power of the armed workers and soldiers, they did not attempt a seizure of state power. The Compromiser leadership of the Soviets railed against the masses who had come out for "All Power to the Soviets!" Trotsky writes:

> "The Compromisers were waiting for reliable regiments. 'A revolutionary people is in the streets,' cried [the Menshevik] Dan, 'but that people is engaged in a counter-revolutionary work.' Dan was supported by Abramovich, one of the leaders of the Jewish Bund, a conservative pedant whose every instinct had been outraged by the revolution."

Among the "reliable" troops the government and the Soviet leaders counted on were the Cossacks; in August, Kerensky would appeal to the Cossack general Kornilov to send a cavalry corps to Petrograd.

The wave of the semi-insurrection broke, in some cases with clashes with government troops. The revolutionary wave was quickly replaced by a counterrevolutionary campaign to drive the Bolsheviks underground. Trotsky was jailed; Lenin went into hiding. Lenin understood the importance of preserving the Bolshevik central cadre. Since 1914, Lenin had understood that the Social Democrats who supported "their" bourgeoisies in the war were agents of the *class enemy* rather than comrades gone astray. This prescient understanding was reinforced in the positive in October 1917 in Russia and tragically in the negative with the murders of Liebknecht and Luxemburg during the counterrevolutionary terror unleashed by the German Social Democrats following the Spartacus uprising in Berlin in January 1919.

The July Days illustrate with the clarity of a lightning strike the instability of the dual power which issued from the February Revolution. Either the bourgeoisie with its servile Menshevik and SR agents would liquidate the soviets in favor of some bourgeois parliament—in fact a rubber stamp for a military dictatorship—or the workers would seize the state power. The latter could occur via the soviets, or perhaps through the factory committees of the organized workers—Lenin remained flexible about the organizational form, particularly when the soviets under the leadership of the Mensheviks and SRs were more obstacles than assistants to the proletarian revolution.

The repression of the Bolsheviks following the July Days was short-lived. The party rebounded, as the workers and soldiers returned to its banners and leadership. This would be starkly shown when the bourgeoisie placed all their hopes in the Cossack general Kornilov in August. That gamble they lost. Kornilov's coup failed, and it took a party with the determination to realize its revolutionary program in life to both repulse Kornilov and provide proletarian leadership to the agrarian revolt in the summer. That also involved internal party struggle. The great events of late 1917 are known to us not as the October Evolution but the *October Revolution*. The difference is qualitative, and indicates the divide between reformism of all stripes and Bolshevism, i.e., revolutionary Marxism.■

China...

(continued from page 11)

China's peasantry under the "market socialist" economy. As Kautsky wrote:

> "By bringing together the dispersed workers, the factory promotes their mutual communication; by developing the system of transportation and bringing more intellectually developed workers from the towns into the village, it brings the factory village into closer contact with the outside world. It is, therefore, a means for bringing part of the rural population closer to the urban proletariat, of gradually awakening their interest in and understanding of the latter's struggle for emancipation. And finally, under favourable circumstances, it allows them to participate in this struggle."

In fact, migrant workers from the countryside have been in the forefront of recent labor struggles in China. In the southeast, many young migrant women have gone on strike or otherwise refused to work under horrible sweatshop conditions, producing a severe labor shortage since the summer of 2004. In Shanghai and Beijing, migrant workers, who make up 80 percent of the labor force in the booming construction industry, have fought for and won better working conditions.

While restrictions on the movement from rural to urban China have been relaxed over the past few decades, they have not been eliminated. Migrants, forced into the most dangerous and menial work, lack the rights of legal city residents and are typically forced to live in segregated areas. Many urban workers look down on migrants, who are seen as stealing jobs and depressing wages. A revolutionary vanguard party in China today would struggle to unify all sectors of the working class in alliance with the rural toilers and urban poor. Integral to the perspective of a proletarian political revolution is the fight for migrants to receive all the rights enjoyed by legal residents, including access to health care, housing and public education, as well as equal pay for equal work.

In their debate over China and socialism, the liberal Lippit and the self-professed Marxists Hart-Landsberg and Burkett share a fundamentally false framework. At an economic level, both reject the Marxist understanding that capitalism is a fetter on the global development of the productive forces and that the latter can only progress on the basis of a planned, international socialist economy. At a political level, both reject the perspective of world proletarian revolution as the only road to achieving such a society, finally resolving the problem of scarcity.

In his seminal examination of the Stalinist degeneration of the USSR, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), Trotsky cited Marx's comment in *The German Ideology* (1846) that "A development of the productive forces is the absolutely necessary practical premise [of communism], because without it want is generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive." By "all the old crap," Marx meant class oppression, inequality and exploitation. Flatly repudiating this materialist understanding, the Stalinists preached the idiocy that socialism could be built in a single country if only imperialist military intervention were thwarted. The corollary to this perversion of Marxism was the Stalinists' betrayals of proletarian revolutions internationally. In the Soviet Union, the end result was devastating capitalist counterrevolution. In China, Stalinist misrule has produced a society rife with contradictions and social discontents.

The People's Republic of China today exhibits both the tremendous advantages that are a consequence of the overthrow of the capitalist system—centrally, a level of economic growth far outstripping that of capitalist neocolonies like India—as well as the profoundly negative fruits of Stalinist bureaucratic rule. The latter include sharply increased inequality, the growth of new bourgeois forces intertwined with the parasitic bureaucracy, and the looming threat of a capitalist counterrevolution that would destroy the gains made by China's worker and peasant masses. A Leninist-Trotskyist party must be forged to lead China's huge and powerful working class, at the head of the peasants and urban poor, in a proletarian political revolution. As Trotsky wrote in *The Revolution Betrayed*:

> "It is not a question of substituting one ruling clique for another, but of changing the very methods of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country. Bureaucratic autocracy must give place to Soviet democracy. A restoration of the right of criticism, and a genuine freedom of elections, are necessary conditions for the further development of the country. This assumes a revival of freedom of Soviet parties, beginning with the party of Bolsheviks, and a resurrection of the trade unions. The bringing of democracy into industry means a radical revision of plans in the interests of toilers.... 'Bourgeois norms of distribution' will be confined within the limits of strict necessity, and, in step with the growth of social wealth, will give way to socialist equality.... The youth will receive the opportunity to breathe freely, criticize, make mistakes, and grow up. Science and art will be freed of their chains. And, finally, foreign policy will return to the traditions of revolutionary internationalism."■

Join the Spartacus Youth Club!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs intervene into social struggles armed with the revolutionary internationalist program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We work to mobilize youth in struggle as partisans of the working class, championing the liberation of black people, women and all the oppressed. The SYCs fight to win youth to the perspective of building the Leninist vanguard party that will lead the working class in socialist revolution, laying the basis for a world free of capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter.

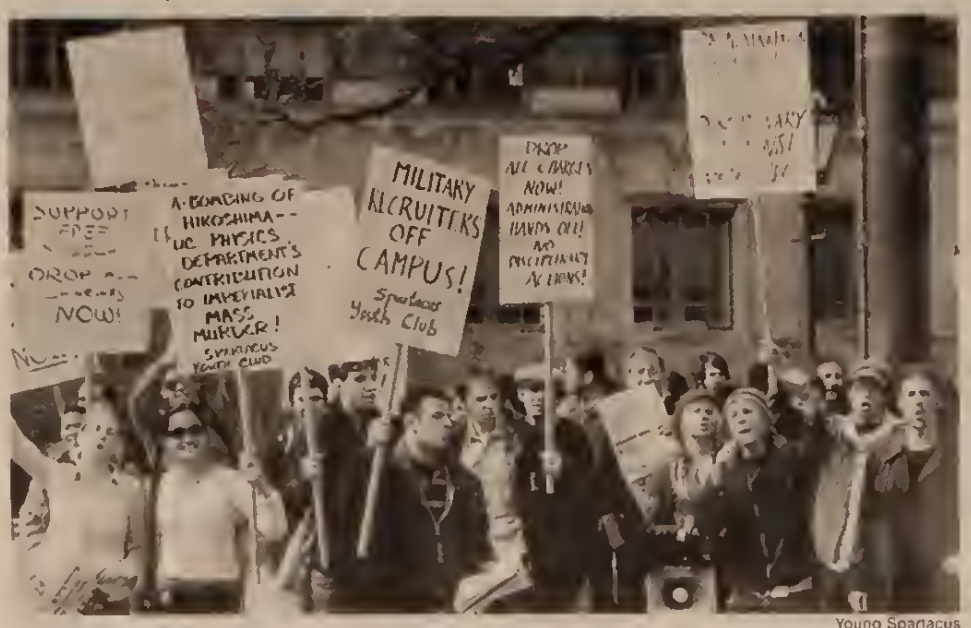
Ten Point Program

1 Mobilize students behind the social power of the multiracial working class! Picket lines mean don't cross! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Down with union-busting "workfare" schemes! Jobs for all at union wages! Organize the unorganized! Unionize the South! Down with multi-tier wages, which pit younger and older workers against each other! Cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions! Keep the bosses' government and courts out of the unions!

2 Black oppression is the bedrock of racist American capitalism. Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution! For mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists and race-terrorists! No to gun control! For the right of armed self-defense! No reliance on the capitalist courts or politicians! Fascist terror is not a question of "free speech." Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

3 For free, quality, integrated public education for all! Nationalize the private universities! Down with the racist purge of higher education—defend affirmative action, no to tuition hikes! No to budget cuts! For an end to tracking! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all students! Abolish the administration—the universities should be run by those who work and study there! Down with police occupation of public schools! Cops off campus!

4 For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For mass, labor-backed mobilizations to defend abortion clinics! Down with parental consent laws and "squeal rules"! For free abortion on demand! For free, quality 24-hour childcare! For free, quality health care for all! Equal pay for equal work! Down with anti-gay laws! Down with reactionary age of consent laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt! Down with all laws against consensual activities, called "crimes without victims," like pornography, gambling, drug use, prostitution and "statutory rape"!



Young Spartacus

SYC-initiated protest in defense of anti-military recruitment protesters at University of Chicago, March 2006.

5 Down with racist anti-immigrant laws! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Organize foreign-born workers into the unions! No deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Arab, anti-Asian, anti-Semitic and all racist bigotry!

6 Down with the "war on terror," which is a war aimed at immigrants, labor, the left and minorities! Free all the detainees! Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all class-war prisoners! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! Defend victims of racist cop terror and police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or "community control" of the police! For labor mobilizations against racist cop terror! Down with the "war on drugs," a racist war by the ruling class against black and Hispanic youth! The capitalist state—at its core consisting of the cops, courts, prisons—is the executive committee of the ruling class, an instrument of organized violence by the capitalists against the workers and the oppressed. It must be smashed through workers revolution!

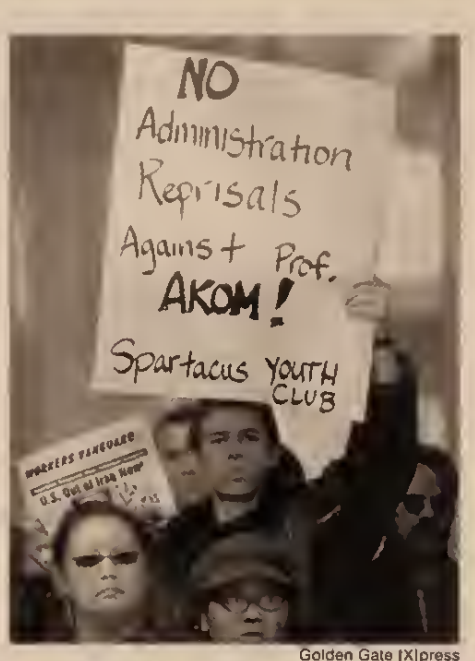
7 Defend separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! Keep religion out of the schools! No prayer in the schools! Down with the teaching of creationism! For the teaching of evolution! No government funding for religious, private or "charter" schools!

8 Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! U.S. and allied forces out of Iraq now! Down with the colonial occupation! For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers at home! No illusions in the UN—a den of imperialist thieves, their victims and their lackeys! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans, Afghanistan, Haiti! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean! U.S. imperialist butchers: hands off the world! No to the draft! Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military! Drive ROTC, CIA and police recruiters off the campuses!

9 For international working-class solidarity! Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! Workers of the world, unite! For unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and establish regimes of workers democracy, based on the power of workers councils, and revolutionary internationalism!

10 Break with the racist, warmongering Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism! For a revolutionary, multiracial workers party that fights for socialist revolution! Look to the example of the heroic, Bolshevik-led workers of 1917 Russia! For new October Revolutions! For the international rule of the working class!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the youth groups of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).



Golden Gate [X]press

SYC defends victimized black professor at San Francisco State University, March 2006.

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

August 16 to October 4

2006 Quotas (in points)

Bay Area	650	Los Angeles	325
Chicago	450	New York	975
	At Large	250	
	National Total	**2,650**	

Subscribe Now!

- ❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
  (includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
  international rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail
- ❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
- ❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

875

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Lebanon...

(continued from page 1)

because, if there was to be a military option against Iran's nuclear facilities, it had to get rid of the weapons that Hezbollah could use in a potential retaliation at Israel."

In the event of an attack on Iran or Syria by the U.S.—or by Israel acting as a proxy for the U.S.—we would stand for the military defense of those countries without giving an iota of political support to the Ba'athist dictatorship in Damascus or the Persian-chauvinist Shi'ite clerical regime in Tehran. The U.S. is pushing for UN sanctions against Iran for its nuclear program if Iran does not suspend uranium enrichment by August 31. However, the U.S. is far from guaranteed that Russia and China would vote in the UN Security Council to impose sanctions.

On August 26, Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad announced that the country was opening a new heavy water plant, which is used to create nuclear fuel. The Iranian regime says that its development of nuclear technology is entirely for energy purposes. Regardless, what is clear is that in the face of imperialist belligerence and threats, Iran *needs* nuclear weapons and effective delivery systems to defend itself and deter attack. Additionally, as part of our unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state, we support that country's development and testing of nuclear weapons and delivery systems.

"Lesser-Evil" Leftists on Parade

The true enemy of working people, minorities and the oppressed in the U.S. is the U.S. capitalist ruling class. The imperialist bourgeoisie that rained death and destruction on Afghanistan and Iraq is the same ruling class that left black and poor people to die when Hurricane Katrina hit New Orleans, that has taken an ax to U.S. working people's pensions, health care and jobs while shredding democratic rights in the name of the "war on terror." In protests against the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, the Spartacist League raised the call for class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers at home. We fight to forge a workers party—a U.S. section of a reforged Fourth International—to lead the fight to sweep away the bloody U.S. imperialist system through socialist revolution.

Crucial to our perspective is the need to break workers and minorities from capitalist Democratic Party lesser-evilism, which is actively promoted by the "Anybody but Bush" reformists. A case in point was an August 12 rally in Washington, D.C., organized by ANSWER, which was founded by the WWP and is currently led by the Party for Socialism and Liberation, which split from WWP in 2004. Speeches at the rally were directed almost exclusively against the Bush regime with barely a mention of the rabidly pro-Zionist Democratic Party.

All of the various antiwar coalitions supported by reformist groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the WWP, Socialist Action or the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) sought to build a liberal-pacifist antiwar movement premised on appealing to Democratic politicians to oppose "Bush's war" in Iraq. Thus none of these organizations forthrightly called for the military defense of Iraq in the lead-up to the 2003 invasion. And these coalitions either ignore or downplay the occupation of Afghanistan, not least because the Democratic Party hails this as a "just" war waged in retaliation for the September 11 attacks.

The current focus of the reformists' lesser-evilism is "Camp Democracy," slated for the National Mall in Washington, D.C., beginning September 5. Cindy Sheehan, the Progressive Democrats of America, Democrats.com and like-minded liberals are building this as a "demonstration for peace, justice, and impeachment," aiming to advance the Democrats' fortunes in the November elections by drawing together all causes —from immigrant rights to labor issues to environmentalism—under the anti-Bush umbrella. Among its activities will be lobbying for an "End the Iraq War Act" that calls for replacing U.S. troops in Iraq with a UN/NATO occupation force. And among Camp Democracy's endorsers are the ISO's Campus Antiwar Network front group and the RCP's "World Can't Wait" outfit.

The other face of the ISO's bourgeois lesser-evilism is ISO leader Todd Chretien's campaign for U.S. Senate in California on the ticket of the Greens, a small-time capitalist party whose electoral work is aimed at pressuring the Democrats to be more "progressive." For its part, the WWP's International Action Center (IAC) is calling for a vote to Democratic Congressional candidate Charles Barron in Brooklyn, with IAC head Larry Holmes declaring that the election of this capitalist politician would "help put one of our own in Congress" (*Workers World*, 27 July).

For New October Revolutions!

In the Lebanon protests in the U.S., the Spartacist League was unique in stressing the need to militarily defend Hezbollah against Zionist attack while at the same time making clear our political opposition to Hezbollah, Hamas and all other Islamic fundamentalist forces. WWP appears to have taken notice, writing in a *Workers World* (17 August) statement: "Some in the anti-war movement, even some who call themselves Marxists, have separated themselves from Hezbollah and Hamas, have even attacked them when they are under fire, on the grounds of ideology, because they are religious. This is a complete violation of principled anti-imperialism and Marxism."

Spartakist

Berlin, July 21: German Spartacists at protest against Israeli attack on Lebanon. Placard at right calls for German army out of Afghanistan, the Balkans, Africa and "Down With Colonial Occupation of Iraq!"

It is the ABC of Marxism to fight for the complete political *independence* of the proletariat from any and all non-proletarian forces and social classes, which certainly includes the anti-woman, anti-Semitic Hezbollah. We stood for the military defense of Hezbollah because an Israeli victory would have deepened the oppression of the Lebanese masses, strengthened the Zionists' whip hand against the Palestinians and furthered U.S. designs in the region.

Workers World (31 August) reprints an interview with Hezbollah's Hasan Nasrallah under the headline "Hezbollah Leader Calls For: 'United Front Against Imperialism'," while another article in the same issue approvingly quotes the head of the Lebanese Communist Party calling Nasrallah "our Arab Che Guevara with a turban" and describes Hezbollah as "the party of the downtrodden and oppressed." Building on the popularity it acquired by standing up to the Israeli military onslaught, Hezbollah is today taking the lead in rebuilding southern Lebanon and in providing relief. But Hezbollah's increasing authority represents a dire threat to women, Christians, the Druze, Sunnis and also Shi'ites deemed by Hezhollah to be "non-believers." Far from an expression of "anti-imperialism," the rise of Islamic mass movements reflects despair in the face of brutal oppression. It is the reactionary product of the political bankruptcy of nationalism and the absence of a communist alternative.

What is needed in the Near East is the forging of revolutionary internationalist workers parties through irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism and religious fundamentalism. It is capitalist rule, which fuels national, ethnic and religious divisions, that has driven the constant bloodshed in the region. There will be no equitable resolution to the conflicting claims of the peoples of the Near East until bourgeois rule is overthrown and imperialist subjugation ended. This is particularly the case for Israel/Palestine, a case of two interpenetrated peoples who lay claim to the same piece of land. Assuring the right of self-determination for both the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking peoples requires shattering the Zionist garrison state from within through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution and the overthrow of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the bloody Ba'athist bonapartist regime in Syria and the capitalist regime in Lebanon, establishing a socialist federation of the Near East.

U.S. imperialism played a key role in fostering the growth of Islamic reaction during the Cold War as a counterweight to Communism and secular nationalism in the Near East. The crucial battle was in Afghanistan following the Soviet intervention in 1979. The U.S. imperialists funneled billions of dollars in aid to the *mujahedin* cutthroats to kill Soviet soldiers. We said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to extend the gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution to the Afghan peoples. In 1989, when the treacherous Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow pulled out the troops, we denounced this betrayal, warning that it was far better to fight and defeat counterrevolution in Afghanistan than to have to confront it in Moscow.

The bulk of the left traitorously joined the imperialists' anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. This was exemplified by the anti-Communist ISO, which proclaimed in *Socialist Worker* (May 1988): "Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs." The ISO and much of the rest of the left cheered the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, a world-historic defeat for the proletariat internationally and a boon for the growth of Islamic fundamentalism.

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) stood at its post to the end in defense of the Soviet Union against capitalist counterrevolution. Today we fight to cohere Marxist workers parties committed to the struggle for new October Revolutions—the only road to ridding the world of imperialist war, national oppression and capitalist exploitation.■

South Africa...

(continued from page 10)

class must pass through the experience of a mass reformist party before a revolutionary party can develop out of it—a kind of two-stage theory of party-building."

In practice, the APF is a class-collaborationist outfit seeking to pressure the ANC-led regime from the left. This is clearly indicated by the APF's allegiance to the World Social Forum (WSF) movement, which is also supported by the COSATU leadership. The purpose of the Social Forums, which are bankrolled by various agencies of the imperialist rulers and their neocolonial underlings, was to draw left-radical youth protesting the evils of "globalization" away from pitched battles with the forces of the capitalist state and to corral them behind the "democratic alternative" of parliamentary reformism, while pretending that these talk shops were "non-parliamentary" (see "Social Forum Con Game," *WV* No. 853, 2 September 2005).

The list of sponsors of the biannual meetings of the WSF in Porto Alegre, Brazil, include the Brazilian federal government, the Banco do Brasil and the country's giant oil company, Petrobras. The 2003 European Social Forum (ESF) in Paris was funded by the right-wing Chirac government. And the 2004 ESF in London was bankrolled and hosted by New Labour mayor Ken Livingstone, supporter of the U.S./NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999.

The Social Forums have been dominated by the misnamed "Non-Governmental" Organizations (NGOs). These organizations, sanctioned by and receiving much of their funding from churches, corporations and capitalist states, are hardly independent of the governments to which they are answerable. Like other components of the Social Forum movement elsewhere, the APF in South Africa is funded by NGOs such as Oxfam Canada and War on Want. As the old saying goes, "He who pays the piper calls the tune."

For the perspective of permanent revolution in South Africa to become a reality requires the forging of a vanguard party modeled on Lenin's Bolshevik Party, a party which led the first and only successful proletarian revolution in history. This party united the most politically advanced workers with the best of the leftist intellectuals. The Bolshevik Party was built through political and polemical struggle against the reformist pscudo-Marxists (the Mensheviks), the populist Social Revolutionaries and the left nationalists of the various oppressed peoples of the tsarist empire. Similarly, our comrades of Spartacist South Africa seek to aggressively confront the different currents of the South African left in political and polemical struggle with the aim of forging an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist party on a clear programmatic basis. ■

Mumia...

(continued from page 16)

an appeal to mainstream bourgeois liberals who see Mumia's case as an isolated "miscarriage of justice." Such an approach demobilized and demoralized the millions who earlier rallied to Mumia's defense.

Indeed, the LAC itself was launched in January 1999 in explicit "solidarity with the Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal," which was initiated by Socialist Action (SA). Along with the Workers World Party (WWP), SA was among the most persistent and prominent proponents of the call for a "new trial." The LAC issued an international appeal to build rallies on 24 April 1999 around two central demands: "Stop the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal" and "A new and fair trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal." The LAC sought to provide a "labor" face to the political program of seeking "justice" from the capitalist class enemy. Among the signatories to the appeal was Jack Heyman, an LAC supporter and at the time an Executive Board member of International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10. Heyman was a central initiator of the ILWU port shutdown on the West Coast in solidarity with Mumia that took place in conjunction with the April 24 protests. The port shutdown was a powerful example of the kind of social power that must be mobilized in a class-struggle fight to free Mumia. But Heyman himself undermined this action by tying it to appeals for a "new trial." A central speaker at the 24 April 1999 rally, he uttered not a word against either the "new trial" demand or the "Democratic" Party of American imperialism.

A year later, an LAC-organized "Labor Conference for Mumia" held on 12 May 2000 passed a motion appealing to none other than Clinton's Justice Department to "launch an official investigation into Mumia's case." At the same conference, one of the LAC's own supporters, Bob Mandel, put forward a motion condemning the appointment of Ed Rendell, Philadelphia district attorney at the time of Mumia's 1982 trial, as chairman of the Democratic National Committee. The motion also called for Democratic Party delegates from the unions to raise motions demanding a "new trial for Mumia." This groveling appeal to the Democratic Party, the other capitalist party of war and racism, to be a vehicle for mobilizing workers could not be a clearer example of the irreconcilable gulf between the strategy of mobilizing the independent power of the working class and that of reliance on the agencies of the class enemy.

That there is more than a little political hustle and fraud involved in the LAC is given added dimension by the fact that one of the groups behind it is the dubious "Bolshevik Tendency" (BT). The BT published *not one* article in its press in defense of Mumia until after the massive worldwide protests in 1995 that stayed the executioner's hand. The BT, however, did make a press splash at the height of these protests—in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*. In a 16 June 1995 article, this mouthpiece for U.S. finance capital retailed the BT's slanders of the Spartacist League as a deranged "cult" in order to smear the PDC's efforts on behalf of Mumia, including our work to make his case a cause of the international workers movement. The intent of the *Wall Street Journal* in smearing Mumia's supporters was transparent enough. How and why the minuscule BT was so readily wielded as a tool for the *WSJ* is not.

We do know that a defining feature of the BT since its inception in the 1980s, when it was formed by embittered ex-members of the Spartacist League, has been its sneering contempt for the fight for black liberation. When the SL and PDC mobilized mass labor/black protests to stop fascist terror, the BT denounced this as a retreat from the "working class" in favor of the "ghetto unemployed." The BT's response to the government's racist massacre of the Philadelphia MOVE commune on 13 May 1985—in which eleven men, women and children were killed and an entire black neighborhood burned to the ground—simply went outside the bounds of proletarian morality. While much of the reformist left cringed from the elementary duty to defend MOVE, we sought to sear this atrocity into the memory of the working class and to that end held a rally in solidarity with the MOVE victims. At the time, the BT did not protest the bombing of the MOVE commune but did sneer at our solidarity with MOVE. It is notable that, even today, the LAC materials building for the September 15 rally disappear the fact that Mumia is a MOVE supporter.

The PDC seeks to revive the worldwide movement for Mumia's freedom, to appeal to the millions who were demobilized by the fraudulent political program and strategy advanced by a host of liberals and reformist organizations—WWP, SA, the International Socialist Organization, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the LAC. The fact that these millions have not been mobilized in class-struggle action to free Mumia is centrally the responsibility of the pro-capitalist union misleaders, aided and abetted by their fake-left tails. What is required is an uncompromising political struggle to unchain labor's power in the fight to free Mumia. This struggle is integrally linked to the fight to forge a Leninist vanguard party to lead the working class in socialist revolution. Such a party must act as the champion of all the exploited and oppressed, recognizing that the fight for black liberation is key to the struggle for workers revolution. Free Mumia now!■

FREE MUMIA NOW!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee
e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net

RALLY!

BAY AREA
Sat., Oct. 21, 2 p.m.
YWCA
1515 Webster St., Oakland
(at 15th St., 2 blocks from 12th St./City Center BART station)
More info: (510) 839-0852

CHICAGO
Fri., Oct. 13, 7 p.m.
United Electrical Hall
37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)
More info: (312) 563-0442

LOS ANGELES
Thurs., Oct. 19, 6:30 p.m.
UCLA Downtown Labor Center
675 S. Park View St.
(4 blocks west of Westlake/MacArthur Park Red Line station)
More info: (213) 380-8897

NEW YORK
Sat., Oct. 28
Place to be announced
More info: (212) 406-4252

Chicago...

(continued from page 16)

Ramparts Division became synonymous with cop violence. The police, along with the army and the courts, are the core of the state apparatus that exists to enforce the property rights and class rule of the capitalists. And in the U.S., where black oppression is embedded in the capitalist system, it is black people who face the brunt of the cops' daily regimen of brutality. On any given day in his life, a black man in America may wind up in jail, in the hospital or in the morgue after a run-in with the police. Just ask 14-year-old Cahrini Green resident Ellis Woodland, who was shot by the Chicago cops on August 7 and is still in critical condition.

Burge is not some "rogue" cop. He is a true product of the American way. As an MP during the Vietnam War, Burge learned torture techniques that he later "refined" on black Chicago. A former cop under Burge's command testified that interrogations were referred to as the "Vietnam Special."

The cops' brutal interrogations became public knowledge at the time of a 1989 trial over a lawsuit filed by Andrew Wilson, who testified to the abuse he suffered at the hands of Burge, John Yucaitis and Patrick O'Hara. Wilson was beaten bloody, nearly suffocated from a plastic bag placed over his head, burned with a cigarette, given electric shock treatment through alligator clips attached to his nostril and ears and handcuffed against a scalding radiator. Then Burge put a gun in Wilson's mouth and told him that if he confessed he wouldn't be subjected to electric shock again.

Wilson's ordeal came on the heels of the fatal shooting of two cops in 1982. A five-day manhunt, directed by Burge, turned a Chicago South Side community into a virtual war zone. Cops conducted house-to-house searches, kicking down doors and holding occupants, including children, at gunpoint. Black males were treated as suspects whether they matched the shooter's description or not. Even one detective felt compelled to remark, "It was a reign of terror. I don't know what Kristallnacht was like, but this was probably close" ("Deaf to the Screams," *Chicago Reader*, 1 August 2003). It was only after Wilson courageously filed his suit that other victims of Burge & Co. in Area Two came forward with remarkably similar accounts of electrical torture targeting the genitals, suffocation, beatings, burns and Russian roulette.

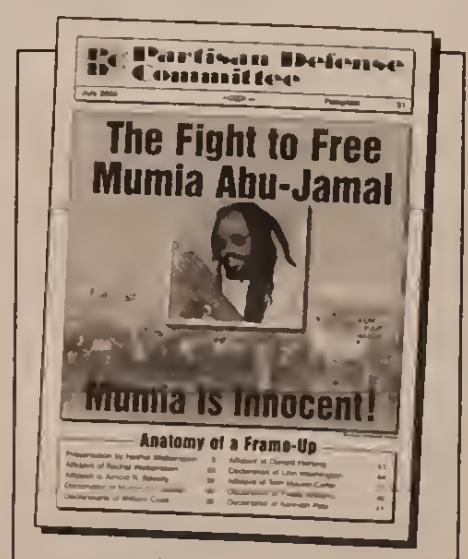
Responsibility for the cops' reign of terror lies squarely with the Democratic Party, which has ruled Segregation City on behalf of the capitalists for the better part of a century. Mayor Richard Daley, who served as Cook County State's Attorney in the 1980s, knew about it, as did his assistant Dick Devine and all the top brass. Chicago's first black mayor, Harold Washington, was no less complicit. Following an outcry over the five-day cop siege on the South Side and other police atrocities, Washington campaigned in 1983 on a "progressive" platform demanding that then-Police Superintendent Richard Brzeczek be fired. Yet it was a Washington appointee, Police Superintendent Fred Rice, who gave Burge a double promotion *after* the Andrew Wilson allegations surfaced. The prosecutors who are now doing damage control for Daley are mere cogs in the same Democratic Party machine. Special prosecutor Edward Egan has a nephew who not only worked under Burge's command but was the arresting officer of one of the torture victims. Egan's assistant, Robert Boyle, was in the State's Attorney's office in 1969 when it worked with the Feds to assassinate Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Only in 2002 did a Cook County judge mandate an investigation into the Violent Crimes Unit. But prosecuting the cops was never the court's intention. The intent was to paint the abuse as an aberration—the work of a few "bad apples"—in order to refurbish the credentials of the police. At the time of public police department hearings over the Andrew Wilson case, we warned in "Torture Town Chicago" (*WV* No. 547, 20 March 1992):

> "Burge and his minions deserve to be locked in hell. But don't hold your breath waiting for justice from the racist Democrats who run Chicago, or from the capitalist courts which have already shot down a civil suit brought by Andrew Wilson. Nor can the cops be tamed by police review board or other bandaid reforms. The ruling class will allow no real restraints on the armed thugs who defend their profit system."

In contrast to this Marxist understanding, the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) and its front group, Campaign to End the Death Penalty (CEDP), have repeatedly fostered the illusion that the courts can deliver justice for the victims of police terror. In 2002, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (3 May 2002) hailed as an "important victory" the court order for an investigation. A few months ago, *Socialist Worker* (26 May) gushed that the cops' victims had won another "victory" when the court ruled that the special prosecutors could release their findings. Now *Socialist Worker* (28 July) bemoans how these findings amount to "whitewashing police torture"—which is precisely what such "investigations" are designed to do. The CEDP has also cravenly called for "new trials for torture victims." So the ISO would give the state another chance to frame up these men, this time with an appearance of legitimacy? We say: Free them now!

It is vitally important that the social power of labor be mobilized in struggle against rampant police brutality and racist attacks. Such struggle must be infused with the understanding that there will be no end to cop terror short of the destruction of the system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression that the police "serve and protect." We seek to forge a Leninist vanguard party that will lead all of the exploited and oppressed in the fight for socialist revolution—the only road to sweeping away the capitalist state and its frame-up machinery.■



$1 (48 pages)
Order from/make checks payable to:
Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013-0099

WORKERS VANGUARD

Join PDC Contingent — Oakland, September 15!

For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now!

The following leaflet was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee in the Bay Area on August 29.

The fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal has reached a crucial juncture. A former Black Panther Party spokesman and later MOVE supporter, Mumia has been on death row for over 24 years, falsely convicted of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. Mumia's innocence has been attested to by mountains of evidence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, killed Faulkner. Mumia is the victim of the forces of racist capitalist "law and order" who have framed him up for a crime he did not commit, who see in him a voice of defiant opposition to the oppression of black people that is a cornerstone of American capitalism. Their determination to carry out his execution is a warning to all who challenge cop repression, to workers who stand up for their rights on picket lines, to those who protest U.S. imperialist depredations in Iraq and elsewhere around the world.

Mumia's case lays bare the workings of the capitalist state. His frame-up conviction was not the act of one "rogue" cop or prosecutor or judge, but that of an entire system that cannot be reformed. With the execution in December 2005 of Stanley Tookie Williams, over substantial popular opposition, the ruling class sent a signal that they are deadly serious that Mumia will soon be another victim of the barbaric death penalty. There should be no doubt: the racist capitalist rulers are determined to see Mumia dead. ***The multiracial working class has every interest in fighting against that outcome and must be mobilized independently of the very forces of the capitalist state that framed up this innocent man! Free Mumia—he should not spend another moment in prison hell!***

WV Photo

Spartacist/Partisan Defense Committee contingent in demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Harlem, 23 April 2005.

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. We call on all those committed to the fight to free Mumia to join our contingent under the slogans: "There is no justice in the capitalist courts! For class-struggle defense to free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!" at the September 15 Oakland rally initiated by the Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal (LAC). The PDC has endorsed this rally based on the slogans put forward by the LAC, for which we have historically struggled —"Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! For Labor Action to Free Mumia! End the Racist Death Penalty!" We were given a written commitment by the LAC that the rally will be organized as a genuine united-front action. That entails both unity in action in the fight for Mumia's freedom and "freedom of criticism"—the sharp and clear contention of the different political programs and strategies advanced by the participating organizations.

The PDC and Spartacist League took up Mumia's case in 1987. We have fought for class-struggle defense to free Mumia—based on the social power of the working class and the understanding that the capitalist state serves the interests of the racist ruling class—and for the abolition of the racist death penalty. We have advocated pursuing all possible legal proceedings in the case, while placing no faith whatsoever in the justice of the courts. Rather, we place our confidence in the power of the masses, particularly the organized workers movement, which is the only pressure that can force the courts to respond.

This strategy was and is counterposed to those who have centered their protest actions around the call for a "new trial" for Mumia. That call represents a program of reliance on the racist capitalist courts that at every level have declared that Mumia has no rights they are bound to respect. The call for a new trial is

continued on page 15

Chicago Police Torture Machine

Racist Cops Let Off

CHICAGO—A national and international spotlight was turned on the Chicago police with the July 19 release of a special prosecutor's report on beating and torture complaints against the Violent Crimes Unit commanded by former Lieutenant Jon Burge. The brutality meted out under Burge, who was the Violent Crimes commander for police Area Two and Commander for Area Three, was also described in a May report of the UN Committee on Torture. From 1973 to 1991, Burge and his henchmen extracted "confessions" from black "suspects" on Chicago's South Side through gruesome methods of torture, all with the complicity of the city's Democratic Party machine and top cop brass. What happened under Burge's command brings to mind the U.S. military's sadistic abuse of prisoners at Abu Ghraib in Iraq.

The City has been forced to acknowledge some instances of wrongdoing while covering up the far-reaching web of those involved. Burge was fired in 1993 at age 46, keeping his pension, which he enjoys to this day. But despite testimony that nearly 200 "suspects" were brutalized and tortured, the special prosecutors decided not to prosecute a single cop, claiming that the statute of limitations had run out and that only three cases could be proven anyway. Dozens of Burge's victims remain in prison, some for life, based on "confessions" extracted through torture methods. Among them are several men who had been sentenced to death. The prospect of executing them was a key factor in the decision by Illinois' then-Governor George Ryan to impose a statewide moratorium on executions in 2000, leading to the commutations of all death sentences in 2003.

Burge's Violent Crimes Unit is not unique in its wanton brutality. Look at New York City, where depraved cops tortured Abner Louima; or Philadelphia with its notorious police frame-up machine that has railroaded hundreds to prison, including death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal; or Los Angeles, where the

continued on page 15

Chicago Reader

Andrew Wilson, tortured by Chicago cops in 1982.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 876 | GCIU C-701 | 15 September 2006

Right-Wing Government Threatens Crackdown

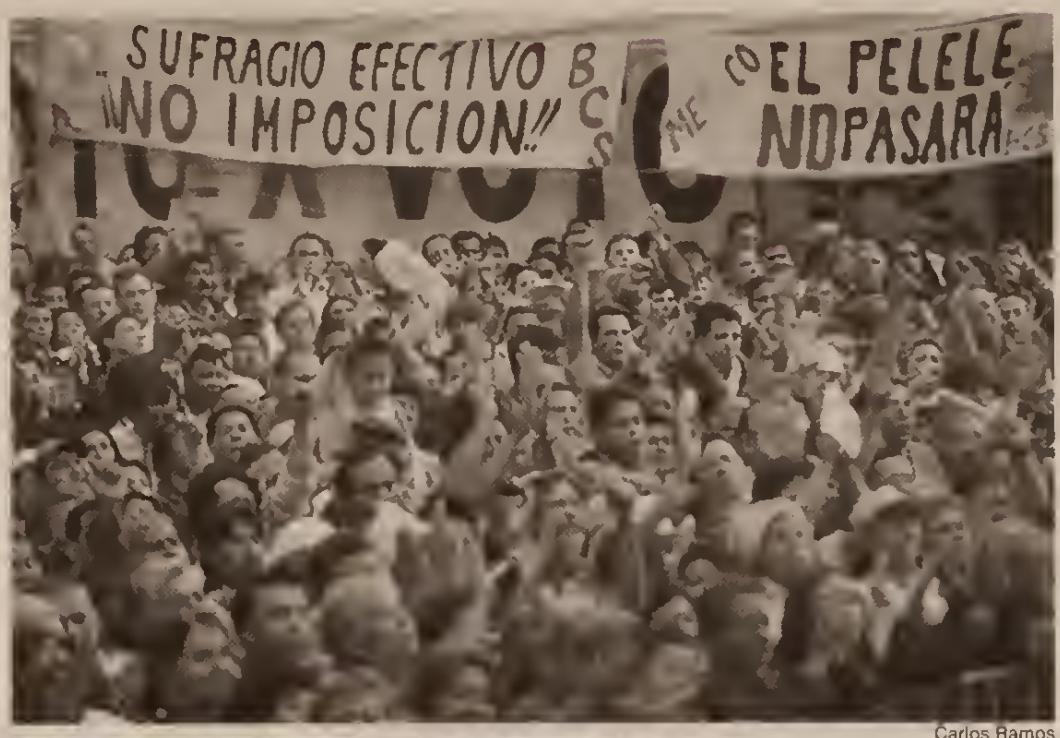
Mexico in Turmoil

MEXICO CITY, September 11—On September 5, Mexico's Federal Electoral Institute formally declared Felipe Calderón, candidate of the Catholic right-wing National Action Party (PAN), the victor in the hotly contested July 2 presidential election. Calderón supposedly won by a bare 0.58 percent margin over Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO) of the bourgeois-populist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), with the candidate of the once-hegemonic Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) running a distant third. Since the election, there have been immense pro-PRD demonstrations protesting Calderón's dubious victory and demanding a vote-by-vote recount.

The government's response to the protests clearly shows that Mexico's rulers are fearful of the social and class discontent that has rocked the country for the past several months. On September 1—the day that the current president, the PAN's Vicente Fox, was scheduled to deliver his last state of the nation address—the government turned large sections of Mexico City into a militarized zone. Thousands of soldiers and police were mobilized, including those of the PRD city government. Policemen were positioned on bridges over avenues that lead to the Legislative Palace of San Lázaro, and snipers were present on rooftops and even within the Palace itself. All metro stations leading to San Lázaro were closed, while the Legislative Palace was surrounded by metal barriers over two meters high and guarded by soldiers with guns drawn.

The PRD newspaper *La Jornada* had reported the previous day that federal authorities were forming "dissuasion" groups of some 1,200 people with the goal of carrying out arrests targeting organizations that oppose the PAN government. The article noted that these squads are to be trained by members of the Halcones (Falcons), plainclothes police who carried out a student massacre in 1971.

After the PRD announced that its legislators would attempt to impede Fox from giving his speech, the government prepared to shoot anyone who approached Fox. However, when PRD legislators took over the dais shortly before Fox was to speak, he chose to avoid direct confrontation. In the end, the outgoing president turned in a written copy of his address, marking the first time that a Mexican president has been prevented from presenting his report live before Congress. AMLO has now told his supporters to suspend their protest encampment—which has paralyzed the center of Mexico City for weeks—early on September 16 in order to allow that day's traditional Independence Day parade of the bloody Mexican military.



Carlos Ramos

Reuters

Above: Massive Mexico City protest on September 4, the day before PAN's Calderón was declared winner over PRD's López Obrador in presidential election. Left: Riot police attack PRD supporters in Mexico City, August 14.

Break with López Obrador and the Bourgeois PRD!

Forge an Internationalist Revolutionary Workers Party!

While Mexico has a history of massive vote fraud and rigged elections going back generations, PRD leaders and many supporters see in the decision by the Electoral Court a repeat of their bitter experience in the 1988 elections. At that time, as electoral returns indicated a strong showing for populist candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas (who had split from the PRI and would later found the PRD), the government suddenly announced that the computer system had crashed and the PRI candidate was declared the winner. Bitterness among AMLO's supporters is only deepened by the fact that the current electoral institute was chosen by a process that excluded the PRD.

To impose Calderón at any cost, the PAN is prepared to launch an onslaught against the masses of workers and poor who support the PRD as well as against the PRD itself. The massive mobilization of the armed forces of the state on September 1 represented a mortal danger to the labor movement and left. Any crackdown by the government against the bourgeois PRD would be used to go after the trade unions and left and would represent an attack on everyone's democratic rights. Despite its political opposition to the PRD, in the event of a military crackdown the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, would defend the PRD and its supporters.

Mexican society is becoming even more deeply polarized, with the bourgeoisie itself divided and fearful that discontent—up to now efficiently channelled into support to the PRD—may turn into a social eruption. A pro-AMLO demonstration in Mexico City on July 30 mobilized over two million people in what was the largest political demonstration in this country's history. The AMLO "mega-encampment" stretches from Mexico City's Zócalo (central square) down Reforma Avenue, one of the poshest avenues in the whole country.

The exploited and oppressed masses of Mexico have shown that they *want* to fight, but they currently see the PRD and AMLO as their representatives. The PRD itself is afraid it will lose control of the discontent. With the failure of its immense marches and encampment—as well as hundreds of legal challenges—to impose a full recount, the PRD is now attempting to steer popular anger into a "National Democratic Convention," which is supposed to result in an alternative "Government of the Republic" with AMLO at its head. The Grupo Espartaquista de México warns that the bourgeois PRD offers no alternative to the struggling and exploited working masses.

The following, translated and abridged from *Espartaco* No. 26 (September 2006), is based on an August 25 talk by GEM spokesman Sacramento Talavera at the Trotsky Museum in Coyoacán.

* * *

In the lead-up to the elections, we wrote in *Espartaco* No. 25 (Spring 2006):

> "We Marxists of the Grupo Espartaquista de México say: not one vote to the bourgeois parties! No party or candidate represents the interests of the workers. The PRD, the PRI and the PAN, along with the smaller parties with their own candidates, are all bourgeois parties whose goal, independent of their conjunctural differences, is the perpetuation of the current system of exploitation, misery, injustice and social inequality."

As revolutionary Marxists, we defend tooth and nail the masses' democratic rights, such as universal suffrage, from a class perspective. We also understand that in countries of belated capitalist development, like Mexico, democratic struggles of the masses are a motor force for socialist revolution. That there was fraud isn't a secret to anyone, but we do not know who won the election. Certainly, we do not oppose a vote-by-vote recount, but we are not joining the current PRD campaign, whose objective is to put López Obrador in power.

We live in a society divided into two fundamental classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, with mutually irreconcilable interests. Our goal is socialist revolution: the overthrow of the bourgeois order and the building of workers power, expropriating the capitalists and planning the economy to lay the basis for the eradication of poverty and oppression. The basic precondition for victory is the struggle for the political independence of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie and the building of the working class's own revolutionary party.

This past March and April, miners carried out work stoppages throughout the

continued on page 8

7 25274 81030 7 37

Condemn DSP Thug Attack on Spartacist Woman at Union Rally

Australia

The following leaflet was issued on September 5 by the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

On 29 August, at the Melbourne union rally in support of 107 Western Australian unionists facing draconian fines under [Liberal Party prime minister John] Howard's vicious anti-union legislation, a male member of the Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP) carried out a vicious physical assault against a long-time woman supporter of the Spartacist League.

Our comrade had offered the DSP supporter a copy of *Australasian Spartacist*, which was headlined "Australian/UN Imperialist Troops/Cops Out of East Timor and Solomons Now!" He ripped the paper from her hand and threw it to the ground! Pushing the DSPer away, our supporter loudly protested this unprovoked attack and violent attempt at political censorship. Then, as she moved to pick up the paper, ***he punched her in the face!*** Momentarily stunned, our comrade managed to land a blow on the arm of the DSP assailant before the coward fled the scene. She began yelling loudly, "I've been punched in the face," alerting all those around to what had happened. One union supporter who witnessed the DSPer's assault accompanied her to the Socialist Alliance [with which the DSP is affiliated] stall where she protested the outrageous attack to DSP members.

In fact the same day the DSP felt compelled to write a letter to the SL apologising for the "unfortunate incident." While the letter itself admits some responsibility, it ***disappears the fact that their member punched our comrade in the face!*** It seems the DSP cannot let it be known that they have a member who physically assaulted a woman—it would not go down well with their claims to be defenders of women's rights.

Acts of violence such as this attack have no place in the workers movement! Evidently some *Green Left Weekly* (*GLW*) salesmen/DSP members are willing to substitute the fist for the brain when losing an argument. Just weeks earlier our comrade had had a sharp exchange with this individual over the DSP's refusal to oppose the current Australian military occupation of East Timor.

In 1999, in opposition to the bulk of the left who lined up behind the White Australia capitalist rulers, the Spartacist League campaigned in ***word and deed*** against Australian imperialist intervention and for independence for East Timor. Such implacable opposition to Australian imperialism flows from our revolutionary purpose of building an internationalist, proletarian party that can lead the working class to sweep away the racist Australian capitalist rulers through workers revolution. In contrast, the DSP *led* the social-chauvinist charge, building marches openly demanding "Send Australian/UN Troops NOW"! Today, tailing nationalist bourgeois forces such as the Greens and pro-capitalist ALP [Australian Labor Party] leaders who are pushing for a greater role for bloody Australian imperialism in the region, the DSP refuse to oppose the occupation of East Timor by Australian

continued on page 11

Letter

The BT and the Fight to Free Mumia

Toronto
6 September 2006

Dear comrades,

The article "For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now!" in *WV* No. 875 (1 September) really nails the International Bolshevik Tendency (BT) for its attempts to smear the Partisan Defense Committee and its defense of Mumia, as well as the gross opportunism of the Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal (LAC), in which the BT has been a key player since its inception. Their latest lying missive is on display in the BT website posting, "On Recent Spartacist League Polemics," complaining of the SL's "apparent desire to avoid working with us in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal." This was posted on 1 September—one week after the PDC advised LAC in writing of its endorsement of their September 15 rally in Oakland.

An earlier *WV* article, "For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!" (*WV* No. 872, 9 June), noted that the May 2000 LAC-initiated Labor Conference for Mumia adopted a resolution to lobby delegates at the Democratic National Convention to pass a motion calling for a "new trial" for Mumia and called on the Justice Department to investigate Mumia's case. In response, a 5 July letter to *WV* from Jason Wright of the BT takes umbrage at this.

It seems that we stung them in exposing the truth of the gross opportunism of the LAC. Wright pompously protests that BT supporters opposed calling for a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal, and voted against all such resolutions.

An extensive report on the May 2000 LAC conference, "Labor Conference Calls for Action: Justice for Mumia Abu-Jamal" (laboumet.net/mumia/0007/labcnf1.html), by Howard Keylor, a well-known BT supporter, describes in detail how the LAC sought to shamelessly lobby the racist, capitalist, pro-death-penalty Democratic Party on the eve of the 2000 DNC convention in Los Angeles. Under a bold subheading, "For a Broad Labor Campaign," Keylor reports on the motion introduced by Bob Mandel (who for a long time was a BT supporter—not sure of his current proximity to the BT) and nary a breath of criticism from Keylor will darken the brows of these class-struggle heroes:

> "Bob Mandel then presented a resolution condemning the appointment of Ed Rendell as the General Chair of the Democratic National Committee. Rendell was the Philadelphia District Attorney when Mumia was railroaded, and has continued to play an active role in seeking his execution. Rendell also turned a blind eye to the systematic exclusion of African-Americans for Philadelphia juries, and helped plan and execute the aerial bombing of the MOVE house which resulted in the deaths of 11 people, and the destruction of an entire city block.
>
> "Rendell's ascension to power in the Democratic Party (he also aims to be governor of Pennsylvania) is emblematic of the pro-death penalty racism entrenched at the top of both capitalist parties. Republican front-runner George W Bush may have murdered more people as Texas governor, including the recent execution of Shaka Sankofa (Gary Graham); but Bill Clinton interrupted his presidential campaign in 1992 to preside over the execution of a black inmate in Arkansas who was mentally retarded. Al Gore and governors such as Gray Davis in California are also staunch death-penalty supporters. Without in any way endorsing support for the Democratic Party, the resolution on Rendell was amended to ask unions to call on any of their members who are delegates to the Democratic Party's August convention in LA to raise motions calling for a new trial for Mumia as well as condemning Rendell's appointment.
>
> "The motion was further amended with a final resolved, 'that all locals and union members be urged to join the protests that will be held outside the Democratic Party Convention.' The resolution passed as amended."

Some "labor campaign"! The BT wants to distance itself from this, but it doesn't wash. Far from criticizing Mandel's lobbying of the racist, pro-death-penalty Democratic Party and urging trade unions to push the Dems for a new trial, Keylor ***whitewashes*** the motion, saying, "Without in any way endorsing support for the Democratic Party...." Pressuring the Democratic Party and lobbying for a new trial were the core of the political program that has demobilized the supporters of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the urgent struggle for his freedom; this program continues to be an obstacle. At its heart is reliance on the capitalist state and the forces that are arrayed against Mumia and aim to execute him.

Wright slaps on his own layer of whitewash whining that "the LAC did not put forward, or support, any such resolutions and the comrades of the IBT voted against all of them." As we pointed out in *Workers Vanguard*, in our exposure of this wretched conference (No. 740, 25 August 2000), the liquidationist conclusion of LAC's resolution boiled down to "hegging delegates at the DNC to give their party—and the bourgeois state apparatus—a facelift by appointing a new DNC chairman. (This went a little too far for the IBT, which had supported an earlier motion just to 'condemn Rendell's appointment'—i.e., the IBT only wanted a facial.)"

Oh—lest we forget! Keylor did (cynically) report a few paragraphs later that in another resolution for a day of labor action to free Mumia, a "delegate wanted to substitute 'new trial' instead of 'free' Mumia, but, as was pointed out, there is no guarantee that a new trial will ever happen, or, if it does, that it wouldn't be a repetition of the same frame-up as happened the first time around." Meet the BT at play: new trial good, new trial had. Who cares as long as questions of political principle don't disturb their cozy relationships with union bureaucrats and assorted very fake leftists of the Bob Mandel ilk.

This is the dishonest and cowardly *modus operandi* so typical of the duhious BT and its friends. From their website and at our puhlic events, which they attend ohsessively, they portray themselves as oh-so-orthodox Marxists, but they swim comfortably in the reformist swamp, howing and scraping to their lahour reformist pals. Their monomaniacal hatred of our revolutionary Trotskyist party is, quite simply, their admission ticket.

Comradely,
Miriam McDonald

TROTSKY

Bourgeois Democracy and Anti-Labor Repression

In a polemic against German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, a renegade from Marxism and bitter opponent of the 1917 workers revolution in Russia, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained that "democratic" government in the U.S. and other advanced capitalist countries serves to veil the nature of the bourgeois state as a machine of organized violence against the exploited and oppressed.

LENIN

Take the fundamental laws of modern states, take their administration, take freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, or "equality of all citizens before the law," and you will see at every turn evidence of the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy with which every honest and class-conscious worker is familiar. There is not a single state, however democratic, which has no loopholes or reservations in its constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth, in case of a "violation of public order," and actually in case the exploited class "violates" its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner. Kautsky shamelessly embellishes bourgeois democracy and omits to mention, for instance, how the most democratic and republican bourgeoisie in America or Switzerland deal with workers on strike.

—V.I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Bonnie Brodie

EDITOR: Ray Bishop

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, Michael Davisson, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alan Wilde

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is September 12.

No. 876 **15 September 2006**

1979 Massacre—Cop/Klan Collusion

Greensboro Commission: "Reconciliation" with Fascist Terror

On 3 November 1979 in Greensboro, North Carolina, five anti-racist activists and union organizers, supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP), were fatally gunned down by Ku Klux Klan and Nazi fascists. Nine carloads of Klansmen and Nazis drove up to a black housing project—the gathering place for an anti-Klan march organized by the CWP. In broad daylight, the fascists coolly pulled out their weapons and unleashed an 88-second fusillade that was captured on television cameras. They then drove off, leaving the dead and dying in pools of blood. From the outset, the Klan/Nazi killers were aided and abetted by the government, from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agent who helped train the killers and plot the assassinations to the "former" FBI informer who rode shotgun in the motorcade of death and the Greensboro cop who brought up the rear. The Greenshoro killers literally got away with murder, acquitted twice by all-white juries.

A nearly 600-page report issued this past May by the Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission—an unofficial, foundation-funded body—serves to bury the hard truths and bitter lessons of the Greensboro Massacre. While acknowledging such well-documented facts as the role of police informants in the killings, the commission denies that there was any police-fascist conspiracy and baldly concludes that "the single most important element that contributed to the violent outcome of the confrontation was the absence of police." No, the police ***helped prepare*** the fascist attacks and secure their getaway. The report despicably asserts that "some, albeit lesser, responsibility must lie with the demonstrators" due to their "violent" language and because some were armed in self-defense. This is nothing but a rehash of the bourgeois media's vile slander that the massacre was a "shootout" between "extremists," which has been promulgated since the day of the murders to whitewash the role of the fascists and cops.

We honor the memory of the Greensboro martyrs—César Cauce, Michael Nathan, Bill Sampson, Sandi Smith, Jim Waller. As revolutionary Marxists, we had our differences with the CWP. But we understand that these courageous men and women were targeted because they were black and white comrades working openly together for black rights and union organizing in "right to work" North Carolina, where Klan terror has historically been used by the bosses to keep out unions. Signe Waller, widow of Jim Waller, noted that "the FBI had men going around the textile mills and showing people pictures, asking for their identification. Many of the pictures were of people who were later killed...and one of them was Jim's" (*The Carolinian Online*, 18 October 2004).

Greensboro Daily News

Greensboro, 3 November 1979: Nelson Johnson kneels by his dying comrade Jim Waller, gunned down by KKK and Nazis.

Carried out during the Democratic Carter administration, the Greensboro Massacre was the opening shot of what would become the Reagan years' war on labor and blacks. Greensboro survivors, one of whom was partially paralyzed for life, were jailed, fired and blacklisted from work, stalked by FBI and local police. The state put on an ominous show of force at the CWPers' several-hundred-strong funeral procession. Five hundred National Guardsmen, 250 state troopers, 175 local cops and riot-clad police surrounded the mourners as helicopters hovered overhead. They arrested 34 people for carrying guns, 26 of whom were CWP comrades, according to the CWP newspaper, *Workers Viewpoint*.

The template for the Greensboro commission was South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Beginning in 1996, the South African hearings amnestied the enormous crimes of the apartheid-era butchers and torturers and assisted the transition to neo-apartheid capitalist rule under the African National Congress regime. Likewise, the purpose of the Greensboro commission was to encourage "reconciliation" with the brutal racist reality of American society. In fact, the commission gave a platform to "Imperial Wizard" Klansman Virgil Griffin, who was in the car caravan of murderous fascists, to spew his racist filth.

Nevertheless, many hardline racist politicians opposed any revisiting of the November 1979 events. The white mayor and every white member of the Greensboro city council opposed the commission. Union members and others fearing retaliation refused to testify openly. Commission file cabinets were broken into. In the course of the hearings, it was revealed that police wiretaps were used to monitor the white director of the commission, Jill Williams, and several black community leaders, including Nelson Johnson, a survivor of the 1979 massacre who was a prominent backer of the commission.

The commission's recommendations include standard liberal sops like "healing workshops," "anti-racism training" for the cops and a "permanent police review board." The intent of the commission's police "reform" schemes is to repair "the damaged credibility of the police department"—i.e., bolster the authority of the police, who daily perpetrate racist terror. The Greensboro Massacre refuted in blood the liberal notion that the cops—the hired guns of the racist capitalist rulers—can be reformed to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed. In *Love and Revolution: A Political Memoir* (2002), Signe Waller writes that the CWP supporters themselves had fatal illusions in the neutrality of the capitalist state:

> "***We overlooked government and police complicity with the Klan***....
>
> "Was it that the police are not supposed to do this sort of thing in a democratic society? In one of those third world dictatorships maybe, where the police collaborate with civilian death squads, but not in the democratic United

continued on page 11

Editorial Note

Bush, Democrats Wave "War on Terror" Flag

SEPTEMBER 12—The fifth anniversary of the September 11, 2001 attacks occasioned a barrage of "war on terror" tirades from Democratic and Republican politicos whose eyes are set on the Novemher elections. Just as we warned five years ago, the U.S. rulers instantly seized on the criminal World Trade Center attack to rally support for their international imperialist adventures and for stepping up repression at home, first aiming at Muslim immigrants. As for the Pentagon, we have noted: "Unlike the World Trade Center, the Pentagon is the command and administrative center of the U.S. imperialist military, and heing a military installation the possibility of getting hit comes with tbe territory. That recognition does not make the attack an 'anti-imperialist' act, nor does it change the fact that terrorism almost always gets innocent people—in this case, the passengers on the plane as well as the maintenance workers, janitors and secretaries at the Pentagon" ("Bush, Kerry Push 'Anti-Terror' Hysteria," *WV* No. 830, 6 August 2004).

Bush continues to insist on the "rights" of the imperial presidency. That means no checks on the administration's ability to bomb, slaughter and torture peoples abroad and to spy on and "disappear" its perceived opponents at home. In June, the Supreme Court, in *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*, struck down Bush's secretive Guantánamo military trihunals on the grounds that they were not authorized by Congress and also violate the Geneva Conventions. Last week Bush demanded that Congress authorize his warrantless wiretapping program and enact new laws for military commissions based on the practices of the Guantánamo tribunals—trial without the accused present; not allowing the accused to see evidence; use of hearsay evidence and evidence obtained through coercion (i.e., torture).

Bush finally admitted the existence of tbe CIA's "secret" prison network as he announced the transfer to Guantánamo of 14 "suspected terrorists" deemed to he senior Al Qaeda members. Bush wants to run them through the military tribunals so he can claim a "victory" in the "war on terror." He also wants to retroactively shield CIA personnel involved in torture from prosecution under the U.S. War Crimes Act.

The Democratic Party has countered Bush with its own "Real Security Act of 2006." The Democrats' self-described "tough AND smart" proposal calls for redeploying U.S. troops from Iraq in order to "kill and capture the terrorists where they are," expanding U.S. Special Forces and increasing funds for "the CIA's overseas facilities" (7 September, Democrats.senate.gov). Their real complaint about Bush's tribunals is that they haven't been able to convict anybody and have "undermined America's influence and power in the world." Now John Kerry has chimed in hy calling for sending 5,000 more troops to Afghanistan to prop up the U.S. puppet government in Kabul.

One of the detainees Bush bragged he would put on trial at Guantánamo, Abu Zubaydah, is the government's source for its "dirty bomb" frame-up of U.S. citizen Jose Padilla. Defense lawyers argued that Padilla's arrest in 2002 as an "enemy combatant" was illegal, in part because it was based on information obtained through torture. The torture of Abu Zubaydah has now been confirmed by the *New York Times* (10 September).

Padilla was held incommunicado without charges in a military hrig for three and a half years before heing indicted on conspiracy charges, for which he is due to be tried in federal court. Three years ago, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee filed an *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief on Padilla's behalf, challenging the government's attempt to disappear citizens at will. As we wrote in "Marxists Oppose Government Attack on Citizenship Rights" (*WV* No. 808, 29 August 2003): "What the U.S. capitalist rulers get away with will largely depend on the level of social and class struggle in this society. It is in the urgent interests of the integrated labor movement to mobilize in defense of immigrant rights and the democratic rights of the entire population."■

Mackler Campaign—A Crude Class Line Against Greens, Dems

Critical Support to Socialist Action in Senate Election

California

In the run-up to the 2006 midterm elections, the working masses are again being subjected to the "choice" between the dual parties of capitalist exploitation, imperialist war and racist oppression. It is a choice between the justly feared and despised Bush-Cheney-Rumsfeld cabal in power and a Democratic "opposition" campaigning for a more effective plan for prosecuting the very bipartisan "war on terror" at home and abroad—in particular, how best to cut the losses of U.S. imperialism in the bloody occupation of Iraq in order to more efficiently deploy its forces against the peoples of the world.

We of the Spartacist League, as revolutionary Marxists, oppose on principle support to any capitalist party and stand for the complete political independence of the working class. While rejecting the notion that the working class can gain power through the vehicle of bourgeois electoralism, we recognize that there are times when the intervention of revolutionaries into the parliamentary/electoral arena can provide a useful platform from which to put forward our program and goals. Such tactics include the revolutionary party standing its own candidates and/or offering critical support to such parties as draw even a crude class line against the capitalist parties.

Der Spiegel

Solidarność leader Lech Walesa praying in front of Gdansk shipyard, 1980. Socialist Action models newspaper logo on that of Solidarność, which spearheaded capitalist counterrevolution in Poland.

In his powerful book on communist principles and tactics, *"Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder* (1920), Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin explained: "It is entirely a matter of *knowing how* to apply these tactics in order to *raise*—not lower—the *general* level of proletarian class-consciousness, revolutionary spirit, and ability to fight and win." Lenin advised the fledgling British Communists to extend critical support to the British Labour Party in order to expose the Labour traitors' pretensions to "socialism" and to break workers' illusions in them.

Socialist Action (SA) is standing Jeff Mackler as a candidate for the U.S. Senate in California, not only against the Democrats but also the bourgeois Green Party and its "socialist" candidate—Todd Chretien of the International Socialist Organization (ISO). Unlike the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which is also standing in the election but is not counterposing itself to the Green Party campaign that is popular in petty-bourgeois circles, Mackler's campaign thus draws a crude class line. On that basis, we are extending critical support to Mackler in the California Senate race. We will actively campaign for a vote to the SA candidate while at the same time exposing SA's reformist program.

"Antiwar" Work: Socialist Action vs. Marxism

Socialist Action has adopted a somewhat left-sounding posture in its campaign material, wherein it writes: "To the reformist credo, 'Anybody But Bush,' we answer, 'No to the twin parties of war and oppression!' and 'Yes to the independent organization and mobilization of working people!'" (undated SA campaign supplement). An excellent sentiment; one which, however, is utterly belied by SA's deeds.

Thus, while Socialist Action raises the call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq, SA has pushed, and continues to push, "antiwar" coalitions in which the interests of the exploited and oppressed are subordinated to those of the class enemy. SA has been among the "best builders" of exactly the "Anybody but Bush" credo it claims to abhor, for example, through its work in the class-collaborationist United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ). Seeking "unity" with anything that passed for an "antiwar" Democrat, UFPJ refused to raise the elementary call for *military defense of Iraq against the U.S. onslaught*. Ditto the ANSWER coalition of Workers World Party and Party for Socialism and Liberation, and the Not In Our Name (NION) initiative of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The SL and Spartacus Youth Clubs fought against this class collaboration and forthrightly called for defense of Iraq, making clear that such defense implied not an iota of political support to the capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein—an all-purpose tool of the imperialists and butcher of Communists, Kurds and many others in Iraq. Against the parties of U.S. imperialism, the trade-union bureaucrats, who are tied in the main to the Democrats, and the reformist left, we seek to win the working class to the program of revolutionary internationalism, to class struggle in "the belly of the beast" against the depredations of its "own" ruling class.

In its social-pacifist "antiwar" work, Socialist Action is virtually indistinguishable from the ISO and a host of other groupings in what passes for the American left. SA embraces not the revolutionary Trotskyist tradition of the early Socialist Workers Party of James P. Cannon, but the tradition of the latter-day SWP in full reformist flower. SA issued from the SWP many years after the SWP's qualitative degeneration in 1965, which was marked not least by its work as "best builders" of the popular-frontist National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) during the Vietnam War. In its statement "A fighting socialist campaign!" SA boasts of Mackler: "During the Vietnam War, he served on the National Committee of the National Peace Action Coalition."

Socialist Action

Jeff Mackler, Socialist Action candidate for Senate.

NPAC constituted the right wing of the movement against U.S. imperialism's dirty losing war in Vietnam. While the best of the youth radicalized by the struggle against the Vietnam War stood for the military victory of the National Liberation Front/Democratic Republic of Vietnam (NLF/DRV) forces, NPAC was busy sealing its alliance with the defeatist wing of the bourgeoisie, which sought to cut U.S. imperialism's losses in Indochina. This alliance was sealed with the blood of leftists. At a July 1971 NPAC conference, SWP goons viciously physically attacked members of the SL and Progressive Labor-SDS who protested Democratic Senator Vance Hartke, a keynote speaker at that conference.

Mythology about the "broad movement" that forced the withdrawal of American imperialism from Vietnam to the contrary, the U.S. was defeated on the battleground by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants—a victory for the world working class. We in the SL not only called for the military victory of the NLF/DRV forces, we also raised the call: "All Indochina must go Communist!" The SL and SYCs continue to fight today for revolutionary internationalist opposition to the depredations of U.S. imperialism, insisting that only with the victory of socialist revolution will its wars, invasions, occupations and counterrevolutionary machinations be brought to an end. We also fight for the *unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution*—i.e., defense of those states where capitalism has been overthrown, namely Vietnam, Cuba, North Korea and China.

The Russian Question: Socialist Action vs. Trotskyism

SA's campaign program contains the pacifist, anti-revolutionary demand: "No to nuclear power and nuclear weapons!" Pandering to the same eco-faddist, petty-bourgeois milieu from which the Greens recruit, this demand is counterposed to the Leninist understanding of the *need* for dependent countries under imperialist threat, such as Iran, to have nukes for their defense. It is also counterposed to the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states. Given U.S. saber-rattling against North Korea and hostility to China's nuclear arsenal, this issue is posed pointblank.

Despite any formal pretensions to Trotskyism it may claim, SA's support to the forces of capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet bloc is *progrommaticolly* indistinguishable from the openly "Third Camp" reformists of the ISO. Thus, the masthead of its newspaper, *Socialist Action*, is designed to imitate that of Lech Walesa's Polish Solidarność. Solidarność—the only "union" beloved by Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, the CIA, the Pope and Western bankers—consolidated in 1981 around a program of counterrevolution against the Polish deformed workers state. As Trotskyists, we forthrightly supported the suppression of its counterrevolutionary bid for power. In contrast, in 1981, when still in the SWP, future SA honcho Nat Weinstein demonstrated alongside "Captive Nations" anti-Communists at a rally for "poor little Solidarność."

The capitalist counterrevolution that eventually prevailed in the former Soviet Union and Eastern bloc states represented a profound defeat for the proletariat worldwide, decimating the industrial-military powerhouse of the non-capitalist world. We Trotskyists fought tooth and nail against counterrevolution, from the former East German workers state to the USSR. Today, triumphalist U.S. imperialism has its sights set on counterrevolutionary overturn in China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam. While SA calls for defense of Cuba, their defense combines sloganeering for such supportable but minimal demands like "End the blockade and embargo of Cuba!" with uncritical political adulation of the Castro bureaucracy. But the Stalinist, nationalist policy of "socialism in one country" pursued by Castro has undermined the defense of the Cuban Revolution. In Cuba, as in the other deformed workers states, we raise the call for *proletarian politicol revolution* to sweep away the bureaucratic misleaders and return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky's revolutionary internationalism.

Cuba is popular in rad-lib circles, and SA's position costs it little. Rather it adds a little "left" gloss to SA's stodgy, Stalinophobic reformism. Not so popular is the Chinese deformed workers state, a chief target of U.S. imperialist encirclement and economic pressure, which SA has written off as capitalist. Thus, SA's 2005 Political Resolution stated: "Among the Stalinists, of course, are the Maoists,

continued on page 11

Reuters

Left: Democratic hawk Dianne Feinstein. Right: "Socialist" Todd Chretien (second from left), candidate of bourgeois Green Party. No support to capitalist parties!

Kentucky Air Disaster: Bitter Fruit of Union Busting

Early on the morning of August 27 at Blue Grass Airport in Lexington, Kentucky, a Comair regional jet took a wrong turn onto a short runway, barely got airborne and crashed into a nearby field. Engulfed by flames and smoke, 49 of the 50 people aboard the aircraft perished. Twenty-nine seconds had elapsed from the beginning of the takeoff roll until impact, but no warning was issued from the control tower. Why? The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) had violated its own rules by scheduling only *one* air traffic controller to perform all tower duties on the overnight shift.

This practice is all too routine in the nation's air traffic control system, with its chronic staffing shortages, critical equipment failures and deplorable working conditions. There have been net losses of controllers every year for the past three years, and the FAA is now short by at least 1,000 controllers nationwide. Nearly two years before the fatal crash, a prescient Lexington control tower supervisor warned in a memo that coverage was stretched so thin that it "can cost lives."

The chaos in air transport today is not only an example of the anarchy and decay that reigns in the capitalist economy, it is also the bitter fruit of the most massive union-busting attack since before the CIO was founded in the 1930s. Twenty-five years ago, on 3 August 1981, the 13,000 members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) went on strike, demanding shorter hours, increased staffing and improved wages from the FAA. Putting into action a strike-breaking plan drawn up under the Democratic Carter administration, Republican president Reagan two days later fired all the controllers and had PATCO leaders hauled off to jail in shackles. In short order, union members were blacklisted, PATCO's finances were seized and the union was decertified.

AP

PATCO union leaders hauled off in chains during 1981 strike.

Labor could have beaten back the union-busters by shutting down the airports. A massive labor demonstration—half a million strong—in Washington, D.C., on 19 September 1981 showed that there was plenty of sentiment in labor's ranks to beat back the attack on PATCO. But from the outset of the strike, the response of the labor officialdom was to order union pilots, machinists, flight attendants and Teamsters to report to work. This betrayal set the stage for a ruthless capitalist offensive against the unions and the working class as a whole.

As part of its vendetta against PATCO, the government, including a Democratic-controlled Congress, imposed a ban on the rehiring of the strikers. While the Clinton administration lifted the ban in 1993, this token gesture has done nothing to reverse the blackballing of PATCO controllers. To date, only 846 strikers, out of more than 5,000 who have applied, have been offered jobs in their profession—and none since 1999.

Fatigue and stress, key concerns of the PATCO strikers, plague air traffic controllers no less today. The Lexington controller had slept only two hours, with just nine hours off between shifts. With the bottom line trumping air safety, this Labor Day weekend the FAA saddled controllers with new, more onerous work rules as well as a 30 percent wage cut and reduced pensions. The government will now force controllers who feel unrested to work anyway and has taken away critical break time. As a result, more than one-quarter of controllers are projected to retire within the year.

At the same time, the air traffic control system's infrastructure is dangerously outmoded and crumbling. A recent *New York Post* (4 September) exposé of the tower at LaGuardia Airport revealed that a crucial ground radar system fails during heavy rain and that this airport, too, often has only one controller on the midnight shift. At the Lexington airport, one time when the radar system wasn't working properly, management refused to bring in a repair technician because it would mean paying two hours of overtime! And now it comes out that at the time of the crash, Comair was using an out-of-date, FAA-provided chart of the airport.

Capitalist looting of this country's wealth and undermining of infrastructure are a recipe for disaster and have already cost countless lives, as everyone could see when the levees in and around New Orleans broke during Hurricane Katrina. The massive waste, danger and inefficiency of the airline industry under capitalism cries out for centralized economic planning, but that will only come about when the ruling class as a whole has been expropriated under a workers government.■

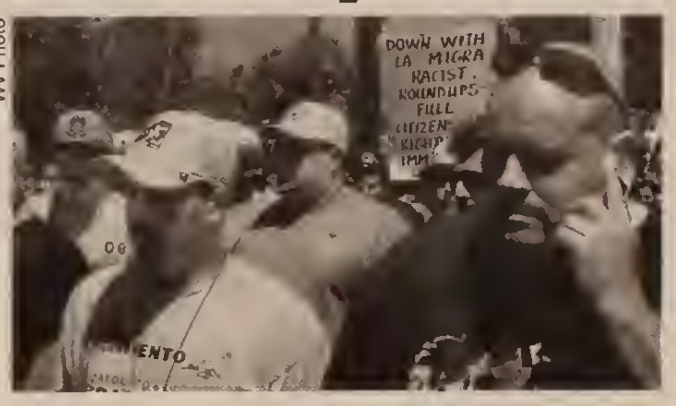
Racist Minuteman Provocation Spiked

L.A. Labor Day

LOS ANGELES—Workers at the annual Labor Day march and picnic in Wilmington's Banning Park on September 4 stopped an attempted provocation against L.A.'s diverse working class by a dozen anti-immigrant Minutemen and Save Our State (S.O.S.) vigilantes. The racist bigots tried to get into the midst of the picnic, which is largely centered on the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU). But the vigilantes miscalculated.

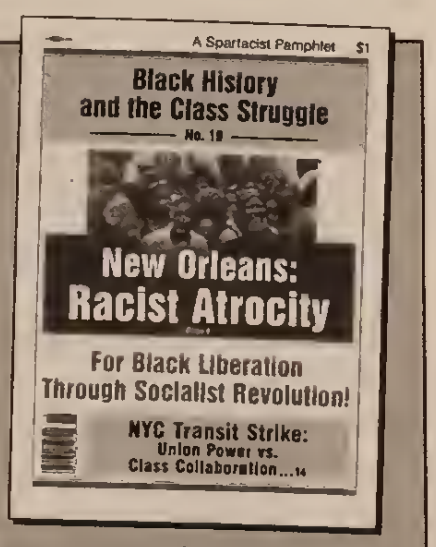
When the bigots raised their signs—reading "Illegal Immigration Is Not Civil Rights," "Unions Embracing Illegals Are Selling Out Their Members —Support HR 4437" and "I.C.E. [Immigration and Customs Enforcement] Where Are You?"—angry individual unionists and members of immigrant rights groups started to surround them, chanting "Racists out!" and "Que viva el trabajador inmigrante!" (Long live the immigrant worker!). Union bureaucrats sent a team of 20 or so designated "Labor Day Security" people, mainly ILWU, to stand between the Minutemen/S.O.S. and the angry crowd. Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club supporters joined the workers, carrying a sign calling for "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!" After unionists and immigrants still pushed forward, L.A. cops, some on all-terrain vehicles, escorted the Minutemen and S.O.S. out of the park to safety, as the crowd chanted, "Union! Union! Union!"

Immigrant workers, who have spearheaded militant union struggles in Southern California and elsewhere, are a vital factor for reinvigorating the labor movement in this country. But the crucial task of mobilizing labor to organize immigrant workers requires a fight against the policies of the pro-capitalist labor tops, whose chauvinist protectionism helps breed anti-immigrant prejudice among workers. The multiracial labor movement must use its power to stop the sinister anti-immigrant racists!■



WV Photo

September 4: Workers move against anti-immigrant bigots at Labor Day picnic in Wilmington, California. Spartacist sign reads: "Down With La Migra Racist Roundups—Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!"



No. 19 $1 (48 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

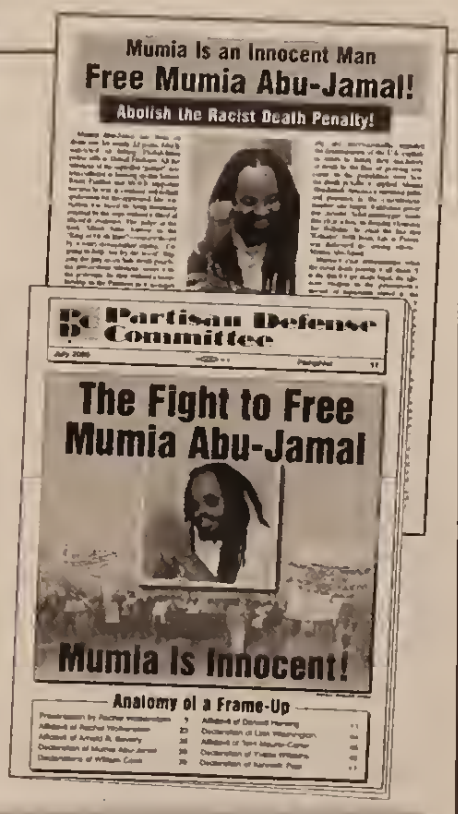
JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



Partisan Defense Committee • e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net • Web site: www.partisandefense.org

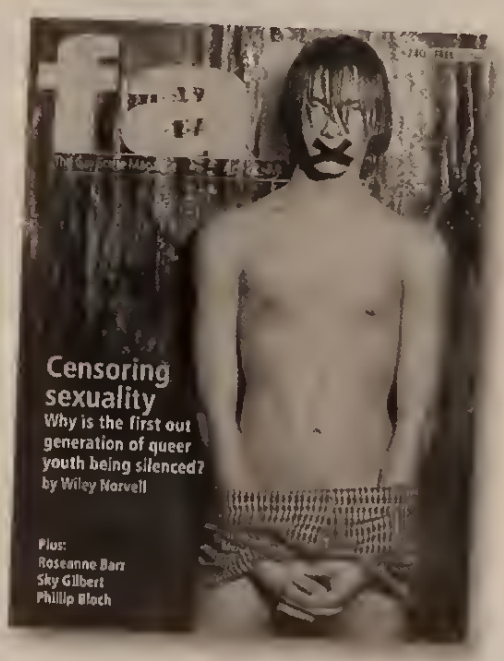
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099 .....(212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867 .....(312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 29574, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029-0574 .....(213) 380-8897
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462 .....(510) 839-0852

Down With Reactionary "Age of Consent" Laws!

Canada: Anti-Sex Crusade Targets Youth, Gays

The following article is reprinted from Spartacist Canada *No. 149 (Summer 2006), published by the Trotskyist League/ Ligue trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

SPARTACIST CANADA



no credit

Left: Right-wing Canadian prime minister Stephen Harper. Right: Toronto gay magazine *fab* (22 April 2004) protests state anti-porn crackdown.

Sex is a big part of being a teenager, but if you're under 16 what was once fun and legal will soon be a crime. Waving the hoary "save our children" banner, the right-wing Conservative government plans to raise the age of consent from 14, which it has been since 1892, to 16. A recent survey showed that at least 25 percent of youth are having sex by the time they are 14. But if [Prime Minister] Stephen Harper and his justice minister Vic Toews get their way, these youth and their partners will become criminals. At the same time, the Tories have vowed to lower to 14 the age at which youth can be tried and sentenced as adults for some crimes. If these repressive plans become law, you'll be too young for legal sex, but not too young for jail.

With brazen hypocrisy the Tories are renaming "age of consent" as "age of protection." Harper & Co. have as much interest in protecting kids as they have in contracting genital herpes. Youth *could* use some protection—against the ruling class and its repressive state apparatus. It is the capitalist rulers who are the biggest abusers of children in this society. Today one in six children live in poverty, thanks to ever more layoffs, union-busting and the destruction of social programs by provincial and federal governments of all stripes.

Now Harper is poised to gut daycare which, outside Quebec, is already costly and scarce. His caucus is rife with religious yahoos who think homosexuality is a plot to destroy the "traditional" family and that Christian holy writ is scientific truth. Attacking daycare, moving to overturn gay marriage, and now the early rumblings of an anti-abortion drive—this is the Tory social agenda. They've even resurrected the odious R.E.A.L. Women, using these anti-gay, anti-abortion bigots to promote an entirely bogus "childcare" program which aims to push women out of the workforce and back into the home.

Raising the age of consent won't stop kids from having sex, but it will make it a lot more dangerous and guilt-ridden. Youth will fear asking for information about birth control, abortion or diseases like AIDS. It is especially punitive for gay youth who, in coming to terms with their sexuality, often seek out older partners. Canada has one of the highest youth suicide rates in the world; little wonder, given the pervasive homophobic ugliness both in the schools and outside, that gay youth comprise a third of these deaths.

This crackdown on teen sexuality is another piece in the anti-sex panic which has swept North America over the last 25 years. In the 1980s and 1990s, people were force-fed the lie that there was an epidemic of child molestations and ritual abuse of children, while sexual predators supposedly lurked behind every teacher's desk. In 1994 Toronto artist Eli Langer was dragged through the courts on charges of producing "child pornography" for his paintings depicting children engaged in sex acts with each other and with adults. And it has only gotten worse. Private consensual acts are increasingly criminalized, and thousands have been victimized in a frenzy over internet porn. False allegations of child sexual abuse or possessing child pornography have destroyed lives, torn up families and led to suicides.

In April, the deadly logic of this was laid bare when a Cape Breton man obsessed with "sex offenders," Stephen Marshall, drove down to Maine and murdered two men whose names appeared on an internet "sex offenders" registry. One of those killed by the Canadian vigilante was 24-year-old William Elliott. For having a sexual relationship with his girlfriend who was just two weeks shy of 16, Maine's age of consent, Elliott was jailed for four months in 2002. Smeared as a "sex offender," his picture and address were to be on this public registry for *ten years*—and that's what got him killed. In a very direct way, these cold-blooded murders are a product of the bourgeoisie's anti-sex hysteria.

"Family values" hypocrisy is hardly the exclusive preserve of Tory bigots. Harper's move against teen sex picks up where the previous Liberal government [under Paul Martin] left off. The first act of Paul Martin's regime in 2004 was to introduce Bill C-2 which, among other measures, created a new crime of "sexual exploitation" that makes consent irrelevant. A witchhunter's dream, the Criminal Code now says that a relationship between someone under 18 and another in a "position of authority" is by definition exploitative, a crime for which the latter could spend up to ten years in jail.

Even this is not enough for the NDP's [New Democratic Party] federal justice critic, Joe Comartin. He backs a higher age of consent because it will be easier to win convictions for the "crime" of engaging in such relationships—consent be damned! In 2000, the ruling B.C. NDP was at the forefront of a witchhunting frenzy targeting several women teachers for entirely consensual relationships with younger people. And the NDP, like the Tories, wants to lower the age at which youth may be tried as adults, in their case to 16. Peddling such reaction is central to this social-democratic party's role as a transmission belt for bourgeois ideology into the working class.

The State Anti-Pornography Witchhunt

Alongside the drive to regulate who people have actual sex with, the government also aims to bar everyone from even reading about or viewing depictions of sex, especially if youth are involved. After many years of trials, in 2002 Vancouver resident John Robin Sharpe was acquitted of child pornography charges stemming from his fictional sexual stories and sketches portraying youth. Sharpe successfully used the defense of artistic merit. As an article in the Toronto gay magazine *fab* noted, this decision became "the legal umbrella under which the first generation of queer youth emerged. The ability to find and create works of art probing sexual taboos... were rights denied previous generations of queers" (22 April 2004).

Furious at Sharpe's acquittal, the Liberals eliminated the defense of artistic merit. With Bill C-2 now law, the accused must now prove that their creations further the "public good" and have a "legitimate purpose." As the *fab* article asked, "So what happens when kids exploring their sexuality through art become their own child pornographers?" Harper's government plans to close even the shabby "public good" loophole. What next? Will everything from Nabokov's *Lolita* to today's mountain of steamy coming-of-age teen novels be consigned to the censors' bonfires?

There has been some disquiet in the bourgeois media about the massive sweep of this state anti-porn dragnet. In recent years, thousands have been charged—in 2002-3 alone it was 303. Yet even in a witchhunting social climate the state secured convictions in fewer than half of these cases.

The necessarily arbitrary nature of "child pornography" laws lets the state ensnare almost anyone with this humiliating and fearful accusation. In April, racist border cops subjected Sikh immigrant Paramjit Singh to a terrifying ordeal. Caught in the crosshairs of two state crackdowns, the racist "war on terror" and the anti-porn hysteria, he was charged with possessing child pornography and denied entry to Canada, all for having a few pictures of his naked baby on his cell phone. The charges were dropped, but a chilling edict from the "Public Safety" ministry insisted that "the images of the prepubescent infant by definition is child pornography under the Criminal Code."

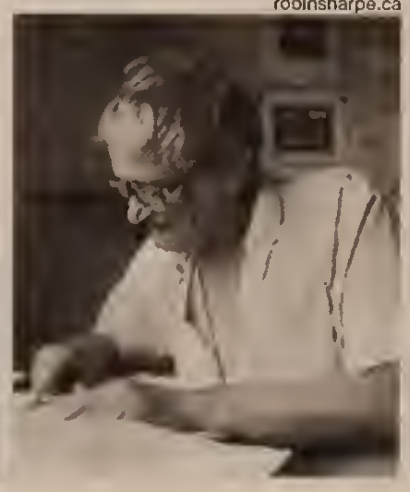
Marxists oppose all laws against "crimes without victims," such as prostitution, drug use or pornography. We utterly reject the practice whereby looking at pornography is equated with violent crimes such as rape, sexual assault and even murder. We also oppose the criminalization of those who look at child pornography which, like all pornography, is simply words and images designed for pleasure. And while we're talking about the difference between images and acts, consider the very real *acts* of sadistic torture and sexual violence carried out on prisoners in Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo as U.S. imperialist policy.

State Out of the Bedroom!

From the start, we have been outspoken opponents of the anti-sex hysteria. For us Marxists, the guiding principle in sexual relations is that of *effective consent*, not age, relationship, sex, number or degree of intimacy. This means nothing more and nothing less than mutual agreement and understanding, as opposed to

Gosse/Globe and Mail

robinsharpe.ca



Wanda Young (far left) was put on "child abuse" registry for her term paper on juvenile offenders. John Robin Sharpe (left) was persecuted for years in state anti-porn vendetta.

coercion. As long as those who take part agree to do so at the time, no-one, least of all the state, has the right to tell them they can't do it.

To understate the matter, sexuality is complex. Human society has seen a tremendous variety of social and sexual customs and practices, some of which might give pause to even the most free-wheeling among us. Monogamy is at variance with the fundamental instincts of our mammalian species; "transgressions" against it provide inexhaustible fuel for divorce courts and a vast body of literature in many languages.

It was Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx's closest collaborator, who laid out a materialist understanding of sexual and familial relationships which, like all social questions, are conditioned by time, place and social relations. In *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884) he wrote:

> "Prior to the invention of incest (and it *is* an invention, and one of the utmost value), sexual intercourse between parents and children could be no more disgusting than between other persons belonging to different generations—such as indeed occurs today even in the most philistine countries without exciting great horror; in fact, even old 'maids' of over sixty, if they are rich enough, occasionally marry young men of about thirty."

In line with this, we do not think intergenerational sex is by definition abusive, nor do we think incest is *a priori* a crime to be punished by the bourgeois state.

The Family, Private Property and the Bourgeoisie

Absent an understanding of the institution of the family as a key prop in maintaining the capitalist system, one cannot comprehend the bourgeoisie's irrational and prurient obsession with sexual issues. The family is the central instrument for the subjugation of women (and youth) under capitalism. Its historical function is to transmit private property to "legitimate" heirs through inheritance. This function has little relevance to working-class people, who generally have little to pass on. The family also serves as an ideological bastion of conservatism, instilling obedience to bourgeois codes of morality and retarding the development of social consciousness.

Anything that deviates from this stultifying regime of "one man on one woman for life" is viewed as a threat. This is at the heart of the crusades against pornography, youth sexuality, prostitution, homosexuality and abortion, which aim to regiment the population and bolster family, church and state.

We oppose age of consent laws because we oppose state intervention into people's private sexual activities. We do not accord the capitalist state the right to decree the age at which youth may engage in consensual sexual activity. To support the state's right to legislate morality is to support this decaying social order which produces genuinely horrific crimes against women and children.

Such laws also seek to deny the sexuality of young people, especially girls. As we wrote 20 years ago in "Children, Sex, State Witchhunters: The Uses of Abuse":

> "The attitude toward children today is linked to the myth of female asexuality. All children are supposed to be asexual until puberty, at which point boys are expected to become instantly sexually aggressive. Girls are not, even after they are 'properly' married at a 'proper' age."
>
> —*Women and Revolution* No. 29, Spring 1985

At bottom, it's all about preserving a girl's chastity for marriage. In the Philippines and Mexico, for example, the legal age of consent is 12. This reflects not a liberal regime of personal freedom for women, but the ruling class's view that this is the age at which girls can be married off and have children.

Sometimes—especially between youth and older adults—it can be difficult to determine what is effective consent. In addressing the "date rape" hysteria of the mid-1990s, we wrote:

> "Consent is *always* colored by the society we live in. Consensuality is rendered something less than complete when sexist attitudes and economic constraints (however expressed through a complex set of social factors that make them more or less 'acceptable') keep estranged couples together. And given the tangle of race, sex and class in this bigoted society, relationships can often be emotionally exploitative and unequal—but to call them 'crimes' is to bring in the government, which is the very enforcer of that bigotry and exploitation."
>
> —"The 'Date Rape' Issue: Feminist Hysteria, Anti-Sex Witchhunt," *Women and Revolution* No. 43, Winter 1993-Spring 1994

Spartacist Canada

Trotskyist League joined Toronto protest against 1994 cop raid on Eli Langer art exhibit. Langer was victimized for paintings depicting children having sex.

Battiston/CP

Picket line during 2004 hospital workers strike in Vancouver.

Or, as Irish playwright Brendan Behan put it: "I have never seen a situation so dismal that a policeman couldn't make it worse."

A Workers Party: Tribune of the People

Sexuality is not in itself a political question. It is the bourgeoisie which politicizes this issue, victimizing those who run afoul of its writ. When that happens, a Marxist party cannot remain silent. In fighting to build a revolutionary workers party, we seek to expose and protest every instance of bourgeois injustice, violence and cruelty. Our defense of the right to enjoy pornography and our rejection of age of consent laws are part of the struggle to lay bare the ways in which the bourgeoisie maintains its grip on the working people.

Almost 30 years ago, *The Body Politic*, a Toronto gay liberationist newspaper, was hit with police raids and legal repression after publishing a controversial article called "Men Loving Boys Loving Men." The Trotskyist League joined and built protests in defense of *The Body Politic*, as did some other left groups. While there was an uproar in some gay and feminist circles about the article's content, intergenerational sex was not nearly the explosive "hot button" question it is today. Our political debates at the time largely centered on struggling for a Marxist, working-class perspective, as opposed to the sectoralist politics promoted by many gay liberationists.

However, the effects of more than two decades of ideological warfare and state repression have penetrated deeply into society. NAMBLA (North American Man/Boy Love Association), which advocates the right to intergenerational sex, is persecuted and hounded. That they have almost no defenders on the left outside of our own organization is a measure of how deeply the so-called "socialist" groups have adapted to "family values" bourgeois reaction. The refusal of gay groups and defenders of gay rights to defend a vulnerable group like NAMBLA is both cowardly and suicidal; it was not that long ago that homosexuality was considered a crime or at best a pathology.

In witchhunts those who dare defend the witches are themselves anathematized. "Only child pornographers, pimps, Internet lurers, child molesters and those involved in child sex tourism would line up against the proposed age of consent legislation," is how Canadian Press (19 April) reported the views of the anti-prostitution outfit, Beyond Borders. For our defense of NAMBLA against the state, we have been berated by "family values" Maoists, pseudo-Trotskyists and other reformist leftists as "child abusers." Like their bourgeois puppet-masters, these groups willfully conflate consensual sexual activities with vicious abuse. Their embrace of bourgeois "morality" reflects a fundamental loyalty, however rhetorically masked, to the current social order.

It is very much in the interests of working people to oppose the (currently Tory) offensive against youth sexuality, women and gays. The capitalists' need for labour, combined with economic necessity, has drawn unprecedented numbers of women out of the home and into the workforce in recent decades. This in turn has produced a reactionary backlash. We fight for the fullest integration of women into the workforce, and for this working people desperately need free, quality 24-hour childcare. Instead, even the paltry and inadequate existing programs are to be slashed, leaving working-class women with the "options" of either paying for expensive daycare or staying home to look after their children, thus living in poverty. Either way, they are bombarded with fear-mongering stories that their kids are in mortal peril, be it by rapists, satanic sexual abusers or drug peddlers. It's all meant to torment women with guilt about leaving their children in the care of "strangers" while they are at work.

Socialist revolution will lay the basis for replacing the family and drawing women fully into social production. This alone will make possible the liberation of women. Such was the program of the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and L.D. Trotsky which in 1917 led the working class to power in tsarist Russia. The early Bolshevik regime did all it could to implement the promise of women's emancipation, taking measures toward socializing the private functions of the family. But they lacked the material resources to make this a reality in backward and impoverished Russia, devastated by civil war and imperialist intervention. Their earliest measures included making abortion and homosexuality legal and divorce a mere civil matter.

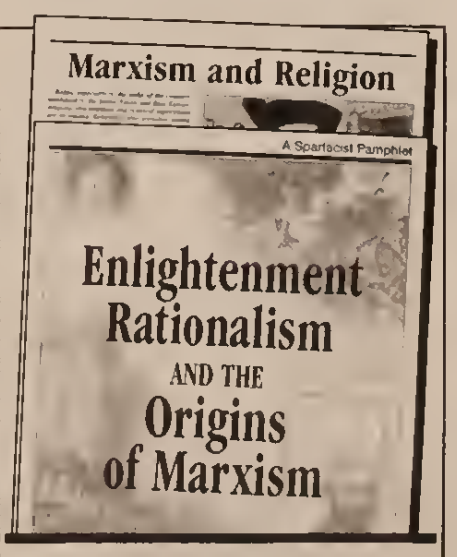
Real violence is perpetrated daily against women and children under this brutal class system. Social degradation and dehumanization (which permeate sexual relations as all else) are rooted in the nature of this society and the exploitation of labour. The social alienation of a system in which the vast mass of people have to sell their labour power to enrich the very few is compounded by institutionalized inequalities of race, nationality and sex. To create genuinely free and equal relations between people in all spheres, including sex, requires nothing less than the destruction of this class system and the creation of a communist world. In a classless society, social and economic constraints over sexual relations will be nonexistent, and in the words of Friedrich Engels, "there is no other motive left except mutual inclination."■

JUST OUT!

Spartacist Canada No. 150

Subscription: 4 Issues
C$3 US$5

Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Canada Publishing
Box 6867 Station A, Toronto ON M5W 1X6
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



$2 (48 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

country, the most important of which was in the Sicartsa steel plant in the port of Lázaro Cárdenas following the tragedy of Pasta de Conchos [where 65 miners died in an explosion]. The miners were protesting the government's removal of their leader and the imposition of a new leader more to the taste of Fox and his neo-Cristeros [referring to the 1920s reactionary clerical Cristero rebellion]. The government intervention was surely due to the fact that the miners union, in addition to having carried out many strikes and work stoppages over the last five years, was one of the few groupings within the Congress of Labor [main corporatist union federation affiliated with the PRI] that opposed the anti-worker "Abascal Law," a reform of the Federal Labor Law.

The Federal Preventive Police, on orders from the PAN, and the Michoacán state police, under PRD governor Lázaro Cárdenas Batel—grandson of [1930s nationalist president] General Lázaro Cárdenas del Río—tried to break the Sicartsa strike. Fighting heroically, the workers succeeded in repelling the attack and maintained their strike for more than four months, at the cost of two workers dead.

This powerful strike, which caused immense losses for the bosses, was the most important workers' struggle in many years and demonstrates why communists base our strategy on the industrial proletariat, which has the power to bring the entire economy to a stop. Finally, the strike ended in victory on August 21 when the workers forced the bosses to concede, in addition to a wage increase, payment of all lost wages, the dropping of all charges against all the trade unionists and the recognition of Gómez Urrutia as their union leader, among other things. The workers of Sicartsa brought the bosses to their knees and gave the state itself a black eye!

AP

Reuters

Oaxaca teachers occupy town's main square in June (left). Striking teachers have stood up to murderous repression under PRI governor Ulises Ruiz, vilified in poster (above).

Some six weeks before the presidential elections, the teachers in Local 22 of the SNTE [National Union of Education Workers] in Oaxaca began a militant strike demanding pay raises. They also resisted a police attack on July 14 and successfully kept up their strike and an encampment in the main plaza of the city. In August, the state government, headed by the PRI hangman Ulises Ruiz, brutally escalated its terror campaign, assassinating two fighters for social justice who supported the teachers and arresting and/or kidnapping and torturing various others. The defense organizations set up by the teachers and their allies—organized in the so-called Popular Assembly of the People of Oaxaca and the Teachers' Police of Oaxaca—successfully beat back several police attacks and infiltrations and apprehended several perpetrators of the murderous attacks.

Reuters

December 1999: Mexico City police under PRD administration attack protest during UNAM student strike.

The peasants of the town of Atenco also battled against the police on May 4, although in the end police forces were able to take the town, savagely beating peasants and raping at least seven women. In a police attack the previous day, a youth of only 14, Javier Cortés Santiago, was killed, and, after over a month in a coma, Alexis Benhumea, a student of economics, Russian and dance, died. On August 16, some 5,000 workers in the health sector [in Oaxaca] started an indefinite strike, also demanding wage increases and supporting the teachers. On August 18 in Oaxaca, there was a 24-hour "civic strike" by 80,000 unionized workers. The Oaxaca teachers called for a "punishment vote" against the PRI and the PAN. Their main demand today is the removal of Ulises Ruiz and the "disappearance of powers" in the state (which essentially means the Senate of the Republic would designate an interim governor until a new one is elected). Of course, this PRI hangman should be thrown out.

The important thing to understand is that whoever governs, capitalism is a system based on the exploitation of labor and the systematic repression of workers and the oppressed by the bourgeois state. The capitalist state is essentially special bodies of armed men—the police, the army, the prisons and the courts—whose purpose is to defend the interests of the capitalists. The bourgeois state cannot be reformed; it is necessary to destroy it through socialist revolution and replace it with a *workers* state.

These convulsive outbreaks of struggle, ideologically dominated by the PRD, show the generalized and long-contained anger among workers and the poor after two decades of privatizations and massive layoffs; chronic massive unemployment; devastation of the countryside, which has led to mass emigration; constant anti-union attacks; cost-of-living increases coupled with qualitatively lower wages, etc. Fed up with Fox and his cronies and their starvation policies, great masses of workers and the poor population in general support the PRD, hoping that it will represent them from the heights of state power. But the PRD is a bosses' party. Its differences with the PAN lie in how to better administer the system of capitalist exploitation. The objective of this party is to channel discontent within the sterile bounds of the ballot box.

The PAN is certainly the representative of the most reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie. But precisely *because* of its obscurantist ideology, the PAN does have a lot of support among diverse sectors of the population, especially in the North and West of the country. In cities like Monterrey and Guadalajara, enormous sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and, in fact, the most backward layers of the working class identify with this party, as do peasants in the Bajío and Los Altos of Jalisco, heartland of the Cristiada, to mention a few examples.

This shouldn't surprise anybody in such an overwhelmingly Catholic country. Although sections of the PRD try to pose as "friends" of the oppressed, undoubtedly the majority of those who support the PRD also identify, in one degree or another, with some of the reactionary Catholic values that the PAN prominently pushes. Overall, what attracts large numbers of workers and the poor to the PRD—and to AMLO in particular—is their policy of greater state intervention in the economy and their nationalist rhetoric, in contrast to "free market" beliefs and outright servility to the imperialists on the part of the PAN and sectors of the PRI.

The Trap of Bourgeois Populism

We live in a period historically conditioned by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR. The Soviet Union was the product of the first, and until today only, successful workers revolution. Despite its Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration, the USSR continued to embody the gains of the October Revolution of 1917. The restoration of capitalism in the counterrevolution of 1991-92 marked a world-historic defeat for the working class. The counterrevolution eliminated the powerful counterweight that the USSR represented to imperialist rapaciousness on a global scale and led to an enormous retrogression in the consciousness of the proletariat. Thus, the masses of workers and radicalized students who take part in defensive struggles no longer identify with the ideals of communism.

The history of Third World countries beginning with the 20th century oscillates between rightist regimes (often police dictatorships) that push economic starvation policies for the benefit above all of the imperialists, and "populist" regimes that introduce certain minimal democratic reforms and grant meager concessions to the workers. Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky analyzed this phenomenon, in the case of Mexico in particular, in his 1939 article "Nation-

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 666-9453
bostonsyc@yahoo.com

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Just Out!

Espartaco

Publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México

No. 26, September 2006

$.50 (24 pages)

Subscription:
$2 for 4 issues
(includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Order from/
make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

alized Industry and Workers' Management," in which he explained:

> "In the industrially backward countries foreign capital plays a decisive role. Hence the relative weakness of the *national* bourgeoisie in relation to the *national* proletariat. This creates special conditions of state power. The government veers between foreign and domestic capital, between the weak national bourgeoisie and the relatively powerful proletariat. This gives the government a Bonapartist character of a distinctive character. It raises itself, so to speak, above classes. Actually, it can govern either by making itself the instrument of foreign capitalism and holding the proletariat in the chains of a police dictatorship, or by maneuvering with the proletariat and even going so far as to make concessions to it, thus gaining the possibility of a certain freedom toward the foreign capitalists. The present policy [of the Mexican government of Lázaro Cárdenas] is in the second stage; its greatest conquests are the expropriations of the railroads and the oil industries."

Thus, the PRD is what we call a bourgeois nationalist-populist party, similar to the PRM [Party of the Mexican Revolution] of Lázaro Cárdenas, predecessor of the PRI. In fact, the goal of the PRD is nothing more than to return to the "golden years" of the PRI, although, since it faces an international situation much more disadvantageous (above all the counterrevolution in the USSR), it is obvious that its policies are even more stingy than the policies of its predecessor more than 60 years ago.

In the context of generalized misery, the PRD's minimal concessions to the workers and poor, as well as its criticisms of Fox's servility to the imperialists, are a source of great illusions among the workers. But the PRD cannot fulfill its promises; nor does it want to. It cannot break with the imperialists; nor does it want to. This party doesn't even oppose NAFTA—that treaty of imperialist looting of Mexico—but rather only wants to "renegotiate" it. Even though he talks about opposing the privatization of the energy sector, AMLO has declared, using intentionally confusing language, that he does not oppose the participation of national private capital in that sector.

It is no coincidence that Carlos Slim, the third-richest man in the world, publicly supported the PRD. The participation of the PRD in continual anti-union attacks in the DF [Mexico City Federal District], especially against the SUTGDF [municipal workers union] and the metro union, in the police breaking of the UNAM [National Autonomous University of Mexico] student strike in 1999, in the murderous repression in Lázaro Cárdenas and in Atenco, in the assassinations of Zapatista activists that the EZLN has documented, etc., are not isolated occurrences. They are a reflection of the PRD's bourgeois and therefore inherently anti-worker nature.

As we wrote in a 7 April 2005 leaflet opposing the *desafuero* [stripping of immunity] of AMLO without giving him one iota of political support, if he achieves the presidency, "the very support he has among the workers movement would put him in a much better position to push forward the privatization of the electric and oil industries, which the ineffectual Fox has not been able to impose" [see "Mexico: Down With Fox's Attack on Mayor López Obrador!" *WV* No. 846, 15 April 2005]. Even the meager concessions that exist, like subsidies to the elderly and single mothers, will be reversed tomorrow, when the bourgeois populists deem it prudent to expand their "republican austerity."

The Permanent Revolution

The deeply felt democratic sentiments of the Mexican masses, like national emancipation and political democracy, cannot be satisfied under capitalism. No "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie exists in the era of imperialist decay that is capable of breaking with the imperialists. Revolutionary Marxists, basing ourselves on the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution, do not have a democratic program distinct from a socialist one. In the struggle for democratic demands, we counterpose the proletariat to the bourgeoisie for the simple fact that these demands are only realizable under the dictatorship of the proletariat and, in fact, these struggles are a motor force for socialist revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat would lay the basis for socialism—which is based on generalized abundance—and for the emancipation of all the oppressed: women, poor peasants, homosexuals, indigenous peoples.

Janet Jarman

Danny Lehman

Capitalist rule mires Mexico in bitter poverty: Slum area in Mexico City (above), shantytown near Salamanca in Central Mexico (right).

Why is the hegemony of the working class necessary? It is true that all the poor struggle, at one point or another, against particular depredations of capitalism. But peasants, for example, struggle for land, to sell their products at the highest possible price and the lowest cost of production, etc. In the exceptional cases in which they triumph, they become small producers who exploit labor. Their objective interest is thus in the private ownership of the land. Isolated from the working class, their struggles, however just they might be, will not go beyond the framework of capitalism.

In contrast, the working class does not struggle to obtain markets for the boss, nor to make them more "profitable." It fights collectively *against* the bosses for better salaries, benefits and working conditions. The workers have nothing but their own labor power on which to subsist, and they collectively produce the wealth of society. Therefore, as a class they have no objective interest in maintaining private property, and their strategic position in modern industry gives them the immense social power to paralyze the entire economy. In addition, the working class shares interests on the world level. Thus the working class is the only class with the objective interest to destroy capitalism across national borders, and its emancipation from the chains of capitalism carries the seed of the emancipation of humanity as a whole.

However, the economic struggle of the working class, in itself, does not go beyond the framework of capitalism, but is limited to struggles against individual bosses to renegotiate the terms of capitalist exploitation. Thus trade-union consciousness is still bourgeois consciousness. It is necessary to introduce into the working class revolutionary consciousness: the understanding of its own historic mission for universal emancipation. For that, a Leninist-Trotskyist party is needed which, armed with the historic experience of the class struggle, would combat the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie on the proletariat and would direct the masses in overturning the capitalist state.

For revolutionaries in Mexico, it is of utmost importance to combat the ideology of bourgeois nationalism: the myth of "unity" between the exploited and the exploiters of the same nationality and the consequent chauvinist hatred of foreigners, as if beyond the Río Bravo social classes did not exist. The future of a workers' Mexico depends, in a very immediate sense, on the support of our class brothers and sisters in the U.S., especially the doubly oppressed black masses.

Proletarian internationalism is not an empty declaration of good intentions, but rather a reflection of the economic reality of imperialism and a political *necessity* for the proletariat. It is fundamental to combat the racist chauvinism that the capitalist rulers push in Mexico as well as in the U.S. to maintain divisions between black people and the millions of Latin American immigrants, who constitute a human bridge which is key for the proletariat. Therein lies the importance of our campaign for the freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an activist for black rights known as "the voice of the voiceless," who was sentenced to death in the U.S. in a totally racist frame-up trial. Among many other causes, this fight, in addition to its intrinsic justness, provides a concrete vehicle to combat chauvinism and strengthens the links among the workers of the world.

The IG: Centrists in a Strange World

The 1917 October Revolution—which fully confirmed Trotsky's permanent revolution—is the fundamental experience for revolutionaries. The sharp contrast between our positions and those of other left groups will help to clarify the content of genuine Trotskyism.

Most self-proclaimed Marxist groups have adapted, in one way or another, to the PRD. The Internationalist Group (IG), formed a decade ago by former Spartacists who defected from Trotskyism, deserves a special mention. The IG lives, as the song goes, in a strange world [a reference to *Un Mundo Raro*, a popular mariachi song]. Disoriented by counterrevolution in the USSR, the IG has devoted itself to fervently denying that counterrevolution had any significant impact on the consciousness of the working class, essentially holding that nothing has changed in social struggles since the 1970s or even before. This has led them to adapt to alien class forces, seeking shortcuts to the building of a Leninist-Trotskyist party of the workers' vanguard.

In Mexico, the IG's politics are characterized by renunciation of the perspective of permanent revolution and by adaptation to the current consciousness of the working class. According to the IG, the main obstacle to workers revolution in Mexico is a phantasmagorical "popular front" around the PRD.

The popular front is not a tactic, but the greatest of crimes, which has led to bloody defeats for the working class. But

continued on page 10

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

August 16 to October 4

Local	Quota (in points)	Week Two	%
Bay Area	650	182	28%
Chicago	450	299	66%
Los Angeles	325	145	45%
New York	975	215.5	22%
At Large	250	62	25%
National Total	**2,650**	**903.5**	**34%**

WV Photo

Subscribe Now!

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
International rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail

❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

876

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Mexico...

(continued from page 9)

it is not a synonym for all and every form of class collaboration. It refers to the political subordination of the mass parties of the working class to the capitalists, usually in order to administer the bourgeois state. In Mexico, such a party of the working class has never existed, not even a reformist bourgeois workers party in the style of British Labourism. The Mexican working class has been, since its early stages in the 1920s, tied to the nationalist populist wings of the bourgeoisie, and has not arrived at the understanding of the need for its own party—that is, an elementary class consciousness.

In its most recent publication (*El Internacionalista/Edición México*, August 2006), the IG focuses a polemic against us on the fact that we opposed the *desafuero* of López Obrador last year. In deeds, the IG supported Fox's plans, since it is opposed to "the executive *fuero* [immunity], which exempts capitalist rulers from being judged for their official acts (as opposed to the parliamentary *fuero*, which has the purpose [!] of protecting legislators from governmental intimidation)." Thus, according to the IG's logic, in stripping the populist López Obrador of his *fuero*, the neo-Cristero Fox was carrying out a truly democratic action!

We do not take a position on such precepts of bourgeois legislation in the abstract, but rather based on the interest of the *working class* in each *concrete* case. As we explained in our April 2005 leaflet:

> "We communists of the Grupo Espartaquista de México are opposed to the attempt to strip Andrés Manuel López Obrador of his political immunity (a process called *desafuero*), while giving him no political support. The attempt by Fox and his PRI accomplices to prevent a bourgeois-nationalist candidate from running in the elections is a blow to the democratic rights of the population.... In opposing this *desafuero* we are defending our class's right to organize and fight against the capitalist class as a whole."

The IG's arguments regarding the *fuero* itself, abstracted from the real conditions of Fox's attack, are merely an absurd excuse to justify the fact that they turned their back on the struggle in defense of the democratic rights of the population. The line that they try to present as ultraradical (presumably to adapt to the politics of the UNAM Zapatista student milieu) is in reality profoundly rightist. And it is not a coincidence that the grotesque contortions that they have to make in order to justify their line end up apologizing for Fox himself.

Spartaco

April 11: Steel workers at Mittal plant in port of Lázaro Cárdenas following successful strike.

In essence, they argue that the *desafuero* campaign was merely an intra-bourgeois quarrel in which the working class had no side. The IG asserted, over a year ago, in the most stupid manner: "When the ICL today says it defends democratic rights by supporting the legal immunity of López Obrador [!], when it asserts that the imperialists favor Fox over AMLO, they are repeating the PRD's electoral propaganda and participating in its campaign" (*El Internacionalista*, May 2005). It is difficult to think the IG believes its own words. In their new article they assert:

> "But if the struggle transcends the framework of the electoral circus, if the capitalist state proclaims a winner by means of a massive fraud, imposing the candidate of a regime that can only maintain itself in power by means of heavy-handed repression, if instead of gigantic *pejemarchas* [AMLO demos] there are massive protests against actions that point in the direction of a military-police dictatorship, proletarian revolutionaries must call for a ***proletarian mobilization against the bonapartist threat***."

Toward this end, the IG also calls for "workers' defense committees" and for the preparation of a "national strike against the murderous government" before what it sees as an imminent "civil war."

Certainly, the current deep polarization and the division within the bourgeoisie itself poses the threat of generalized repression. It has taken the IG over a year, with demonstrations of millions of people and constant attacks and threats by Fox, to recognize this fact. The point is that the struggle in defense of the democratic rights of the population *is not counterposed* to the defense of the working class against a bonapartist threat: in reality, *they are one and the same*. Mexican workers are not indifferent to the result of the present dispute among their rulers. If López Obrador won the election, we communists would defend his democratic right to occupy the post. But we do not join our forces with the PRD political bloc. Instead, we defend democratic rights by proletarian means.

In 1916, Bolshevik G.L. Piatakov (P. Kievsky) rejected the struggle for democratic demands as a deviation from the struggle for socialism. V.I. Lenin replied:

> "Capitalism in general, imperialism in particular, transforms democracy into an illusion—and at the same time capitalism generates democratic tendencies among the masses, creates democratic institutions, accentuates the antagonism between imperialism, which repudiates democracy, and the masses which strive toward democracy. Capitalism and imperialism cannot be overthrown through any reforms—not even the most 'ideal' democratic reforms—but only through an economic overturn. But the proletariat which has not been educated in a struggle for democracy is incapable of accomplishing an economic overturn."
>
> —"Lenin's Reply to P. Kievsky," printed in *The Bolsheviks and the World War*, Olga Hess Gankin and H.H. Fisher, eds. (1976)

To dismiss the democratic aspirations of the masses signifies the rejection of permanent revolution and, therefore, of the struggle for socialism. In reality, the supposedly "ultraradical" positions of the IG are a mere device to hide their *adaptation* to the PRD. Indeed, it takes a lot of chutzpah for the IG to talk about "workers' defense committees" which, they say, would be the generalization of the struggles of the Sicartsa workers and the Oaxaca teachers: the IG didn't even defend the miners union in the face of state attack! In line with its adaptation to the PRD, this group holds that the PRI-affiliated unions—like the miners union—are not workers organizations but the "*class enemy*" (*El Internacionalista/Edición México*, May 2001), which, by the way, would also extend to the SNTE and its Local 22 in Oaxaca. By a strange coincidence, according to the IG the only workers unions in Mexico are those tied to the PRD.

The IG accuses us, claiming: "The logic of their politics of last year should impel the GEM to join the LTS [Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo] and other organizations that follow the current of the 'anti-fraud' movement." "The logic of the politics" of the GEM is dictated by the perspective of permanent revolution. The same cannot be said of the IG. It is not a coincidence that this group has consistently refused, both in 2005 and in 2006, to distribute its propaganda in the immense PRD mobilizations, to which some tens of thousands of workers and youth showed up. The pretentious affirmations of the IG that they and only they have "swum against the stream" in the face of the social polarization that the country is living through are a sad joke. In reality, they are incapable of combatting the workers' illusions in populism, invoking instead phantasmagorical "popular fronts" and dismissing a large part of the heavy contingents of the proletariat for being affiliated to the wrong bourgeois party.

Mexican society looks like a powder keg about to explode, but here is the fundamental problem: the proletariat is strongly tied ideologically to the bourgeois PRD. It is necessary to intervene in class and social struggles with the program of revolutionary Marxism, struggling to break these ties. Only in this way can a Leninist-Trotskyist party be built in order to lead the working class to power. The task we have committed ourselves to is an enormous one. Breaking the ideological chains that tie the working class to their exploiters will mean many years of hard work. But there is no other road. As a section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), we fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International with no interest, with no goal other than leading the proletariat to the seizure of state power through socialist revolution. ■

Spartacist Forums

Against Capitalists' Divide-and-Rule!

The Fight for Immigrant Rights and Black Liberation

Speaker: Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee

Saturday, Sept. 16, 3 p.m.
Immanuel Presbyterian Church
Geneva Room, 3300 Wilshire Blvd.
(One block west of Wilshire/Vermont Red Line Station)

LOS ANGELES

For more information: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

Saturday, Sept. 23, 4 p.m.
YWCA, Classroom 2
1515 Webster St. (at 15th St.), Oakland
(2 blocks from the Oakland City Center/12th St. BART Station)

BAY AREA

For more information: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

Capitalist Rulers Left Blacks, Poor to Die

New Orleans: One Year After Katrina
Racist Atrocity Continues

Speaker: Barry James, Spartacist League
with a guest speaker from New Orleans

Update on the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Saturday, Sept. 16, 3 p.m.
6 Harrison Street, Manhattan
(Take the No. 1 subway to Franklin St.,
walk west on Franklin to Hudson,
one block south on Hudson to Harrison)

NEW YORK

For more information: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

Defend the Chinese Deformed Workers State!
For Proletarian Political Revolution!

China's "Market Reforms": A Trotskyist Analysis

Saturday, Sept. 16, 5 p.m.
UIC Student Center East
White Oak Room, 750 S. Halsted St.
University of Illinois, Chicago

CHICAGO

For more information: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forum

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Saturday, September 30, 7 p.m.
OISE, Room 2214, 252 Bloor St. West
University of Toronto
(at St. George Subway Station)

TORONTO

For more information: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

Australia...

(continued from page 2)

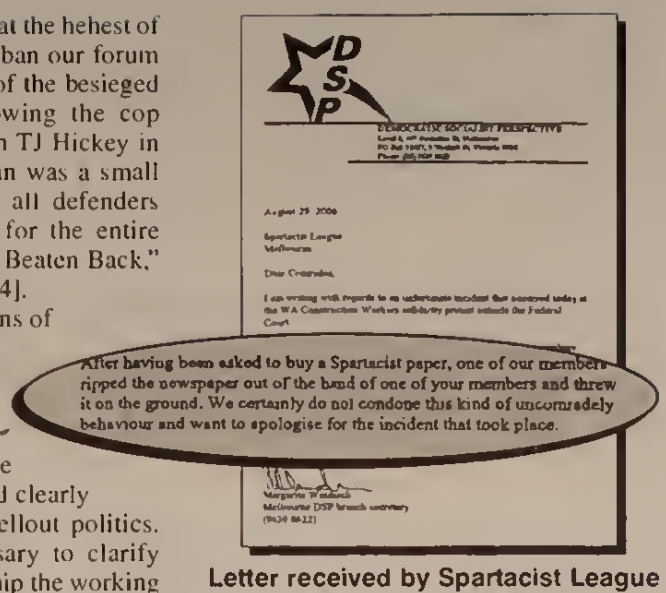
military and cop forces.

Such social chauvinism is evidently providing a culture medium within and around the DSP for violent anti-woman and anti-communist creeps. At the Melbourne May Day rally earlier this year we had to defend ourselves against an unhinged *GLW* salesman—known as "Alex"—who kicked over our literature table and attempted to bully a woman comrade. He has twice since threatened Spartacist salesmen, including screwing up the papers of a Spartacus Youth Club member at the 28 June mass union rally. "Alex" denounces our forthright defence of those, such as Melbourne schoolteacher Karen Ellis, who have been victimised under the reactionary age-of-consent laws. Like the cowardly assailant on 29 August, he also aggressively embraces the DSP's support to the Australian imperialist military invasion of East Timor.

We note that these attempts at violent political censorship of the SL are taking place at the same time the bourgeoisie is carrying out chilling state repression against Muslims, leftists and unionists under the bogus "war on terror." Moreover these *GLW* goons reek of anti-communist social-democratic nationalism, which glories in the anti-woman bigotry of this remote, white imperialist enclave. Their hostility towards the SL is fostered by the DSP's touching faith in the capitalist state, which consists at its core of the military, police, courts and prisons and exists to enforce the rule of the capitalist class over the working class and oppressed. Unable to defend the politics of the DSP, they seek to silence communists who fight for the political independence of the proletariat and for class-struggle actions against the depredations of Australian imperialist oppression abroad and state repression at home.

We Trotskyists of the Spartacist League have a long and proud history as part of the working-class movement in this country and assert ourselves accordingly. In March 2004, mobilising support among trade unionists, we successfully defeated the attempt by the Victorian Trades Hall Council, reportedly acting at the behest of the Police Association, to ban our forum at Trades Hall in defence of the besieged Redfern Aborigines following the cop killing of Aboriginal youth TJ Hickey in Sydney. Reversing this ban was a small but important victory for all defenders of Aboriginal rights and for the entire left [see "Trades Hall Ban Beaten Back," *WV* No. 825, 30 April 2004].

In the polemical traditions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, we will continue to argue program and principle against pseudo-socialists like the DSP in order to openly and clearly expose and defeat their sellout politics. Political debate is necessary to clarify what program and leadership the working class needs to fight for its interests. For that purpose we will assert the rights of *any* tendency, including our own, against violence in the workers movement. Thus as an act of principle and a service to the left, we will widely expose and condemn the recent thuggery by *GLW* salesmen and DSP supporters. We call on other leftists and trade unionists to do likewise.



Letter received by Spartacist League of Australia on September 1 following DSP attack on our comrade.

We repeat: acts of violence such as those perpetrated by DSP members against political opponents on the left have no place in the workers movement! ■

Election...

(continued from page 4)

whose legacy is the restoration of capitalism in China and the immiseration of hundreds of millions." Such a position echoes not only rad-lib sentiment but also the protectionist, chauvinist China-bashing of the trade-union bureaucracy. In contrast, we advance the necessity to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead China's huge and powerful working class, at the head of the peasants and urban poor, in a proletarian political revolution. In so doing, we seek to win working people in the U.S. to the necessity to defend the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution against the machinations of the U.S. rulers and the labor traitors who serve them.

State and Revolution: Socialist Action vs. Leninism

Despite left-sounding verbiage in the SA campaign supplement that "We fight for a break with class-collaboration policies of both the AFL-CIO and the Change to Win national federations," the fact is that among SA's first political acts after emerging from the SWP was to serve as goons for the San Francisco labor bureaucracy when thousands of Bay Area workers took to the streets to stop scab buses during the 1983 Greyhound strike. As for the elementary principle of keeping the bosses and their courts out of union affairs, a prominent SA supporter in New York City transit, Marty Goodman, was a longtime member of New Directions—a lash-up of union-suers—in TWU Local 100. SA's words here are again contradicted by its deeds.

Then there are SA's garden-variety reformist campaign demands to "tax the rich" and its utopian/Laborite call to "nationalize bankrupt corporations under workers' control!" Marxists know that the interests of labor and capital are irreconcilable. But SA's demands imply a touching faith in the existing system and its state to act in the interests of the working class, a stance counterposed to the revolutionary program of ***expropriation of the bourgeoisie through workers revolution and the establishment of proletarian state power.***

Victory in the struggle for socialist revolution in the U.S. requires the recognition that a cornerstone of American capitalism is the oppression of black people, segregated at the bottom of society as a race-color caste. The unfinished tasks of the second American revolution—the Civil War which smashed the Southern slavocracy—must be finished by a third, proletarian revolution. The plight of death-row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal—award-winning journalist, former Black Panther and later a MOVE supporter—exemplifies the racist nature of the capitalist state, not least its use of the barbaric death penalty, a modern version of lynch-rope terror. At every level the courts have declared that Mumia, framed up for the killing of Philadelphia cop Daniel Faulkner, has no rights they are bound to respect. Mountains of evidence of his innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, killed Faulkner, have been dismissed by the judicial system.

SA and Mackler have been among the most prominent and consistent advocates of mobilizing under the call for a "new trial" for Mumia. That call is consciously tailored to appeal to mainstream bourgeois liberals who see Mumia's case as an isolated "miscarriage of justice" rather than the conscious political frame-up it is. Such an approach demobilized millions who had earlier rallied to Mumia's defense, including the worldwide outpouring of workers and youth in 1995 which stayed the executioner's hand at that time. Recently, the misnamed, SA-led "Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal" held a June 9 rally in the Bay Area that encapsulated this failed strategy in the demands: "One court decision from execution! One court decision from new trial & freedom!" While advocating the pursuit of all possible legal proceedings on Mumia's behalf, we place no faith in the "justice" of the capitalist courts. Rather, we place our confidence in the power of the multiracial organized workers movement, which has every interest in fighting for Mumia's freedom and must be mobilized independently of the very forces of the capitalist state that framed him up and seek his death.

In *The State and Revolution*, Lenin emphasized Marx's point from the 1872 preface to the *Communist Manifesto*: "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." Lenin's work on this document was "interrupted" by the Russian October Revolution of 1917, led by the Bolshevik Party. Counterposed to the reformist SA, we seek to build a party on the model of the Bolsheviks, to lead the fight for *new Octobers!* The fake left longs to see the Democrats "fight"—including through the pressure tactic of support to the bourgeois Green Party. SA's claim to stand as socialists against all the bourgeois parties is the basis for our extending critical support to it. At the same time, clearly, the reformist, "Anybody but Bush" content of SA's program is an obstacle to revolution. *Vote Jeff Mackler!* ■

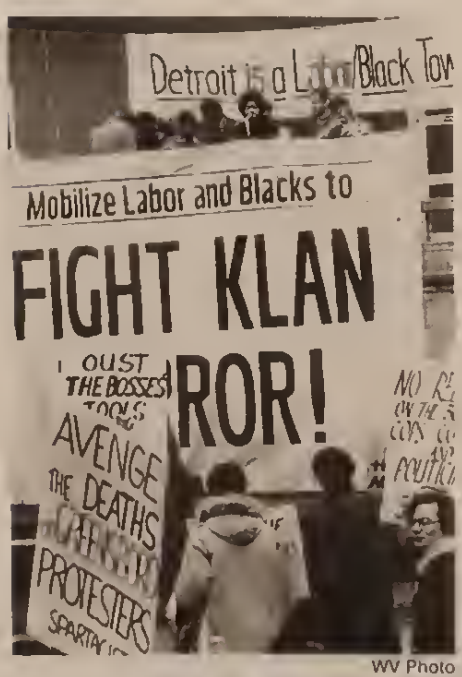
Greensboro...

(continued from page 3)

> States. And so, although we were students of history, our democratic illusions disarmed us figuratively, so that the police could do so literally" (emphasis in original).

The long, murderous history of police/Klan terror in the South includes the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, which took the lives of four young black girls. FBI informant Gary Rowe was in on that—the same informant who, two years later, was in the car from which civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo was shot to death near Selma, Alabama. In 1964 Mississippi cops handed civil rights workers Andrew Goodman, James Earl Chaney and Michael Schwerner over to their Klan killers.

As we wrote in "Greensboro Massacre: We Will Not Forget!" (*WV* No. 835, 29 October 2004) concerning the Truth and Reconciliation Commission: "'Reconciliation' with the forces of racist reaction and with the capitalist rulers who keep the fascist bands in reserve to unleash against the working class in times of social crisis can only serve to politically disarm and demobilize workers and the oppressed in the face of fascist terror." The fascists can and must be stopped in their tracks. But that requires mass mobilizations drawing in the black masses and all those targeted by Klan/Nazi terror behind the social power of the integrated labor movement.



WV Photo

Detroit, 10 November 1979: Labor/black mobilization initiated by SL stopped threatened Klan celebration of massacre in Greensboro.

One week after the Greensboro Massacre, when the Klan announced it would "celebrate" the killings in downtown Detroit, the Spartacist League and militant auto workers made sure that did not happen, mobilizing 500 strong in a labor/black rally whose message was: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" We had to fight against liberal Democratic Party mayor Coleman Young, who threatened to arrest the anti-Klan protesters. Meanwhile, the response of the bulk of the left to Greensboro was silence. As Alexander Cockburn noted at the time in a *Village Voice* (19 November 1979) article titled "Silent as the Graves":

> "Dignity would at least have required labor and its liberal allies to issue some proclamation of grief, some demand for justice, if not revenge. Courage would demand issuance of a call for anti-fascist demonstrations in every major city—like the one sponsored by the Spartacists in Detroit.... Action against native fascism is left in the hands of the Trotskyists and other sectarians, who at least can understand the meaning of murder when they see it."

In the years since, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have initiated labor/black mobilizations that have spiked Klan/Nazi provocations in a number of major cities. These mobilizations give a taste of the social power of the working class and point to the need to forge a workers party to lead the fight for a socialist revolution. That is the only way to get rid of the fascist murderers once and for all—by doing away with the racist capitalist system that breeds them. *No more Greensboros!* ■

Spartacus Youth Club Events

NEW YORK

Wednesday, September 20, 7 p.m.
Video Showing:
From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal
Columbia University
Intercultural Resource Center
552 West 114th Street
For more information: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, September 30, 7 p.m.
Video Showing:
From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal
Tia Chucha's Café Cultural Bookstore
12737 Glenoaks Blvd., #22, Sylmar
For more information: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

TORONTO

Wednesday, September 20, 6:30 p.m.
Marxism: Revolutionary Weapon of the Working Class
Sidney Smith Building, Room 2115
University of Toronto, 100 St. George St.
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Thursday, September 21, 6 p.m.
Meet the Marxists—Students: Ally with the Working Class!
Student Union Building
UBC Room 211
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

WORKERS VANGUARD

FREE MUMIA NOW!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

COC Productions

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

RALLY!

BAY AREA
Saturday, Oct. 21, 2 p.m.
YWCA
1515 Webster St.,
Oakland
(at 15th St., 2 blocks from 12th St./ City Center BART Station)
More info: (510) 839-0852

CHICAGO
Friday, Oct. 13, 7 p.m.
United Electrical Hall
37 S. Ashland
(at Monroe)
More info: (312) 563-0442

LOS ANGELES
Thursday, Oct. 19, 6:30 p.m.
UCLA Downtown
Labor Center
675 S. Park View St.
(4 blocks west of Westlake/ MacArthur Park Red Line Station)
More info: (213) 380-8897

NEW YORK
Saturday, Oct. 28, 3 p.m.
Salem United Methodist Church
2190 Adam Clayton
Powell Jr. Blvd.
(at 129th St., 2, 3 train to 125th St. or A, C, D to 125th St.)
More info: (212) 406-4252

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee
e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net

The following rally call was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on August 25.

The fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal has reached a crucial juncture. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, a MOVE supporter and award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," Mumia Abu-Jamal was framed up on false charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981. In December, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals put Mumia's case on a "fast track" for decision. A ruling by this court—the last stage before the U.S. Supreme Court—on Mumia's fight against the racist frame-up and sentence of death could come by the end of this year. The Partisan Defense Committee is calling rallies in New York, Chicago, Oakland and Los Angeles to demand: Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man! Free him now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

The threatened execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal is a warning to all who challenge vicious cop repression in the ghettos and barrios, to workers who stand up for their rights on picket lines, to those who protest the ravages of U.S. imperialism and its allies in Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon and around the world. Millions in the unions, on the streets and campuses must be mobilized now behind Mumia's fight! A successful mobilization that wins Mumia's freedom would strike a blow as well against the all-sided attacks on democratic rights carried out in the name of the "war on terror."

Over five years ago, Arnold Beverly confessed that he, not Mumia, killed Officer Faulkner. Beverly stated he was hired to kill Faulkner, whose interference with prostitution, gambling and payoffs made him a problem for the mob and corrupt cops. But the courts have refused to consider the Beverly evidence because it demonstrates that the injustice done to Mumia was not the work of one rogue cop, prosecutor or judge, but the workings of a "justice" system whose purpose is to repress the working class, minorities and the poor on behalf of the capitalist class. The fight to free Mumia must be waged on the basis that he is an innocent man, the victim of a political and racist frame-up.

Time is running short. With the execution of Tookie Williams last December, the bloody rulers sent a signal that they want Mumia next. The forces of "law and order" represented by both the Democratic and Republican parties are united in their determination to strap this innocent man onto an execution gurney. They see in Mumia the spectre of black revolution, a voice of defiant opposition to the oppression of black people that is a cornerstone of American capitalism. The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal has come to symbolize what the racist death penalty in the U.S. is all about. A legacy of chattel slavery, capital punishment is the lynch rope made legal. We oppose the death penalty on principle—we do not accord the state the right to say who lives and who dies.

Like Dred Scott in 1857, Mumia has no rights that a court is bound to respect. At the time of Mumia's trial, the judge who would send him to death row, Albert Sabo, was overheard by a court stenographer saying, "I'm going to help them fry the n----r." The three issues the appeals court allowed Mumia to raise —exclusion of black people from the jury, Sabo's overt prejudice during the post-conviction hearings, and the prosecutor's outrageous closing argument that the jury, if undecided, should convict Mumia because he would have "appeal after appeal"—point to the racist and political bias that saturated his trial and appeals.

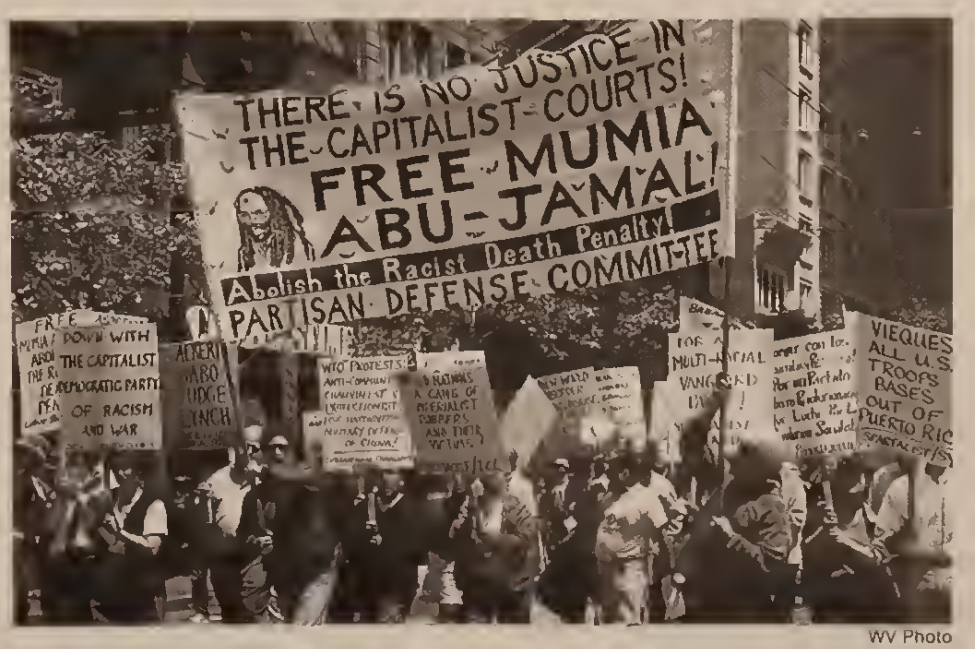
Had Mumia not been a Black Panther spokesman in his youth and remained loyal to the cause of the oppressed, had he remained silent while the cops gunned down ghetto and barrio youth and U.S. troops marauded around the world, had he said not a word about his imprisoned and exiled brothers and sisters, he would not today be in the shadow of death. Mumia continues to write powerfully from Pennsylvania's death row in commentaries such as "The Forgotten Ones: (Katrina)," "The United States of Torture" and "Ongoing War Against Workers: The TWU Strike."

Worldwide protests, crucially involving trade unions, won a stay of execution for Mumia in August 1995. Millions rallied to Mumia's cause out of revulsion with the injustices inherent in capitalism—poverty, racial and ethnic bias and war. They identified with Mumia's fight against the "system" and for justice for all of humanity. But they were demobilized by a host of reformist and liberal organizations that appeal to bourgeois forces who see in Mumia's case an isolated "miscarriage of justice" that could be rectified with a "new trial." This meant rejecting the very reasons Mumia's case won such broad international support.

That worldwide movement must be revived and infused with a new strength and militancy built on the understanding that *there is no justice in the capitalist courts*. The PDC, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Marxist Spartacist League, fights to mobilize the social power of the multiracial labor movement—those who create the wealth of this society and who can shut it down.

The only pressure that will impact on the rulers and their courts is fear of the consequences of executing Mumia or entombing him for life. We are building these rallies as a crucial step toward the labor-centered mass united-front mobilizations that can bring that pressure to bear. Our rallies will send the court a message: we will not let Mumia die or rot another day in prison. These PDC rallies bring together, in defense of Mumia, speakers and organizations across a spectrum of political beliefs raising their own views. Within that framework, we seek to win activists to the understanding that Mumia's defense must be based on a class-struggle perspective—organizing independently of the racist capitalist state that has framed him up.

We must mobilize to make Mumia's fight once again a rallying cry against racist "legal lynching," against black oppression, against government repression. Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!■



WV Photo

Revolutionary Contingent marches in San Francisco demonstration in defense of Mumia, 13 May 2000.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 877 | GCU C-701 | 29 September 2006

New Orleans Racist Atrocity—One Year After

AP

Laforet/NY Times

Race, Class and the Fight for a Workers America

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Left: In wake of Hurricane Katrina, SWAT teams roll past New Orleans Convention Center as desperate survivors wait for transportation out of city. Right: One year later, the Ninth Ward remains devastated, part of rulers' drive to keep black New Orleanians from returning.

We print below two presentations, edited for publication, given at a New York Spartacist League forum held September 16. The talks are by guest speaker Ruth, a New Orleans resident who was working as a nurse at the time of Hurricane Katrina, and Barry James, a longtime cadre of the Spartacist League.

Ruth: New Orleans and New York have both just passed anniversaries of our respective urban tragedies and lives lost. There was a ton of books, movies, documentaries out, including Spike Lee's, on New Orleans. I read and watched as many of them as I could stand to. They were all very good in conveying the visuals and the voices of the tragedy in New Orleans.

One thing that was missing completely, or was only touched on, I would like to drive home. You might have had the impression that the Feds were dithering and doing nothing for those four days that the people were on the rooftops. The Feds were not "dithering." Well, maybe Bush and Brown were dithering. The Army was cordoning off New Orleans. The National Guard, the cops—every level of law enforcement that wasn't themselves deserting or out looting—was putting up a blockade around the city.

It seems the first thing they teach in Law Enforcement 101 is to get control of the situation. This means preventing civilians from rescuing anybody. So people should die rather than be rescued by civilians. If you remember the Oakland, California, pancaking of the expressway many years ago by an earthquake, the people from the neighborhood, being human beings, who are just naturally inclined to help others in distress, came out and began pulling people out of cars. The first thing the cops did when they got there was to put a stop to this. The same thing that happened in New Orleans.

What happened was that the press, which I like to call the prostitute press, had repeated and spread these lies that New Orleans had broken down into chaos after the storm, that looters and killers were out raping women and children, slitting throats, murdering, pillaging, shooting down helicopters that were there to help them, breaking into hospitals for drugs. You didn't have to ask what color these supposed rapists and killers were. It was assumed they were black. Nobody had to confirm if in fact any of this was actually going on. It became the reason for not going to the rescue: "You can't go in there to rescue people, they're just a bunch of murderers and rapists."

After it was all over and these were all found to be vicious, racist, murderous lies, nobody stepped up and took it back. Nobody retracted it. Everybody just went on about his way. There's a black Democratic mayor, Ray Nagin, and his police chief, who had assisted in spreading this panic. After the fact, the mayor fired the police chief for making him look so bad by spreading these stories. Another reason for the firing was the police chief was apparently bent on prosecuting or pursuing the police who had done a massive amount of looting.

One of the more notorious examples was that they emptied Sewell Cadillac of every last Cadillac, and also the vintage Corvette collection. When we got back to town in October there were still cops driving around in these Cadillacs. And this issue has been so thoroughly whitewashed, there had to have been very high-level people involved, because it's been completely laid to rest. And now Sewell Cadillac makes a joke about it. They have billboards around town advertising their Cadillacs that say: "Driven by New Orleans' Finest." I'm not kidding. I couldn't make this stuff up.

And by the way, the looting trials have come up. They're handing out 12- to 15-year sentences to looters. Let me tell you who the "looters" were. The 20,000 people you saw sweltering in the Convention Center, the reason they didn't die of thirst in the three, four, five days they were standing there was, the way one person put it, "because of the young people with their cars." "Young people with their cars" went off to the Wal-Mart, competed with the local police forces for the goods and brought back water to the people who were waiting. Those were the "looters." Obviously there were a few people running around with televisions; nothing on the order of what the cops did.

FEMA, Cops Block Rescue Efforts

Back to the blockade. As soon as the hurricane hit, from all over the country came armadas, caravans, flotillas, people to the rescue. People towing boats, private helicopter companies, medical mobile vans, crews of doctors, crews of nurses, fleets of ambulances, ice trucks, Red Cross vehicles, food, water, blankets, cots. Humane Society people with vans full of cages. More than you can imagine, pouring in from all over the country. Stopped at the border. Not allowed to get in.

When one of the Memorial Hospital physicians managed to get out after his horrific few days in the hospital, bringing some patients out with him, he found on the causeway fleets of ambulances lined up, just sitting there. And he says, "What are you doing here?" "We're here to rescue patients." "How long have you been

continued on page 8

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917

FROM THE KORNILOV COUP TO THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

SEE PAGE 4

7 25274 81030 7 39

Defend Striking Teachers in Oaxaca, Mexico!

NEW YORK CITY—The Spartacist League joined a September 21 picket line protest of some 125 people outside the Mexican Consulate in New York City, which was called under the slogans "Protest Repression in Oaxaca, Mexico—Defend the Striking Teachers!" The teachers, joined by workers, students and activists, have occupied large parts of Oaxaca City, including government buildings, since June 14, when tens of thousands of workers forced 3,000 police to flee the city center. In addition to demanding better wages, the teachers and their supporters have demanded the ousting of the governor of Oaxaca state, Ulises Ruiz of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

The threat is posed of a bloody military crackdown to oust the strikers. A spokesman for Felipe Calderón of the right-wing National Action Party (PAN), who was named the winner of the recent presidential elections by a dubious "electoral institute," has declared that the "challenge to authority" posed by the teachers and their supporters in Oaxaca is the country's "main problem." The PAN and the PRI have called for the federal government to put an end to the Oaxacan teachers' *plantón* (encampment). As for the bourgeois-populist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), while its national leadership has called for negotiations, a Oaxaca PRD leader has backed repression.

The main organizer of the New York protest was the centrist Internationalist Group (IG). Endorsers included teachers and professors at the City University of New York organized in the Professional Staff Congress union, some CUNY student groups and several left organizations, ranging from the International Socialist Organization to Progressive Labor Party to the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP). The Spartacist League endorsed the protest and carried such placards as: "For Workers Revolution in Mexico and the U.S.!" and "No Illusions in the Capitalist PRD—For a Revolutionary Workers Party!" Our comrades chanted, "Capitalism means strikebreaking and war—Workers revolution is what we're for!" and "Stop the anti-immigrant attacks! Down with the Republicans and Democrats!"

WV Photos

NYC, September 21: Spartacists join rally for striking Oaxaca teachers outside Mexican consulate.

Speakers from the various reformist and centrist organizations used plenty of leftist rhetoric while taking pains not to differentiate themselves programmatically from each other. Walter Daum of the LRP and Jan Norden of the IG, both pseudo-Trotskyist organizations, denounced the PRD and gave lip service to the need for a revolutionary workers party in Mexico and for socialist revolution. But the Spartacist League speaker was the only one who put forward the strategic perspective for workers revolution in Mexico—Trotsky's concept of permanent revolution—and raised some crucial questions pertaining to the workers' struggles. Our speaker began by stating:

> "The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, stands with the teachers and other workers and oppressed of Oaxaca against murderous state repression. This is part of widespread social and class struggle in Mexico. The ICL salutes the victory last month of the militant four-month strike against government union-busting, a strike by the miners and steel workers union in Lázaro Cárdenas. Our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México have intervened in these struggles, and in the protests over the presidential elections, putting forward a program of permanent revolution. For Mexico, to achieve national liberation from the yoke of U.S. imperialism, to achieve the liberation of the oppressed women, indigenous peoples and the peasantry, capitalist rule must be smashed through workers revolution, part of international socialist revolution."

Our spokesman took out the IG for its refusal to defend corporatist unions in Mexico—i.e., those historically affiliated to the former ruling PRI—against the bosses and state repression. While these unions are run by a corrupt, gangster-ridden bureaucracy, they have increasingly come into conflict with the capitalists and their state, as seen for example, in the strike in Lázaro Cárdenas by the SNTMMSRM union (see "Mexico in Turmoil," *WV* No. 876, 15 September). Yet the IG denounces these unions as "the class enemy" of the workers. Our comrade noted, "The only unions that they defend in Mexico are the unions which support the PRD." Thus does the IG conciliate the bourgeois-nationalist PRD, serving to reinforce the nationalist consciousness that ideologically chains the Mexican proletariat to the bourgeoisie.

As in the U.S., the struggle to forge a revolutionary internationalist workers party in Mexico demands a fight for the political independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois state and *all* bourgeois parties. The SL speaker noted, "Our comrades of the GEM fight to *break* the workers, including the Oaxacan teachers, from their illusions in the bourgeois-nationalist PRD, in the populist López Obrador." He concluded with the call: "For workers revolution in Mexico and the U.S.! Down with state repression in Oaxaca! Victory to the teachers strike!" ■

TROTSKY

Capitalism: Wages Falling, Profits Rising

LENIN

Today in the U.S., the share of wages and salaries in total economic output is at the lowest level since the government began collecting data in the late 1940s, while the share of corporate profits is at the highest level in four decades. While liberal Democrats and reformist leftists put the onus for the deterioration in workers' living standards on the economic policies of the Bush White House, Karl Marx explained that both the ever-increasing concentration of production and the immiseration of the laboring masses are inherent in the capitalist system itself. This brutally exploitative and irrationally destructive system must be overthrown through workers revolution and replaced by a planned, socialist world economy.

Hand in hand with this centralisation, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the cooperative form of the labour-process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economising of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialised labour, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world-market, and with this, the international character of the capitalistic régime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working-class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.

—Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1 (1867)

Letters Policy

Workers Vanguard welcomes letters from our readers. Opinions expressed in letters do not necessarily reflect the viewpoint of the *WV* Editorial Board. We reserve the right to respond to letters either at the time of publication or at a later point. In order to facilitate the printing of letters, which we do not edit, please keep them to 500 words or less. Letters can be sent to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 or e-mailed to vanguard@tiac.net.

Letter

On Global Warming

2 September 2006

I have been a long time supporter of the policies and program of the International Communist League and reader of Workers Vanguard and Australasian Spartacist. I know on occasions WV has over the years mentioned even written quite at length about global warming and environmental issues but given the prominence of green movements around the world and their not inconsiderable political influence in governments and exposure in the corporate media, I feel more critique is warranted sometimes in WV. In today's Australian Newspaper (a prominent mouth piece of Australian corporate capitalism) there is a long article on Al Gore's opinions on global warming and his belief in its authenticity. I would like to make the following points, both questions and statements. Why has a section of the capitalist class and the corporate media become converts to some degree of GW? To what degree is GW some form of latterday malthusianism? Scientific evidence from drilling in Greenland ice caps and other geological evidence has shown enormous climate change in the past (the ice ages, etc) and even in historic time there was a warm period from about the seventh to the eleventh century and also the mini ice

continued on page 13

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Bonnie Brodie

EDITOR: Ray Bishop

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, Michael Davisson, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alan Wilde

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is September 26.

No. 877 **29 September 2006**

Espartaco

Publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México

No. 26, September 2006

$.50 (24 pages)

Subscription: $2 for 4 issues
(includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

September 15 Oakland Rally

WV Photos

Left: Jack Heyman, chair of united-front rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal at Alameda Courthouse. Right: Partisan Defense Committee contingent.

PDC: For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia!

OAKLAND—On September 15, some 100 people rallied outside the Alameda County Courthouse in downtown Oakland in support of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The protest was called by the Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal (LAC) under the slogans, "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! For Labor Action to Free Mumia! End the Racist Death Penalty!" The Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League—endorsed the rally on the basis of these slogans, for which we have historically struggled. We fought to make this rally a genuine united-front action: bringing together diverse organizations in the urgent fight to free Mumia, with full debate over contending strategies and political programs.

A Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth, an outspoken journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless" and a supporter of the MOVE organization, Mumia was convicted in a political, racist frame-up on demonstrably false charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981. More than five years ago, Mumia submitted to court the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner. But court after court has refused to even consider the Beverly confession and the mountains of supporting evidence of Mumia's innocence (see the July 2006 PDC pamphlet, *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!*).

As Mumia's legal appeals reach their final stages, the PDC is fighting to revitalize mass protest centered on the labor movement, understanding that the only pressure that will have an impact on the capitalist rulers and their courts is the fear of the social consequences of executing this innocent man or entombing him for life. On campuses and at union workplaces, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club distributed the PDC flyer mobilizing for the rally (see "For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now!" *WV* No. 875, 1 September). Based on the slogans, "There is no justice in the capitalist courts! For class-struggle defense to free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!", the PDC contingent made up about a third of the rally. Despite the urgency of Mumia's cause, it is painfully clear that the LAC, along with Socialist Action (SA) and its Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, as well as other endorsers, did virtually nothing to build this rally.

"Labor Action Committee": No Labor, No Action

PDC representative Kathy Ikegami, the rally's first speaker, stressed that "the racist capitalist rulers—both Democrats and Republicans—are united in their determination to see Mumia dead because they see in him the spectre of black revolution. It's a warning to all who challenge U.S. imperialism at home and abroad." She continued:

> "The fight to free this innocent man has reached a critical juncture. Since the PDC and Spartacist League took up Mumia's case in 1987, we have fought for class-struggle defense to free Mumia. We have advocated pursuing all possible legal proceedings in his case but place no faith whatsoever in the so-called justice of the courts.
>
> "In 1995 millions marched for Mumia and stopped his execution. So where is that movement today? It was demobilized and demoralized by reformist leftists who deliberately subordinated the call to *free* Mumia to the calls for a 'new trial' appealing to bourgeois liberals who see Mumia's case as an isolated 'miscarriage of justice' rather than the conscious political frame-up it is. ***These are counterposed strategies.*** The fight to *free* Mumia means a class-struggle fight in opposition to the capitalist state—its courts, its cops, its military. The 'new trial' slogan builds illusions in the very justice of the courts that have upheld the racist frame-up for 24 years. It means giving up the fight to mobilize the social power of labor to free Mumia!"

Reformists, Labor Fakers Demobilized Support for Mumia

Ikegami noted that the LAC "called this rally calling to 'Free Mumia' though they have marched in lockstep with those calling for a 'new trial' since their inception in 1999. They obscure the class nature of the capitalist state, they deep-six any critical mention of the Democratic Party, they provide a 'labor' face to the political program of seeking 'justice' from the capitalist state enemy." Most subsequent speakers took umbrage at our exposure of the liberal-reformist strategy of reliance on the capitalist state. The LAC's Carole Seligman, a supporter of Socialist Viewpoint, complained, "Our job is not to denounce each other, not to split hairs, not to polemicize against each other at a public rally for Mumia." On the contrary, political debate is crucial to reversing the demobilization of mass support for Mumia and raising the consciousness of those fighting for his freedom.

In his speech, Jeff Mackler, national secretary of SA and a coordinator of the Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, launched a demagogic attack on the PDC. Equating our opposition to the "new trial" slogan with opposing Mumia's

continued on page 14

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

August 16 to October 4

Local	Quota (In points)	Week Four	%
Bay Area	650	385	59%
Chicago	450	411	91%
Los Angeles	325	201	62%
New York	975	623	64%
At Large	250	153	61%
National Total	**2,650**	**1,773**	**67%**

WV Photo

Subscribe Now!

- ❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
  (includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
  international rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail
- ❑ $2/6 *introductory* issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
- ❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (___) _____ E-mail _____

877

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

The Russian Revolution of 1917

From the Kornilov Coup to the October Revolution

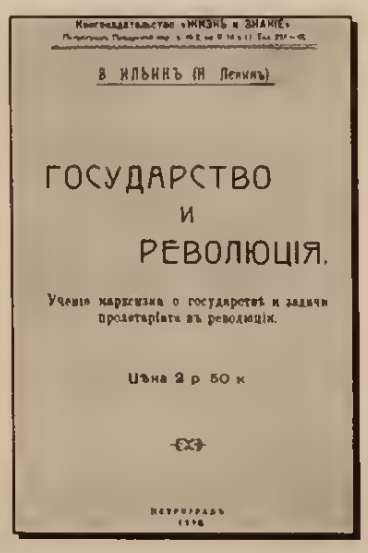
We print below, edited for publication, the first part of a class given by comrade Diana Colemon as part of a series of educationals on Leon Trotsky's The History of the Russian Revolution *(1932), which was held in January of this year as a Spartacist League young cadre school. The class covering the period from the February Revolution through the July Days, given by comrade T. Marlow, appeared in* WV *Nos. 874 (4 August) and 875 (1 September).*

PART ONE

Novosti

Petrograd, 1917: Meeting at railway station to encourage formation of Red Guard detachments.

The first chapter of Trotsky's *Lessons of October* (1924) is called "We Must Study the Octoher Revolution," and the opening line is: "We met with success in the Octoher Revolution, but the Octoher Revolution has met with little success in our press." Well, we have an even higger problem in these years since the collapse of the Soviet Union, as our left-wing opponents who cheered capitalist counterrevolution have effectively renounced any claim to the heritage of October, our contacts have never heard of the Russian Revolution, and our own young members have been heard to say, "We are the party of the Russian Revolution—but I don't know much about it myself." We can rectify the last part of that, anyhow. So as comrade Marlow told me, he got the bad part where the Bolsheviks are having all this trouble and I got the good part where they win. The two things I have found most useful to read in addition to Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* are Lenin's *Collected Works*, Volumes 24, 25, and 26, as well as Alexander Rabinowitch. He is an honest guy who, to his own surprise, came to the conclusion that the Bolsheviks actually interacted with the masses and went in for lively debate.



Progress

Above: Fake papers used by Lenin to evade arrest after July Days. While in hiding, Lenin wrote *The State and Revolution*, first published in 1918 (left).

In *Lessons of October* Trotsky tried to grapple with the underlying political reasons for the failure of the 1923 German Revolution. He compared the German events and the Russian October. Trotsky details the fights that Lenin waged after February of 1917 in order to rearm the party. It was only these fights that made the victory in October possible. In speaking of the differences in the Bolshevik Party, Trotsky says: "The fundamental controversial question around which everything else centered was this: whether or not we should struggle for power; whether or not we should assume power."

Trotsky defined the Bolshevik tendency as, in essence, "such a training, tempering and organization of the proletarian vanguard as enables the latter to seize power, arms in hand" and the social-democratic (Menshevik) tendency as "the acceptance of reformist oppositional activity within the framework of bourgeois society and an adaptation to its legality—i.e., the actual training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state." The struggle between these tendencies makes itself most strongly felt on the eve of revolution. Trotsky further made the point that there is an intimate connection between the question of power and the question of war.

So these are the questions I kept in mind for this class: the seizure of power, the interimperialist war, and, of course, the party, the party and again the party. Miliukov, the leading representative of the Russian bourgeoisie such as it was, recognized the role of the Bolsheviks as a party when he said: "They knew where they were going, and they went in the direction which they had chosen once for all, toward a goal which came nearer and nearer with every new, unsuccessful experiment of compromisism" (quoted in Trotsky's *History*). Yes, hut it took struggle, external and internal, because, as Trotsky says, the party is a living organism that develops in contradictions. Actually, I think Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* is very helpful in understanding dialectical materialism and contradictions.

The Bolsheviks and the World War

In terms of the interimperialist war, the Bolshevik position of revolutionary defeatism was absolutely crucial to bringing off the October Revolution. The political battles Lenin waged from 4 August 1914, when German Social Democratic parliamentary deputies voted in favor of war credits, to his struggle against the centrist elements, led by German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, that participated in the international antiwar conferences in Zimmerwald and Kienthal were critical. What Lenin hammered on was the imperialist nature of the war and the revolutionary tasks it demanded; that is, to turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war against the bourgeoisie and for socialism.

Another key point was that the greatest danger to the proletariat and to the chances of revolution was the centrists with all their phrases about "peace campaigns" and "peace without annexations" and, as Lenin said, their real program: "peace with the social-chauvinists" (see "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," 10 April 1917). So it was the call for a total break with the Second International and for the formation of a Third International that was the most controversial aspect of Lenin's program.

With Lenin's return to Petrograd in April of 1917, the Bolsheviks reaffirmed their intransigent opposition to the imperialist war now being waged by the new "democratic" capitalist government in Russia. Lenin denounced "revolutionary" defensism as "the worst enemy of the further progress and success of the Russian revolution." Certainly the Bolsheviks attempted to find a "bridge" to the defensist sentiments of the masses. Lenin worked hard to patiently explain the Bolshevik position to the working masses (honest defensists, he called them), who in reality had nothing to gain from the imperialist war, contrasting them with the bourgeoisie, intellectuals and social-patriots, who knew quite well that it is impossible to give up annexations without giving up the rule of capital.

However, there was a bigger question at issue here—dual power. The working masses had overthrown the tsar and created the soviets: incipient organs of proletarian state power. So the proletariat had in hand a conquest worth defending. In Russia there was dual power and a class war was raging; the Bolsheviks had to have a tactical approach that took into account the very real possibility of the seizure of state power by the working class.

The Aftermath of the July Days

I'll take up where comrade Marlow left off. The period following the July Days was what Trotsky called "the month of the great slander." Lenin and Zinoviev went into hiding; Trotsky, Lunacharsky, Kamenev, Raskolnikov (a Bolshevik sailors' leader and author of *Kronstadt and Petrograd in 1917*) and many others were jailed. In *The Bolsheviks Come to Power* (1976), Alexander Rabinowitch quotes a Left Menshevik who described the streets of Petrograd on July 5 as "a counterrevolutionary orgy" and said that it was one of the saddest days of his life (a very Menshevik comment). Nevertheless, it was the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionary (SR) soviet leaders who were leading the charge in the anti-Bolshevik repression. The Bolsheviks were also blamed for the collapse of the military offensive, a ridiculous charge.

The ever-present Sukhanov, a Left Menshevik often quoted by Trotsky in his *History*, couldn't understand why Lenin wouldn't present himself for a government inquiry into who was responsible for the July unrest. There was some sentiment to this effect in the Bolshevik Party too, but a look at the fate of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, who were murdered in the counterrevolutionary terror unleashed by the Social Democratic government in Berlin in 1919, makes clear exactly what Lenin was worried about. However, the repression following the July Days was shallow and temporary. In *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, Rabinowitch has a chapter called "The Ineffectiveness of Repression." He writes: "Kerensky's flaming hard-line rhetoric notwithstanding, almost none of the major repressive measures adopted by the cabinet during this period either was fully implemented or successfully achieved its objectives."

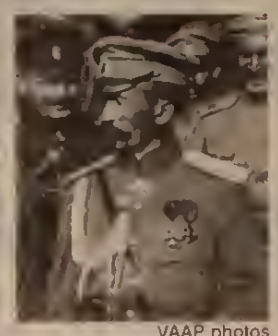
Disarming the workers and the Petrograd garrison units loyal to the Bolsheviks wasn't very successful. Some army personnel were transferred to the front, but contrary to plan, the units were not dissolved. Although many Bolshevik leaders were arrested, many were released during the Kornilov days and none were ever brought to trial because the revolution intervened. In any case, there were still some 32,000 Bolsheviks loose in Petrograd. Raskolnikov says:

> "The events of July 3-5 and the campaign of savage repression which followed them thoroughly exposed the counterrevolutionary and anti-democratic position of the bourgeois government of Kerensky. The Mensheviks and SRs, tangled in the nets of the coalition, discredited themselves finally and irreparably.
>
> "But our persecuted Party, surrounded by

the aureole of martyrdom, emerged from these trials even better steeled than before, with its influence and the number of its supporters increased to an unprecedented degree."

—*Kronstadt and Petrograd in 1917* (1925)

In his *History*, Trotsky comments that in October many local Bolshevik leaders would look at the workers they were leading, remember how they held up in July, and assign tasks accordingly. Lenin's April Theses gave the party a correct, principled orientation, and the July Days and their aftermath steeled the party, but neither of these resolved the disagreements among the party tops, which reached their sharpest expression during the most decisive moment of the revolution—in the days of October.



VAAP photos

Above: Counter-revolutionary General Kornilov. Left: Kornilov's troops being disarmed.

Kornilov's Attempted Coup

The Kornilov events signaled an abrupt shift in the situation to the benefit of the Bolsheviks and the working class. Kornilov: the man with the heart of a lion and the brains of a sheep. Kornilov had been a monarchist of the "Black Hundred" (pogromist) type. Eisenstein's movie *October*, which is good despite its anti-Trotsky slander, depicts the previously dismantled statue of the tsar repeatedly leaping back into place during the Kornilov insurrection: a quite apt image. Kornilov was a monarchist, but Miliukov, the epitome of the liberal bourgeoisie, wanted some version of the monarchy, too. One thing that interested me in Trotsky's *History* was the two successive chapters titled "Kerensky's Plot" and "Kornilov's Insurrection." I guess the first time I read the book I didn't understand how much Kerensky was plotting with Kornilov. It was clear that, had the Bolsheviks not mobilized the workers, Kerensky would have just sat there paralyzed as Petrograd was invaded as part of a coup plot that Kerensky had originally thought was going to make him dictator. The Bolsheviks and the workers would have been slaughtered.

During the Kornilov events, Trotsky relates how sailors from the revolutionary Kronstadt garrison asked, "Isn't it time to arrest the government?" Trotsky's answer was: "No, not yet.... Use Kerensky as a gun-rest to shoot Kornilov. Afterward we will settle with Kerensky." The fact that the Kronstadt sailors now listened more carefully to the Bolsheviks than in the July Days showed the maturing of the workers' and soldiers' political understanding. Trotsky said the same thing in another way when he said that Kerensky and Kornilov were "two variants of one and the same danger...the one chronic and the other acute" and that you had to "ward off the acute danger first, in order afterwards to settle with the chronic one."

Trotsky makes some thought-provoking remarks when he talks about aspects of bonapartism in the Russian Revolution. He says that Kerensky was not the representative of the soviets in the government like the SR leader Chernov or the Menshevik Tseretelli, but the living tie between the bourgeoisie and the democracy: the "personal incarnation of the Coalition itself." Kornilov was a different kind of bonapartist.

Meanwhile, Lenin was arguing against the right-wing deviation in the Bolshevik Party, which manifested itself in drawing closer to the Menshevik and SR soviet majority and, in part, to "defense of the fatherland." Lenin said: "*Even now* we must not support Kerensky's government. This is unprincipled. We may be asked: aren't we going to fight against Kornilov? Of course we must! But this is not the same thing; there is a dividing line here, which is being stepped over by some Bolsheviks who fall into compromise" ("To the Central Committee of the RSDLP," 30 August 1917).

So here we see military defense of, but not political support to, the Provisional Government. In the same letter, Lenin explained how this was to be used like an effective united front: "We shall fight, we are fighting against Kornilov, *just as* Kerensky's *troops do*, but we do not support Kerensky. *On the contrary*, we expose his weakness." Lenin continues: "It would be wrong to think that we have moved farther away from the task of the proletariat winning power. No. We have come very close to it, ***not directly***, but from the side." Lenin kept the proletarian seizure of power in mind at all times.

By August 30, the Kornilov insurrection disintegrated: the railroad workers wouldn't move him, his troops were won over by Bolshevik agitators, workers tore up the train tracks, etc. Throughout this whole period all these right-wingers were always saying, "If only I had one good regiment!" Except that they never did. The Bolsheviks gained greatly from these events. In his 1922 memoir, Sukhanov spoke candidly about the role of the Bolsheviks in the Soviet "Committee for Struggle Against the Counterrevolution" which included SRs, Mensheviks, as well as Bolsheviks:

> "At that time theirs [the Bolsheviks'] was the only organization that was large, welded together by elementary discipline, and united with the democratic rank-and-file of the capital. *Without* them the Military Revolutionary Committee was impotent; without them it could only have passed the time with makeshift proclamations and flabby speeches by orators who had long since lost all authority. With the Bolsheviks, however, the Military Revolutionary Committee had at its disposal the full power of all organized worker-soldier strength, of whatever kind."
>
> —N. N. Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution 1917* (1955)

That's right: if you want to fight right-wing reaction you need Bolsheviks!

Dietz Verlag Berlin

Peasants demonstrate in Siberia, 1917. Banners call to open the way for women, hail the democratic republic and demand confiscation of church land for use of starving peasants.

Kornilov's Defeat and the Rise of Bolshevism

Alexander Rabinowitch, sort of puzzled, says of Kerensky:

> "One might have expected that at this point, having suffered so badly at the hands of the right and having witnessed the enormous power of the left, the prime minister would have taken pains to retain the support of the latter. Yet, obsessed more than ever by fear of the extreme left and still intent on somehow strengthening the war effort, Kerensky now behaved almost as if the Kornilov affair had not happened.... Kerensky began laying plans to form an authoritarian government oriented toward law and order—a right-socialist-liberal coalition cabinet in which the influence of the Kadets would be stronger than ever."
>
> —*The Bolsheviks Come to Power*

Rabinowitch thinks Kerensky was stupid, but what were Kerensky's choices? Lenin put it clearly when he said, "Kerensky is a *Kornilovite*; by sheer *accident* he has had a quarrel with Kornilov himself, but he remains in the most intimate alliance with other Kornilovites" ("Heroes of Fraud and the Mistakes of the Bolsheviks," September 1917). In any case, by this time the masses were fed up not only with Kornilov, the Kadets and Kerensky, coalitionism in general was discredited too.

Everything was shifting to the left, and the situation of the country was getting worse by the minute: famine was threatening, capitalists were deliberately sabotaging industry, soldiers were starving, Riga had been fairly deliberately abandoned to German imperialism and Petrograd was threatened. Even the Menshevik and SR compromisers were saying that a coalition with the Kadets was no longer thinkable. Of course, the Kadets hadn't changed any, so why had it been thinkable before?

Lenin had withdrawn the slogan "All Power to the Soviets" in the aftermath of the July Days as Bolsheviks were being hounded and jailed, not least by the Menshevik and SR soviet majority. He now began to think it was necessary to look to the factory committees, instead of the soviets, as the organs of workers power. But between September 1 and 3 he wrote "On Compromises." Seeing the soviets revitalized by the struggle against Kornilov and the Menshevik and SR compromisers at least talking about "no coalition," he offered this compromise to them:

> "The compromise on our part is our return to the pre-July demand of all power to the Soviets and a government of S.R.s and Mensheviks responsible to the Soviets.
>
> "Now, and only now, perhaps *during only a few days* or a week or two, such a government could be set up and consolidated in a perfectly peaceful way....
>
> "The Bolsheviks, without making any claim to participate in the government (which is impossible for the internationalists unless a dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasants has been realised), would refrain from demanding the immediate transfer of power to the proletariat and the poor peasants and from employing revolutionary methods of fighting for this demand."

Instead, with new elections to the soviets and full freedom of propaganda the Bolsheviks would peaceably fight for their ideas. Not surprisingly, the Menshevik and SR compromisers made clear that they were not up for this, which was an important lesson for some Bolsheviks and many workers. The slogan "All Power to the Soviets" was again suspended, but in the next few days the Bolsheviks won a majority in the Petrograd Soviet, and, following that, in a number of other soviets also. The slogan therefore received a new meaning: all power to the Bolshevik soviets. So now the soviets really represented the interests of the working class, as the proletariat was becoming not merely a class in itself, but a class for itself. In this situation the slogan had decisively ceased to be a slogan of peaceful development. The party was launched on the road of armed insurrection through the soviets and in the name of the soviets.

Lenin's Struggles with the Central Committee

The seizure of power was clearly on the order of the day, or I should say, it *should* have been on the order of the day. From mid-September onwards, Lenin began pounding away at this: that the Bolsheviks should get on with it and do it! In "The Bolsheviks Must Assume Power," written between September 12 and 14, Lenin says: "The point is to make the *task* clear to the Party. The present task must be an *armed uprising* in Petrograd and Moscow (with its region), the seizing of power and the overthrow of the government. We must consider *how* to agitate for this without expressly saying as much in the press."

Let me touch on other things before I get into the political debates over the seizure of power. The April Theses called for a break with the centrists of Zimmerwald and the formation of a Third International. This was not accepted at the April Bolshevik Party conference, where Lenin cast the only vote against participation in a projected Zimmerwald anti-war conference in May. In "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," he wrote: "It is not as yet known in Russia that the Zimmerwald majority *are not.ing but Kautskyites*." Lenin went on: "The Zimmerwald bog can no longer be tolerated. We must not, for the sake of

continued on page 7

The Russian Revolution of 1917
From the February Revolution to the July Days

Two-part article from
Workers Vanguard Nos. 874, 875
4 August and 1 September 2006

$1 **Order from/pay to:**
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

For Free Abortion on Demand, Including for Teens!

Coming of Age in the U.S.A.— Sex, Fear and Religious Reaction

As if going through adolescence weren't already difficult enough, the capitalist class and its state continue to make things worse by intervening in the most intimate and fraught part of coming of age: sex. From repressive legislation to "abstinence only" moralism masquerading as sex education, the church and the state seek to instill fear and loathing about sex in young people. Attacks on the rights of youth to engage in sex and to have access to contraception and abortion serve as a spearhead for broader anti-woman and anti-sex assaults.

In July, the U.S. Senate passed the Child Custody Protection Act. If it becomes law, a person who helps a minor escape parental notification laws by taking her across state lines to obtain an abortion will face federal charges for, according to George W. Bush, "jeopardiz[ing] the lives of young women" (*New York Times*, 26 July). The law would intensify the witchhunting climate and increase the powers of the state to go after young women and abortion providers, who already face anti-abortion harassment and murderous terror.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs oppose this law and all laws restricting abortion rights for women, including teenagers. As we wrote in "Defend Abortion Rights! Free Abortion on Demand!" (*WV* No. 750, 19 January 2001):

> "Abortion is a politically explosive issue because it raises the question of the equality of women. This simple and safe medical procedure provides women with some control over whether or not to have children. For this reason it is viewed as a threat to the institution of the family which is a crucial prop for the system of capitalist exploitation."

In California, Proposition 85, an amended version of the Proposition 73 "squeal rule" law that was defeated at the polls last year, is on the ballot for November. It would mandate that parents be notified 48 hours in advance of a minor having an abortion. These squeal rules not only violate a young woman's privacy, but also give parents control over life-shaping decisions that young women should be allowed to make on their own. The SYCs uphold the right to abortion as a necessary measure for women's health and well-being. It is only by the twisted logic of the church and state that a teenager is better off being forced to have a baby.

Young Spartacus

SYC raises call for free abortion on demand at March 2004 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco.

A 7 May article in the *New York Times Magazine* by Russell Shorto called "Contra-Contraception" details the campaign against contraception not only by the Catholic church, but also increasing numbers of fundamentalist Protestants who have embraced the Vatican's view that both contraception and abortion are *verboten* because they prevent procreation. As Marxists, we understand that both contraception *and* abortion are simply means of birth control, which should be made freely accessible through the fight for free, quality health care for all.

The morning-after pill (Plan B), highly effective in preventing pregnancy for up to 72 hours after unprotected sex, has been declared safe by scientists across the board. Yet its approval for over-the-counter sales by the Food and Drug Administration was blocked for *three years* under pressure from religious and political forces. Even now, women under 18, who have the hardest time getting contraception, will not be able to get the morning-after pill without a prescription!

The Holy Trinity: Family, Church and State

The very important development of the human papillomavirus (HPV) vaccine, which would protect women from a virus that is the primary cause of cervical cancer, was accompanied by an outcry from Christian right-wingers like Bridget Maher of the Family Research Council who howled: "Giving the HPV vaccine to young women could be potentially harmful, because they may see it as a licence [sic] to engage in premarital sex." In other words, these "pro-life" reactionaries would rather see young women die than have sex. Similar to religious nuts who say that AIDS is a "punishment" for promiscuity or homosexuality, most of what passes for sex education these days presents pregnancy or some loathsome disease as the punishment for teenagers who "disobey" the no-sex-before-marriage rule. Using fear and ignorance to try to prevent youth from acting on the biological urge to experience sexual pleasure is as old as the claim that masturbation causes blindness.

Why is the ruling class so worried about what we do in our bedrooms? Because they seek to strengthen the institution of the family, a key prop for capitalism. This institution is also the main source of the oppression of women and youth. The institution of the family arose with the advent of private property as a mechanism for transmitting wealth to "legitimate" offspring through inheritance. Guaranteeing the paternity of the heir required that the *woman*, not the man, be chaste before marriage and monogamous during it. The oppression of women is rooted in this social subordination, which is also expressed in the foisting of the burden of child-rearing and housework onto women in individual family units.

The institution of the family also serves as the bedrock of social conservatism, which the bourgeoisie uses to instill obedience to authority. This is why it is upheld as the norm even for the working class, which has little or no property to hand down. Together with religion, the family promotes a puritanical morality based on the repression of anything that deviates from the family ideal—from premarital to gay sex. Adults are driven to be fearful and docile, and children obedient and often guilt-ridden. This helps ensure that the capitalists have pliant workers to exploit and youth willing to die for "God and country" in imperialist wars.

Birds Do It, Bees Do It, Teens Do It

One cannot deny that teenagers have sex, just as one cannot deny the obvious changes that a person's body goes through during puberty. Despite centuries of church- and state-imposed deterrents, from the threat of burning eternally in hell to hellish punishments on earth like death by stoning, promiscuous and gay sex have been prevalent throughout the ages.

Abstinence until marriage, then one partner for life is a "norm" that is at odds with the makeup of the human animal: just look at the themes of the most popular TV shows, hit songs, novels, movies and Web sites, not to mention the fact that prostitution is a thriving business. In a very insightful chapter of the book *Why Is Sex Fun? The Evolution of Human Sexuality*, Jared Diamond (author of *Guns, Germs, and Steel*) uses a comparison between humans and other animals to make the point that sex among humans has a social purpose other than procreation. As opposed to most other group-living mammals who engage in sex *only* during the females' blatantly advertised period of ovulation:

> "In fact, we humans are the ones whose scarcely detectable ovulations make us members of a small minority in the animal world....
>
> "We're also bizarre in our nearly continuous practice of sex, a behavior that is a direct consequence of our concealed ovulations. Most other animal species confine sex to a brief estrous period around the advertised time of ovulation."

What people choose to do for fun with their own bodies, with or without the aim of procreation, should be no business of the capitalist state. As we say in the Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.: "We oppose all laws which enable the bourgeois state to regulate the consensual sexual activity of youth and to exercise social control under the guise of 'protecting children'." The SYCs take no position on what age a person should or should not have sex. We are opposed

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BAY AREA

Thursday, October 5, 6 p.m.
Imperialism and War
San Francisco State University
Cesar Chavez Student Center, Room T-153

Thursday, October 12, 6 p.m.
Video Showing:
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
San Francisco State University
Cesar Chavez Student Center, Rosa Parks D
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO

Wednesday, October 4, 7 p.m.
Meet the Marxists
University of Chicago, Room TBA
Information: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, September 30, 7 p.m.
Video Showing:
From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal
Tia Chucha's Café Cultural Bookstore
12737 Glenoaks Blvd., #22, Sylmar

Thursday, October 12, 6:30 p.m.
Meet the Marxists
UCLA, Ackerman Union
Meeting Room 2410
Information: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, September 28, 7:30 p.m.
The State and Revolution
Columbia University
Kent Hall, Room 522A
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

TORONTO

Wednesday, October 4, 6:30 p.m.
The Capitalist State: Instrument of Terror and Oppression
Down With the Racist "War on Terror"!
University of Toronto
Sidney Smith Bldg., Room 2115
100 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, October 4, 6:30 p.m.
Marxism and the Scientific Worldview: Defend Science Against Superstition and Mysticism!
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 215
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

1917...

(continued from page 5)

the Zimmerwald 'Kautskyites,' continue the semi-alliance with the chauvinist International of the Plekhanovs and Scheidemanns."

In May the Bolshevik Central Committee passed a motion that they would walk out of Zimmerwald if the Zimmerwaldists called for any discussion with Second International social-patriots. This battle continued; in August Lenin was denouncing Kamenev for speaking out in public in favor of going to a proposed Stockholm antiwar conference, which was to be a nasty mélange of Russian compromisers, Kautskyites and outright social-patriots. This demonstrated that everything Lenin said as to why they should get out of Zimmerwald was true. Trotsky said the road to Stockholm was the road to the Second International. It is important to remember that in the very heat of the struggle, Lenin did not for a single moment forget the task of creating a new Communist International. It wásn't until after the October Revolution that the Third International was founded.

Let me talk a little about the Democratic Conference, which went on from September 14-22, and the Pre-Parliament that followed on October 7. I won't go into all the ins and outs of the Democratic Conference, since it's kind of boring. This was a totally rigged conference in which the Mensheviks and SRs saw to it that conservative and outright bourgeois forces were preponderant. Through the channel of the Democratic Conference and the Pre-Parliament, the political awareness of the masses was to be directed away from the soviets, as "temporary" and dying institutions, to the Constituent Assembly and a bourgeois republic. Lenin was still in hiding, chafing at the refusal of the Bolshevik Central Committee to get on with the insurrection. In his spare time he was writing *The State and Revolution*, which he made Kamenev promise to complete and print if he were to be assassinated.

Just as the Democratic Conference closed, Lenin wrote for the Bolshevik newspaper an article referring to it as a "hideous fraud" and a "pigsty" and comparing it to the Duma (Russian parliament under the tsar). The second part of Lenin's article took on the errors of the Bolsheviks and argued that when the nature of the conference became clear, the Bolsheviks should have walked out in protest. In a comradely but direct way, the article specifically takes up Kamenev and Zinoviev, their enthusiasm for the conference and their weak speeches. Lenin stated that 99 percent of the Bolshevik delegation should have left the Democratic Conference and gone to the factories and barracks to discuss with the masses the lessons of this farcical conference and the rottenness of the Menshevik and SR compromisers. It is revealing that although Lenin wanted this article, titled "Heroes of Fraud and the Mistakes of the Bolsheviks," to be published in the Bolshevik paper, it was censored by the Editorial Board so that it was only called "Heroes of Fraud," and all direct criticisms of the Bolsheviks were edited out. We can assume Lenin was furious and worried.

VAAP

First session of Petrograd Soviet after Bolsheviks won a majority in early September 1917.

Within a few days, Lenin had concluded that the Bolsheviks never should have gone to the Democratic Conference and was arguing furiously for a boycott of the upcoming Pre-Parliament, as was Trotsky. They were not immediately successful. The majority of the large fraction who had gone to the Democratic Conference was in favor of going to the Pre-Parliament—you have to keep your eye on those parliamentary fractions, something that comrades used to remind me of when I ran for office. Lenin demanded to know: Who was the parliamentary fraction to decide these questions in any case? He was on the warpath, despite the comparatively narrow scope of the question, because it was another attempt by the rightist leaders in the party to turn the party onto the road of "completing the democratic revolution." In reality the quarrel revived the April disagreements and initiated the disagreements of October. Actually, as comrade George Foster has pointed out, the differences with Kamenev and Stalin went back to 1912.

Toward the Proletarian Conquest of Power

The question was whether the party should accommodate its tasks to the development of a bourgeois republic, or set itself the goal of the conquest of power by the proletariat. The deeper one went into the rank and file of the party, the more members were for the boycott of the Pre-Parliament. The Kiev city-wide conference, calling for the boycott, stated: "There is no use wasting time in chattering and spreading illusions" (quoted in Trotsky's *History*). Thus, the party promptly corrected its leaders. In the end, the Bolsheviks only went to the Pre-Parliament to denounce the whole thing in a ten-minute-long speech by Trotsky and then walked out.

The Bolshevization of the masses was proceeding apace all over the country, as were the peasant seizures of land—a real peasant war in the countryside. This was a necessary component of the revolution. The Menshevik and SR compromisers were appalled, but consoled themselves with the thought that this was just the ignorant "dark masses." "Their Bolshevism," wrote Sukhanov scornfully, "was nothing but hatred for the coalition and longing for land and peace" (quoted in Trotsky's *History*). As though this were so little! Hatred for the coalition meant a desire to take power from the bourgeoisie. Land and peace was the colossal program which the peasant and soldier masses intended to carry out under the leadership of the workers.

The agitation for the Second Congress of Soviets was wildly popular with the masses because everyone knew it would have a Bolshevik majority. Consequently, it was unpopular with the Menshevik and SR compromisers, who kept trying to put off the congress. Like any form of representative government, the soviets were not perfect; especially in times of rapid shifts in consciousness they lagged behind the masses. By September you see Lenin writing very specific articles like "The Impending Catastrophe and How To Combat It" in which he lays out the socialist tasks that the proletariat must take on, even with the understanding that Russia was a backward country: nationalization of the banks and workers control of industry. He wrote: "It is ***impossible***...to go forward without ***odvoncing*** towards socialism, without taking ***steps*** towards it (steps conditioned and determined by the level of technology and culture: large-scale machine production cannot be 'introduced' in peasant agriculture nor abolished in the sugar industry)."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

---

to arbitrary "age of consent" laws, which conflate ***consensuol*** sex with violent crimes. We advocate the concept of ***effective consent***, which means that as long as both parties consent to the act, nobody, least of all the state, has any right to tell them they can't do it.

That "age of consent" laws are used to punish youth, and not to protect children, is shown graphically by the case of Matthew Koso, who was sentenced earlier this year to 18 to 30 months in prison by a Nebraska judge for "first-degree sexual assault." His crime? Koso, who is now 23, began having sex with his then 13-year-old girlfriend when he was 21. After she became pregnant, they were married with the consent of her mother under Kansas law. This made no difference to the judge who complained about "the repetition of offenses" because Koso was breaking the law by sleeping with his wife! Now he sits in prison while she is left to care for their baby. ***Free Matthew Koso!***

It is not only the sex police that make life miserable for youth, but also the "guardians" of moral order who denounce homosexuality because it strays from the bourgeois model of "one man on one woman for life." As shown in a recent survey by the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network, anti-gay attacks are a daily part of life for gay, lesbian and transgender youth: nearly two-thirds reported feeling unsafe at school, over a third experienced physical harassment and nearly a fifth were assaulted because of their sexual orientation. Religious reaction paves the way for murderous anti-gay terror, such as the brutal killings of Matthew Shepard in 1998 and Gwen Araujo in 2002. The SYCs oppose all forms of anti-gay bigotry and fight for full democratic rights for gay people.

Bourgeois triumphalism over the supposed "death of communism" in the wake of the destruction of the Soviet Union has fueled a massive growth in religious reaction and anti-science superstition. The Christian fundamentalists want to force their stifling morality on everyone, taking their anti-evolution, pro-prayer and "abstinence only" campaigns to the schools. Youth should be given comprehensive, science-based sex education. Instead the federal government has spent hundreds of millions of dollars on "abstinence" programs. As Marx once said, "ignorance never helped nor did anybody any good." Take a look at Lubbock, Texas, a district with an "abstinence only" sex education policy, the subject of a documentary called *The Education of Shelby Knox*. It shows a popular preacher telling high school youth that if they have sex they "will get hurt physically, mentally, emotionally, spiritually and financially." Many students, including Shelby herself, pledge to stay "pure" until marriage.

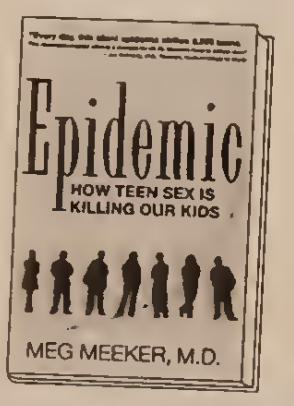
So teen sex has been stamped out in this community, right? Wrong. Lubbock has some of the highest rates of teen pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) in the nation. What happened? The policies of Lubbock and other heavily religious communities do not keep sex from happening (in a delicious twist, the film ends with the head of the school district resigning because he was caught having an affair with an employee). Instead, they promote a climate of ignorance and fear, which greatly increases the risk of unwanted pregnancies and STDs. This moral crusade against sex reveals its deadly nature when you look at the rapid spread of HIV and AIDS here and in other countries that promote abstinence programs. The horrific statistics underline our call for the separation of church and state.

Lincoln Journal Star

February 7: Convicted of "sexual assault" for sleeping with his teenage wife, Matthew Koso says goodbye to her before being imprisoned.

Democrats Pander to Anti-Abortion Reaction

Liberals and feminists tout Hillary Clinton as a great defender of women's rights for joining anti-abortion Democrat Harry



Anti-sex, anti-youth hysteria: Meeker's *Epidemic* (2002), distributed by publisher of "abstinence only" curricula, promotes argument that sex kills.

Reid in promoting the so-called "Prevention First Act." This proposal was intended to find common ground with anti-abortion bigots, asking them to "put their money where their mouths are" and to support increased access to birth control and sex education. Clinton and the Democrats are *aiding the crusade against obortion rights* by appealing to the wing of the hourgeoisie who want to rid this country of it altogether. That's because they agree on the same goal—the regimentation of youth

continued on page 14

New Orleans...

(continued from page 1)

here?" "Three days." The Feds wouldn't let them in.

Methodist Hospital in New Orleans East—a primarily, mayhe 90 percent black area—is part of a nationwide chain of for-profit hospitals. The nationwide chain sent in helicopters, sent in buses to evacuate their patients. FEMA confiscated the helicopters. Ochsner Hospital had its own helicopter and was making plans to get their sickest patients out by helicopter. FEMA confiscated their helicopter. Methodist Hospital went out and got another fleet of helicopters after their first ones were stolen by the Feds, and managed this time to evade them. (The first time they didn't understand that they had to evade them to get into town.) And they evacuated their own patients.

So the Feds weren't just "dithering." They weren't doing nothing. They were doing something. They were doing what they do.

Things were pretty chaotic, and as it turned out there was a way into the city—across the causeway and down River Road to uptown New Orleans. That is the way that the few rescuers who did get in managed to make it, along with Sean Penn the movie star, the Wal-Mart trucks, the television crews, news cameras and the subsequent footage that wound up turning the tide when the rest of the world saw the plight that people were in.

Memorial Hospital, owned by Tenet Corporation, is the hospital uptown where a doctor and two nurses have been arrested for murder. I get questions about this. A lot of patients died at Memorial Hospital, and they were indeed killed. Not by their heroic caregivers—killed by the Feds. Killed by the bourgeois state. A recent series in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* interviews a bunch of the people who stayed throughout, and the stories they tell are hair-raising. There was a fellow whose mother was a patient. He had hired a sitter to stay with her, he was evacuating. "You stay with her, hell or high water." The last cell-phone message the sitter got out to the son was, "Come and get us, people are dying, the nurses are scared, help us."

So this guy, who's just an ordinary guy, manages to join up on the causeway with a flotilla of other average, ordinary guys who came with their boats of every description—you name it, rowboats, canoes, motorboats, yachts. He told them what he knew about his mother and Memorial Hospital. They teamed up and they managed to get through and begin evacuating people from two points at Memorial Hospital, the front door and the back door.

Before long, the cops—I use this generically, a lot of the law enforcement agencies were working together, borrowing each others' forces—came to the front door and spoke to the doctor in charge and said, "You have to shut down this rescue operation. The sun is going down, it's getting dark, and we can't guarantee your safety." "*We can't guarantee your safety*"! The doctor tells the story: "I stood at the front door and I talked to the cops and I agreed with them and I engaged them and we went on in a long conversation, while quietly out the back door the rescue operation continued." Five hundred people were evacuated from that hospital by private means, private citizens. By the time the Feds finally came in there was a very small number left to be rescued. That's a private hospital.

AP

Abandoned by racist rulers, some Hurricane Katrina survivors were rescued through heroic efforts of individuals.

Charity Hospital, downtown, didn't have any rescuers coming. They were farther into the city, and nobody was there but poor black patients without means. The doctor in charge there—his name was Ben Deboisblanc, a good New Orleans name—told the story. Patients were dying after the power failure, as they were at Memorial. Temperatures outside were 95 degrees, inside the building they were easily 105. He had one unreliable telephone line out and a battery-powered radio that worked some of the time. That was it for contact with the outside world. At one point he heard over his radio, "Charity Hospital has been evacuated." The staff were crushed. They thought, "Oh my god, they think we're evacuated, they're never going to come for us."

So they managed to get hold of some national news organization and explained their plight: "We're here, nobody's rescuing us." This national news organization lines up a private helicopter company to go to Charity Hospital. They never made it. We can only assume they met the same fate as the other helicopters that were sent in. So the staff at Charity had to evacuate their patients in anything that would float, across the street, one by one to Tulane Hospital, up to their roof to wait for rescue. More people died on the roof.

Yet another physician was interviewed by the Discovery Channel. He'd been at the Superdome and he'd been at the Convention Center, treating patients as best as he could, having no water, no food, no medications, no supplies. He was asked by the interviewer, "Did you treat or see any gunshot wounds?" "No." "Any stabbings?" "No." "Any trauma of any kind?" "No." I think you remember the stories. There was one suicide, some people died in their wheelchairs. But basically the hysteria was nothing but hysteria.

When the National Guard finally came—this would have been Friday or Saturday, after the hurricane hit on Monday—they finally came to save the people at the Convention Center. What is the first thing that they did? Well, what is the first thing that you would do if you were a bourgeois state going to save people who've not had water or food, who are dying in their wheelchairs? Well, of course, you would search them for weapons. They searched *19,000* people at the Convention Center and came up with 16 weapons. At the Superdome, they searched *39,000* people and confiscated 50 weapons. Can you imagine the time it took to search those people? Shaking them down?

WV Photo

April 4: Demonstrators push past security guards in effort to reclaim their homes at St. Bernard public housing project.

The tide was turned when the national news coverage embarrassed the bourgeois state into doing something.

Rulers to Black People: Stay Out

I'd like to fast-forward to the present time to make the one other point that I would like to drive home, about the recovery. A lot of people have asked me, why are you rebuilding? I've got this T-shirt I made up, "We're Rebuilding and Don't Try to Stop Us." A lot of people and forces and entities are trying to stop us.

I wrote several letters to *Workers Vanguard* over the past year about the extraordinary, naked lengths to which the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces have gone to keep black people from returning. This was an unprecedented situation. It's never happened before that a modern city got completely evacuated. There was nobody there but law enforcement. At this moment, a light bulb went on over the head of the bourgeoisie. Rubbing its hands, it said, "Oh boy, this is our chance. We can keep the black people from coming back." "Black people/criminals"—all the same in their minds.

Well, I'm happy to report a year later that these forces have lost some ground. By hook and by crook and willy-nilly, people have come back. Over half the population is back, and a lot more are nearby, poised to come home. People love New Orleans. You know how people love New York, you can't get them to live anywhere else? They just love New York? Well, New Orleans is another city like that.

So there are people living, like in my neighborhood, where there's a bunch of FEMA trailers that are not hooked up to electricity. There are people staying with their brother in St. Charles Parish, they're staying with their cousin in Slidell, they're staying on the West Bank with friends, they're staying part-time in their FEMA trailer and part-time somewhere else. They're nearby, they voted in the April election. They want to find a way home, so they're positioning themselves to come back.

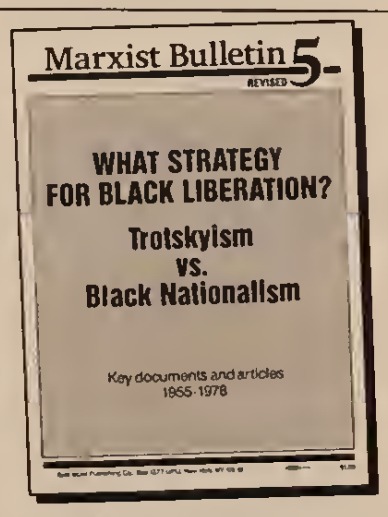
The position of the racist powers that be originally was, "Okay, we don't want anything repopulated" in New Orleans East, Gentilly, Mid-City, Central City, certainly the Ninth Ward, Gert Town—all but basically the unflooded and wealthy 20 percent along the river. "We don't want any of it repopulated, it's too low. Take it for a given that we're not going to fix the canal walls." And that was the line they drew and where they wanted it. Nagin, the mayor, is kind of a weather vane. He blows whichever way the weather is, but basically, he'll tell you, he's the candidate of capital. He dithered, and the dithering was to the benefit of people like me. It was a big struggle but we finally got electricity—took us five months. It took us ten months and we finally got mail.

But now, I think the bottom line is, the ruling class has kind of drawn a line, saying, "Okay, those people are already here, we can't stop them, they're already rebuilding, they're grandfathered in, they got their apartments. But we're really drawing the line in these few places: people are not coming back to the projects, people are not coming back to the Ninth Ward, and we are not rebuilding Charity Hospital." So that's their line in the sand that they have drawn, and they are going to fight to the death—not their own death, somebody else's death. So, the line has moved.

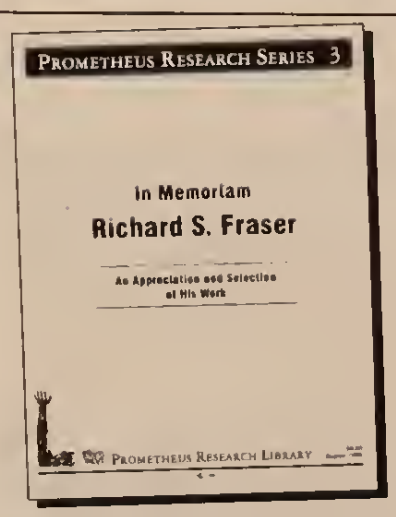
The Ninth Ward

I've got to say something about the Ninth Ward, because people do ask me, "Well, isn't it just going to flood again?" Well, why *should* it? Fix the canal walls! An article in *Time* magazine [28 August] that criticizes New Orleanians for not getting their act together and conforming to the "smaller footprint" that is being dictated, says, "91% of Americans live in places at a moderate-to-high risk of earthquakes, volcanoes, tornadoes, wildfires, hurricanes, flooding, high-winds damage or terrorism, according to an estimate calculated for *Time* by the Hazards and Vulnerability Research Institute at the University of South Carolina."

Sure, New Orleans is below or at sea level. All the ports in the world are—that's why they are built there [laughter]. But who is it who just decided, "We're not going to let people back in New Orleans"? The urban planners are furious that the rebuilding is going on willy-nilly and that their plans have not been put into effect yet. Here's *Time* magazine: "Worst of all, Mayor Ray Nagin and the city council are still not talking honestly about the fact that New Orleans will have to occupy a much smaller footprint in the future. It simply can't provide city services



$1.50 (64 pages)



$7.00 (108 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

MSNBC

Howie Luvzus

MSNBC's *Countdown* video caught New Orleans cops looting at Wal-Mart after hurricane. Sewell car dealership billboard jokes about suspected police theft of some 200 cars.

across its old boundaries, and its old boundaries cannot realistically be defended against a major storm anytime soon." Who accepts this? Who decided this?

Everybody except the black people in the Ninth Ward, and a few others of us, accepts that "you can't rebuild the Ninth Ward." Nobody is saying that you can't rebuild Lakeview. Lakeview was flooded just as badly as the Ninth Ward, just as deep, washed away just as many homes. But there's a few differences. Everybody's kids in Lakeview are in private schools, they've got money. The Ninth Ward is the working poor. They are two-thirds of the workers at Harrah's Casino, which has benefits. They are the dock workers, they are the schoolteachers, they are the bus drivers, they are the chefs, the cooks, the musicians.

But they're poor—they're the working poor. But here's the interesting point: the Ninth Ward has a higher elevation than Lakeview. More of its houses are already built up on piers. People who have been to New Orleans have seen these shotgun houses built up on piers because of historic flooding. The Ninth Ward has a higher rate of home ownership and a higher rate of home insurance. The difference is, Lakeview is 99-point-something percent white, and the Ninth Ward is 99-point-something percent black. So, for all the forces like Nagin, etc. who say that this is not a race issue—you do the math. Charity Hospital clientele is overwhelmingly black. Projects, maybe 98 percent black. Bus ridership is being slashed. Who rides the buses? Ninety-five percent black.

The Ninth Ward is the only place that has been totally denied electricity and, for the most part, water. So they can't even gut and rebuild. They're just totally denied the means to do so. So that's the Ninth Ward that "everybody" agrees—everybody in the bourgeoisie agrees—should not be rebuilt.

Crony Capitalism

The Democratic and Republican politicians have had the same program on this. They're behind the Louisiana Recovery Authority and the "Bring New Orleans Back Commission," which are holding up the billions of dollars of aid that were voted finally by Congress. Congressional trips come down and say, "What happened to all the billions of dollars we sent you? We still see miles of devastation." Well, the money is in the hands of FEMA. And it's now in the hands of the Louisiana Recovery Authority, and their conditions for releasing it to the homeowners and the people who want to rebuild is, "You have to come up with a plan." Each and every neighborhood has to come up with a plan that is acceptable to the Louisiana Recovery Authority. And urban planning basically means, "What part of your territory do you agree will not be repopulated?" That is the question, the condition and the premise of the urban plan.

The head of the Louisiana Recovery Authority is Norman Francis. I think he's a Democrat. He's president of Xavier University and the black cover for all of this. Some of the Spartacist comrades were in the room at an NAACP meeting in New Orleans not long ago where Norman Francis got up and said, "You can't just be handing out this money willy-nilly to these people." And people were getting up from the audience saying, "Well, wait a minute—you're putting up way too many obstacles. Have you tried to go through the application process to get this money? Do you know how hard it is?" And Norman Francis stood there and told them, "You can't just be giving it out—if you went to a bank and you wanted a lot of money, you wouldn't expect to get all that money without a lot of paperwork, now would you?"

Bush came to town shortly thereafter. And Norman Francis got a private audience with him. This is Norman Francis's account: "We've got to quicken up the pace on the money, but I told the president directly, that if we're putting $10.2 billion out on the street, then we'd better make sure we do it right. There are plenty of hustlers out there that will be ready to take it" [*Times-Picayune*, 29 August]. This is a variation on an old theme. Remember when welfare recipients were given coupons and food stamps, because "if you give them cash, they'll go out and spend it on liquor and fast cars and lottery tickets. So you can't just be handing money out to people."

Well, where is the money going? They already handed out the money in Mississippi. Louisianans are saying, "How come we can't have ours?" It went to Northrop Grumman, it went to Belfor, it went to Halliburton's sub-sub-sub-sub-subcontractors who, by the way, disappear on payday when the Mexican and migrant workers show up for their pay. So that money's already been passed out.

The Spartacist League has been coming down, talking to people. Barry interviewed the longshoreman, if you remember the article in *Workers Vanguard* [No. 868, 12 April]. The longshoremen who rescued people by boat also told the story of having to duck and hide from the cops who were trying to prevent him from doing so. The comrades have been going to the hiring halls, have been getting out on the campuses and selling *Workers Vanguard*, putting out the only program, putting out the only words that are correctly characterizing this situation and calling it what it is: a racist atrocity. And the SL is the only group putting forward a program that would make any difference and have the chance to change this situation. Because band-aids aren't going to work. Democrats and Republicans—not a dime's worth of difference. So thanks to the Spartacist League for making it an issue, not only in New Orleans, but everywhere else. This word has to be spread all over the place. And the SL is doing it.

—Break with the Democrats! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!—

Barry James, Spartacist League: The continuing racist atrocity that is New Orleans in the aftermath of Katrina exposes the naked class- and race-hatred of the American ruling class for the working class and dispossessed. It is truly repugnant that Bush, one year later, could return to New Orleans and call for the return of "soul" and for the "saints to come marching back," along with his tone-deaf nostalgia, to once again sit on the racist patrician Mississippi Senator Trent Lott's porch and look out over the Gulf. Not for nothing did Nina Simone sing and rage against the Jim Crow South—"Mississippi Goddam"! If Katrina has removed the fig leaf of Bush's last shred of credibility, it's the task of the revolutionary Marxists of the Spartacist League to place the blame no less squarely on the Democratic Party and the capitalist system itself.

Nothing that happened then or since was an accident or acts of some isolated criminals, though criminals they are. The forced displacement and dispersal of black New Orleanians must be reversed. In many cases, the displaced do not have the means to return. There are no jobs, no housing, no schools and no health care. By every measure—police brutality, incarceration rates, education, hospital care—New Orleans before the storm was a place of brutal exploitation and oppression, worse statistically but not dissimilar to other American cities with large black populations.

We place no faith in illusory appeals to the capitalist state or any capitalist party to change the priorities of the capitalist system. An urgent necessity is a class-conscious and combative labor movement. Such a movement requires the ouster of the pro-Democratic Party labor tops. The reality of black oppression will not change short of proletarian socialist revolution. We are for black liberation through socialist revolution and a socialist planned economy.

The response to Katrina by the government at all levels was profoundly racist and anti-working-class. To the extent working-class and poor whites got the shaft—and they did—it only underscores that attacks on the working class are wrapped in the envelope of raw racism. This is how this racist ruling class treats what it deems a surplus population. It was not an idle rant of a neocon when a Louisiana Congressman said that Katrina and God had done what the New Orleans ruling elite could not: drive out the residents of New Orleans housing projects.

Business and real estate interests and politicians of both parties saw in Katrina an opportunity to shrink the city to an adult Disneyland on the Mississippi. The government's deadly delay and downright obstruction in assisting the victims of the hurricane is in stark contrast to the speed with which the crony capitalist looters of Iraq infamy have swooped in to extract massive profits in New Orleans. And the black Democratic political layer in New Orleans, very often drawn from the Creoles, are widely viewed as the junior partners of New Orleans business interests and in full accord with the plan to push out poor black people. Our job is to fan the flames of class hatred and sear into the consciousness of the working class the horrific magnitude of racist oppression and the desperate necessity for class struggle against capitalism and its ultimate overthrow.

Here's what a black longshoreman involved in rescue work in the immediate aftermath told me. He said rescuers in helicopters were "passing over the poor, black people that they left stranded on rooftops, in attics, on streets.... It was common citizens who did the right thing. They commandeered some boats, went out there and started gallantly and frantically rescuing people." He added, "At the time of a tragedy, there was segregation.... 'All for one and one for all'? That didn't exist here" [see "We All Gave, but We Received Nothing," *WV* No. 868, 14 April].

Recall the two pictures, virtually the same yet with distinctly different captions. In one instance, a black person is supposedly "looting"; in the other, a white is availing himself of life's necessities in harsh conditions. When I asked this longshoreman about media reports of looting, here's what he told me. He said that he spent 24 hours straight rescuing people, seeing floating bodies of babies, children and adults. A producer for the *Oprah* show sticks a mike in his face and asks him what he's been doing. Longshoreman: I commandeered some boats to rescue people. Producer: What do you mean commandeered? Longshoreman: I stole them.

FEMA and the federal, city and state governments ignored, created and exacerbated by their prevarication a beyond-desperate situation. For two days, water from broken levees poured into the city before any significant action was taken to stem that tide, while tens of thousands of poor and black people were trapped without any means of escape. Then they blamed the victims, heaping scorn and demonizing an entire population that could not evacuate.

The big players in the white elite are determining how to rebuild the city. These are dominated by real estate interests who are widely viewed as having decisive influence over Mayor Ray Nagin, who was re-elected with the white vote and supported Bush's election in 2000. One of these real estate investors is James Reiss, the chair of the Regional Transit Authority and responsible for the buses that were *not* used to evacuate stranded residents. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was more attentive

continued on page 10

AFP

AP

In midst of flood, white couple was described by Agence France-Presse photographer as "finding food," while young black man was described by AP photographer as "looting."

New Orleans...

(continued from page 9)

to animals than any government agencies were to people.

The Prelude and the Storm

It has long been the plan to rid the city of public housing projects and poor residents. The plan is to abandon whole parts of the city and justify it in terms of ecology and science. Low-lying poor neighborhoods, known as the backswamps, would be returned to parks or retention ponds to protect the property holdings of the rich. The view of the ruling elite is that they want the black entertainers but not the black working or plebeian class.

The whole tack of the "Bring New Orleans Back" commission is to rebuild the city "with better services and fewer poor people." Because of vocal opposition to the plan that called for a moratorium on rebuilding in certain areas, Nagin initially backed off supporting the proposal. The real estate developers are counting on capitalist market forces—no insurance coverage, racist redlining and refusal to refinance mortgages, aided by new FEMA flood maps—to make the dispersal irreversible. Likewise, the Louisiana Recovery Authority believes that economic factors will shrink the city. Governor [Kathleen Babineaux] Blanco, a Democrat, who's reflecting the ambient racist hostility of the rest of Louisiana toward New Orleans, has engineered a state takeover of the schools, most of which remain closed. The bulk of the rest have been made into restricted charter schools. Like Bush, she has sponsored tax breaks for the oil companies in the name of economic recovery.

It would be naive not to assume a crass political motive for Washington's rejection of funds for Louisiana. New Orleans was a black majority, Democratic stronghold that often decided the balance of power in statewide elections. With the dispersal of so much of the black population, Louisiana as a whole might well shift to the Republican column. The attack on black voting rights has been a sustained theme of the Bush administration.

A model for gentrification may be River Garden, a supposed public/private, mixed-income, Clinton-era development, which replaced the demolished St. Thomas housing project. Again, Katrina was a perfect storm to enable the real estate interests to acquire prime real estate near the central business district and adjacent to the French Quarter. On June 14, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Housing Authority of New Orleans approved a plan to demolish four public housing projects within three years. Of the 49,000 public housing residents before Katrina, only 1,000 are back in New Orleans. Ominously, New Orleans passed an ordinance requiring the gutting, mold remediation and boarding up of houses by August 29. If owners didn't comply, the city threatened to perform the job and place a lien on the property. Remember that 80 percent of New Orleans, or some 250,000 dwellings, were flooded. In this way the city may accomplish, using eminent domain, what the New Orleans commission wanted to do all along.

Thousands of unionized jobs have been lost with the closure of Charity Hospital, the virtual elimination of the public school system and the gutting of the large United Teachers of New Orleans, and the shrinking of bus routes driven by members of the Amalgamated Transit Union. Katrina has become a pretext for government-supported union-busting. FEMA originated under Jimmy Carter and was planned by Reagan as an agency that would run concentration camps for government-designated "undesirables" in the event of a so-called national emergency. Thus it should come as no surprise that, at a nearly empty FEMA trailer park in Morgan City, residents were prohibited from talking to the press without the presence of a FEMA representative!

Gauthier/LA Times

Thousands of Mexican workers flocked to Gulf Coast following Katrina for cleanup and construction work, laboring under brutal conditions.

If you visited New Orleans today, you'd be struck by how utterly destroyed and without city services whole swaths of the city are. The failure to rebuild, or make it possible for people to rebuild, in this lost year is part of the mechanism by which black people have been kept out of the city. As Douglas Brinkley, author of *The Great Deluge* [2006], put it: "The crucial point is that the inaction is deliberate—the inaction *is* the action."

Capitalism is a profit-driven system. From the standpoint of meeting human need, it's irrational. The Netherlands' complex of flood-control levees was strengthened in 1953 after a storm killed hundreds. So the technology and pumping systems exist. The racist American ruling class does not have the intention or the will to do it. Contrast this to the tiny Cuban deformed workers state and its meager resources exacerbated by imperialist blockade. Though located in hurricane alley, it manages, through social organization, to spare its population the tribulations visited upon the black population of New Orleans. In the storm's aftermath, Bush rejected the offer of aid from Cuba—hurricane-hardened medical doctors and rescue teams.

"Doing Katrina Time"

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) National Prison Project has issued a report on the inhuman abuse meted out to prisoners in the hurricane at Orleans Parish Prison (OPP). It is a devastating window on the capitalist system of injustice. The ACLU believes that the prisons can be reformed, even as they demonstrate in this report that all attempts at reform have been rebuffed in practice. This flows from their (and our reformist opponents') view of the capitalist state as a neutral body that can be pressured to serve the interests of the working class and oppressed. For Marxists, the capitalist state—which at its core consists of the cops, the military, the prison system and the courts—is the instrument for organized violence to ensure the rule of the capitalists over the proletariat. Down through history, it has been shown that the working class cannot reform the bourgeois state and use it in its own interests but must smash it and create its own state.

Before Katrina, the OPP held 6,500 prisoners. In the U.S., a country with the highest national incarceration rate in the world and where 12 percent of all black males in their late 20s are in prison, New Orleans had the highest incarceration rate of any large city. Orleans Parish is almost 67 percent black, but 90 percent of the inmates are black. Sixty percent of the OPP detainees were men and women who were jailed for traffic or parking violations, public drunkenness or failure to pay a fine. Most of the detainees were *pretrial*, meaning they had never been convicted of anything. Moreover, at the time of the storm some significant number were enrolled in school, drug or alcohol treatment or GED programs as a condition of probation. Immigrant prisoners who had been rounded up in *la migra* raids faced the same hellish conditions. One attorney for them said: "It's easier to visit my clients on death row than it is to visit an INS detainee at Orleans Parish Prison."

The brutality before the storm in this place was legend. Women shackled during labor, juveniles punched and kicked in the face, mental patients in five-point restraints dying of dehydration. The daily racist brutality and dehumanization generated many lawsuits. Here you have the proper analog for the notorious American-run facility in Iraq, Abu Ghraib.

When the levees broke, the prisoners were put in lockdown and maced for asking to be let out of their cells. Women had to climb to the third level of bunks to escape the water. They had to urinate and defecate over the sides of their beds. Prisoners spent days in toxic waters as the prison guards left them to die. Detainees then opened the jail gates. Some prisoners managed to pound their way out to a rooftop, where they hung a banner: "HELP NO FOOD DYING." There were three boats to evacuate 7,000 people. Waiting for evacuation, the prisoners were bunched together like cattle and forced to stand in water up to their necks.

When the prisoners finally made it to the I-10 overpass, their ordeal was not over. They were placed in rows and seated back to back. The guards used taser guns on them if they stretched. They were forced to urinate and defecate on their clothes where they sat while SWAT teams called them racist epithets, crackheads, whores and bitches. Juvenile detainees were maced for asking for water in the broiling sun. So hellish were the conditions that some detainees were relieved to arrive at the notorious Angola state prison, a former slave plantation—not so former.

The flooded OPP opened quickly after the storm despite health concerns. The OPP was too profitable an enterprise to be out of commission long. The city of New Orleans was paying the OPP roughly $100,000 per day for housing prisoners. Federal prisoners, including so-called illegal immigrants, are even more profitable and were returned to the prison quickly. The prompt return of the prison population was a source not only of income for the prison but also of prison labor, really akin to the pervasive prison labor system that flourished in the South after Reconstruction. The current sheriff wants to make prisoners available for work ordinarily done by city workers. The prisoners personally receive effectively no wages. Many prisoners await trial to this day for minor offenses. It's called doing Katrina time.

This penal servitude is both an affront and another threat to labor in the South. The return of the chain gang shows the link between black and labor rights. The need to organize and unionize the South will be a monumental battle. Prisoners are powerless. ILA longshoremen and Avondale shipyard workers are not. Unlocking that power through the fight for a class-struggle opposition to the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats, advancing the consciousness of the working class, is the task of the revolutionary party. Either the South will be organized through social struggle—which can only be achieved if the labor movement consciously addresses black oppression—or the features of the South will become increasingly dominant across the land.

"End of Racism" Mythology

Katrina's aftermath did not generate massive nationwide social protest at all, and certainly not the necessary protest by the labor movement, due to the accommodation of its leadership to the racist, capitalist status quo. Even as Katrina exposed the realities of race and class and their inevitable intertwining in capitalist America, there is in the air the so-called "end of racism" ideology that seeks to blunt the hard truth of racist oppression. In a CNN poll after the hurricane, only 12 percent of whites thought race was a factor in the government's virtually non-existent response in the immediate aftermath of Katrina. Five times that many blacks thought race was decisive. This split reflects a similar gulf in consciousness evident after the O. J. Simpson verdict in 1995.

Mayor Nagin can be heard on the radio fulminating that the mistreatment by the government was due to being poor, not to being black. This is also the line of the NAACP, one of whose youthful supporters told us that racism was not the main issue, class was. While Nagin is simply toeing the line out of Washington, there clearly is an adaptation to it from mainstream black organizations, local politicians and ostensible leftists. The question of class is fundamental in capitalist America; this is not in contradic-

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net
National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

tion to the centrality of black oppression to American capitalism.

At a New Orleans AFL-CIO Labor Day picnic, on the other hand, we found that black workers were more clear-eyed and vocal about the treatment meted out to black New Orleanians. This may be because not a few of them spent days on the roofs of their flooded homes waiting to be rescued. One black longshoreman told us, "They wouldn't have done this to any other city." In fact, the attacks on the working class and the population as a whole are presaged and "justified" by the gutting of advances and the diminution of the rights of black people.

The demise of the Soviet Union has spawned bourgeois triumphalism. The destruction of the USSR was a historic defeat for the proletariat that has thrown back consciousness and allowed the imperialist bourgeoisies to step up attacks domestically and internationally. The pernicious false consciousness that the "playing field has been leveled" must be combatted at every turn.

It's a sign of the times that we are obliged to make the case for the strategic centrality of the black question in the struggle for workers revolution in this country. One measure of how bad things are in America is that former President Clinton was dubbed the first black president, though he had ostentatiously returned to Little Rock during his 1992 campaign to oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man and proudly ended "welfare as we know it." The rise of a mealy-mouthed black Democratic politician, Barack Obama, is seen to be representative of a "color-blind" America.

This so-called end of racism is related to and intimately linked to the bourgeois triumphalism attendant on the demise of the Soviet Union that was supposed to mean the "end of history" and the "death of communism." This points to the relationship between black oppression and the Russian question. Put another way, the achievement of substantial legal equality for black people, beginning after World War II, was also heavily motivated by U.S. imperialism's felt need to look good internationally—not least in its competition with the Soviet Union in the Third World.

Assault of the Louisiana Colored Volunteers on the Confederate breastworks at Port Hudson, Louisiana, 27 May 1863, the first major battle in which black troops took part.

F. B. Schell/New York Historical Society

The civil rights movement represented a major social upheaval which broke up the reactionary Cold War consensus. Struggles against women's oppression and anti-gay bigotry were able to exploit openings created by the civil rights movement, which broke the back of Jim Crow in the American South. The civil rights struggles fed burgeoning protest against the Vietnam War and opened the door to some significant labor struggles in the U.S. The civil rights movement is not a distant, remote factor. Not least, today's "culture wars" are being fought against some holdovers from this period. And the ruling class is intent on reversing the gains of the civil rights movement, however minimal they may be now, to widen and deepen the wedge of attack against the working class.

Black and Red

America's rulers foster racial divisions in the North and South in order to obscure the divisions between the classes that are fundamental to capitalist society and to head off united working-class struggle. The special oppression of black people as a race-color caste is a cornerstone of American capitalism. The mass of the black population is kept at the bottom of this capitalist society. At the same time, doubly oppressed black workers form a strategic component of the American proletariat. Won to a revolutionary program, black workers will play a leading role in the struggle to emancipate the black masses and all working people by sweeping away the entire system of capitalist exploitation.

We fight for revolutionary integration. We understand that the struggle for integration of black people into American society on the basis of full economic, social and political equality can only be realized through a proletarian revolution that uproots the capitalist system and ushers in an egalitarian socialist society.

We seek to mobilize the labor movement to fight every manifestation of racist rollback without defending the miserable status quo. We fight for open admissions and free higher education for all. We

Pelican

Battle of Liberty Place, New Orleans, 1874: Klan-like White League defeated Radical Reconstruction governor's forces, including black militia. Obelisk commemorating race-terrorists' victory stands in New Orleans to this day.

demand a massive public works program in New Orleans at union wages with union protection. We fight for quality integrated housing and schools and for free, quality health care for all.

When the civil rights movement swept into the North, the bankruptcy of the liberal perspective of its leaders was quickly revealed as it collided head on with the cold, hard realities of American capitalism. The pro-Democratic Party pressure politics of the civil rights leaders meant inevitably an acceptance of the terms of oppression. As we said in one of our founding documents ["Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (1966)]:

> "The vast majority of black people—both North and South—are today workers who, along with the rest of the American working class, must sell their labor power in order to secure the necessities of life to those who buy labor power in order to make a profit.... Ultimately their road to freedom lies only through struggle with the rest of the working class to abolish capitalism and establish in its place an egalitarian, socialist society."

The loss of unionized industrial jobs, which was accelerated by the deindustrialization of the Northeast and Midwest beginning in the 1970s, has been accompanied by a massive increase in homelessness and disease in the inner cities. Crucially, there has been skyrocketing incarceration of young black (and Hispanic) men carried out largely through the "war on drugs." This war on the ghetto masses, which we see being played out by the National Guard occupation in New Orleans right now, is part of an all-sided intensification of state repression, capped by the speedup on death row ("legal lynching") and by "extralegal" street executions in the ghettos and barrios by the cops. After the drive to eliminate welfare picked up speed in the 1980s, we called this "Genocide U.S.A." These ominous developments make all the more urgent what we said in "Black and Red":

> "The fight for full employment at decent wages is not just the key to better housing, schools, etc., but a fundamental and necessary defense. If Black people are forced out of any economic role and become lumpenized as a group they will be in a position to be used as a scapegoat and could be totally wiped out during a future social crisis—just as the Jews in Germany were—without affecting the economy. The fight must be fought *now* to maintain Negroes as part of the working class."

Katrina and the Democratic Party Vultures

The one-year anniversary events in New Orleans saw the Democratic Party politicians descending like vultures. The Democratic Party is giving voice to concerns that Katrina, evoking scenes of a Third World country, is injurious to America's international reputation. This is not to say the Democrats will do one whit more for black people. Katrina was a public relations debacle for a superpower seeking to project its military might in the service of "freedom."

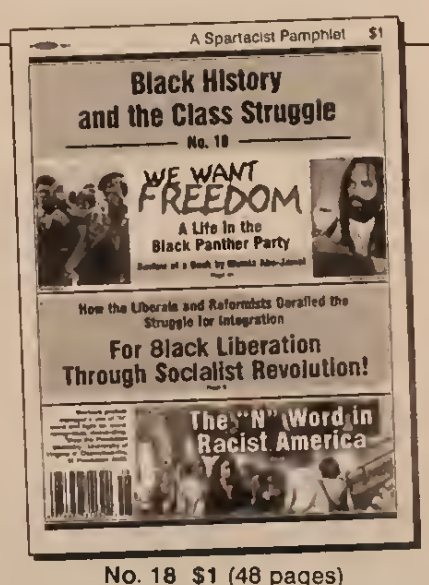
Democratic governor Blanco is best remembered for her callous response to the survivors of the flooding. Promoting the false image of wanton marauding and "looting," she warned that the National Guard troops being deployed were battle-hardened veterans of the war in Iraq, whose weapons were "locked and loaded," and said they would be prepared to "shoot and kill."

The shell game through which the Democratic Party—the historic party of the Confederate slavocracy—is portrayed as the "friend" of blacks and labor has been essential to preserving the rule of racist American capitalism. The U.S. is ruled by the dictatorship of a single class, the bourgeoisie, alternately administered by the Democrats and Republicans, two wings of the same property party. It was U.S. imperialism's Democratic Party that first prosecuted the bloody counterrevolutionary war in Vietnam and initially oversaw the capitalist state's physical annihilation of the Black Panther Party. The Democratic Party supported the invasion of Afghanistan and the "war on terror," which they maintain they can conduct more effectively and vigorously than the Republicans. This "war on terror" national unity is a deadly threat to immigrants, blacks and labor and means the shredding of democratic rights domestically and the projection of imperialist military might abroad. If some Democrats today are opposing the Iraq war (like ex-Marine Congressman Jack Murtha), it is for the express purpose of deploying U.S. forces elsewhere in the "war on terror." Actually, it is because the Democrats sell themselves as the friends of labor and blacks that they are in many cases the preferred party for the bourgeoisie to use to mobilize for war.

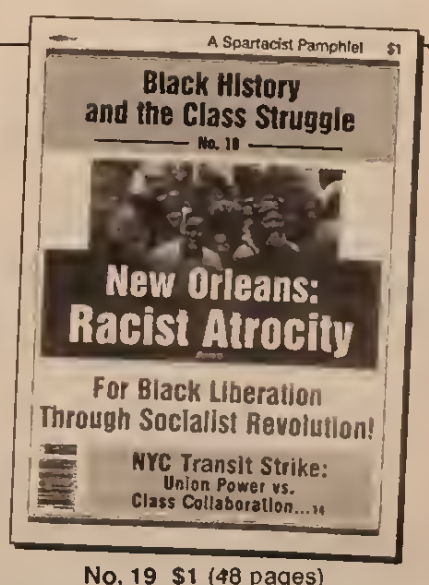
On certain social questions like abortion and gay marriage, some Democrats meekly support more enlightened positions. The main difference between them and the Republicans is that while the Republicans unabashedly enforce the interests of big business, the Democrats lie and do the same thing. When the Transport Workers Union [TWU] struck in December, one of the most important unions in the country waged some much-needed class struggle. Gubernatorial candidate Eliot Spitzer got the injunctions to criminalize them. Hillary Clinton is a proponent of the union-busting Taylor Law. Yet both these Democratic pols are supported by the TWU's Toussaint leadership and are considered "friends of labor."

Some of you may have seen the powerful documentary by Spike Lee, *When the Levees Broke: A Requiem in Four Acts*. The interviews and footage are an indelible record of a racist travesty. Lee is quoted as saying that "what happened

continued on page 12



No. 18 $1 (48 pages)



No. 19 $1 (48 pages)

Black History is sent to all *Workers Vanguard* subscribers.

Order from/make checks payable to:

Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

New Orleans...

(continued from page 11)

in New Orleans was a criminal act...the levees were a Band-Aid here.... Somebody needs to go to jail." Though Lee is not heard in the documentary, his point of view emerges in the steady parade of black politicians (Ray Nagin, former mayor of New Orleans Marc Morial and Al Sharpton among them) who are given a pass and allowed to preen as crusaders for justice for black people.

During "Giuliani time," the New York police pumped 41 rounds at Amadou Diallo in the vestibule of his own apartment building. Sharpton channeled indignation at this police terror into the false hope of using the "independent" Civilian Complaint Review Board to right police misconduct. Such boards make cosmetic changes in order to perpetuate what is a police state in the ghettos and barrios.

Ray Nagin is in the line of black Democratic mayors that includes former Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode. On 13 May 1985, Goode and his administration in collaboration with Reagan's federal government burned to death eleven members of the black MOVE commune, including five children. Nagin, at the behest of New Orleans' business interests, delayed evacuation. He knew from the very beginning that at least one-fifth of the population would not be able to leave. He isolated himself away from his command center during the storm and hid in a hotel, in a bunker, when a small group of people stranded at the Superdome marched to his hotel to ask for provisions. And that's not the half of it. Now he has the unmitigated chutzpah to say:

> "I think the opportunity has presented itself for me to kind of go down in history as the mayor that guided the city of New Orleans through an incredible rebuild cycle, and really eliminated a lot of the pre-Katrina problems that we had with blight, with crime, with the public-school system."

WV Photo

May 1983: ILA mobilized as part of 10,000-strong march in Norfolk, Virginia, in defense of school busing.

Organize the South!

With their legalistic, pro-Democratic policies, the AFL-CIO leaders are incapable of undertaking the kind of militant mass organizing drive needed to unionize workers throughout the South, where the racist cops and KKK lynchers have been instrumental in keeping unions out. The AFL-CIO is investing $700 million of its pension fund for affordable housing and hospitals in New Orleans. Change to Win, the other coalition, is assisting with workers' centers. All well and good—but the purpose of unions is to mobilize the workers in struggle against the capitalists. It's necessary to unleash the social power of the working class, beginning with existing beachheads of integrated union power in the South—from the mainly black longshoremen in the southeastern and Gulf ports to shipyard workers and Teamsters truckers.

The fundamental starting point for a serious union organizing drive must be the understanding that this capitalist society is divided between two hostile classes—the workers who have to sell their labor power and the capitalists who own the means of production—whose interests are irreconcilably opposed. The labor bureaucracy openly supports the capitalist system and is duly rewarded for this with certain social and political privileges. The union tops stand for collaboration with the bosses, not class struggle against them.

The harsh anti-labor laws and practices in the South today are rooted in the black chattel slavery of the Old South before the Civil War. The re-establishment of legalized racial segregation following the betrayal of Radical Reconstruction by the Northern bourgeoisie in league with the Southern landed aristocracy entailed the suppression of any attempt to organize labor, white as well as black. The anti-union "right to work" laws, which are extant all across the South, were passed after the Second World War and have perpetuated the South as the main regional bastion of social and political reaction in the United States. These laws are an outgrowth of an entrenched apparatus of oppression—the post-Civil War "Black Codes," "anti-vagrancy laws," the sharecropping system of debt peonage and prison chain gangs.

In the 1990s, New Orleans Avondale shipyard workers were thwarted in their attempt to form a union for six years by repeated management appeals to the bosses' courts. Unions can only be built and defended and unionization extended across the South in class struggle against the employer and the apparatus of the capitalist state. Given the heavy weight of "right to work" laws across the South, making a dent even in one locale will be difficult. What will break the back of these laws will be generalized social struggle across the region, if not the country.

Some 30,000 immigrants have moved into the Gulf Coast since the storm, and they are subject to frequent ICE [Immigration and Customs Enforcement] raids that are called "Operation Community Shield." Much of the gutting of houses and clearing of trees has been performed by immigrant Mexican laborers who sleep in tents or in the moldy structures they work in daily. They have no access to health care and their health and safety is of no concern to their employers. In October 2005, Nagin ranted that New Orleans was being "overrun by Mexican workers." Similarly, in a January statement calling for a spring Katrina protest for the "right of return," Jesse Jackson echoed this chauvinist sentiment: "Why must people here look at people coming in from out of the country to do the work? That is humiliating. There are no jobs that cannot be done by the people who once lived here." Feeding off this, in early October the NAACP and the AFL-CIO held a joint press conference to denounce business owners who were hiring non-union workers from out of state. The answer to non-union labor is to unionize ***all*** workers regardless of where they are from.

Bettmann

Bogalusa, Louisiana, 1966: Charles Sims of Deacons for Defense and Justice, which organized armed self-defense against racist nightriders.

It is particularly important to combat anti-immigrant chauvinism in the working class and especially among black workers, while the immigrant-derived proletariat must grasp that anti-black racism remains the touchstone of social reaction in this country. Our team at the AFL-CIO picnic reported the following: "An older black woman jumped into my argument with a white woman who argued that racism wasn't really an issue in what had happened; we convinced her to back down and say we had a point. However, then the white woman ***and*** the black woman agreed that the problem facing them now is that immigrants are coming in and taking all the jobs, and I had to argue hard with both of them."

A number of lawsuits have been filed on behalf of these mainly Hispanic workers fighting against the contractors' refusal to pay overtime or any wages at all. These piecemeal efforts, however admirable and supportable, only underscore the necessity for labor to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. This is a crucial part of mobilizing the power of labor in struggle to organize the South. Effective resistance to the immiseration of American working people requires unity in struggle between the trade unions and the black, Hispanic and Asian poor.

The role of a Leninist vanguard party must be to advance the consciousness of the working class. There is another tradition in Louisiana, one of black and labor power. The largest slave revolt in U.S. history, inspired by the Haitian revolution, took place in Louisiana in 1811. Some of the first black troops to fight on the side of the Union in the Civil War were raised from the free black population of New Orleans. During the civil rights movement of the 1960s, the Deacons for Defense and Justice organized a group of black veterans in Bogalusa and Jonesboro and used armed self-defense to protect CORE voter registration workers. The Spartacist League publicized the Deacons' critical role in defending black rights against the racist nightriders.

And there is the strategic port of New Orleans which, while heavily impacted by containerization, is a reservoir of union strength with an important history. When the longshore union locals first affiliated to the International Longshoremen's Association [ILA], there was a segregated union structure, which was maintained. The ILA locals on the Gulf were not integrated until 1983. However, on the Southern waterfront the primarily black unions are dominant. In 1968, when Martin Luther King was assassinated, the black ILA in New Orleans called a three-day protest strike and the white longshoremen announced they weren't going to work without their black brothers. In 1972, Louisiana students demanded an anti-racist boycott of Rhodesian chrome and ILA dock workers refused to unload a ship. Several years later, in 1977, black and white longshoremen in New Orleans staged a militant wildcat strike that shut down all shipping in the port, while the ILA international struck only containerized cargo.

Finish the Civil War!

It's been noted that to this day Haiti and Haitians have never been forgiven by the imperialist ruling classes for the slave revolt led by Toussaint L'Ouverture. The past is not really past in the U.S. either when it comes to the struggle for black freedom and the Civil War. There is in Katrina's aftermath—in the racist contempt and dispersal of its black working class and dispossessed—more than an echo of the racist Redemption campaign of the former slave aristocracy against Radical Reconstruction.

Reconstruction went through several phases in Louisiana, and it's a rich and intricate history. I want to highlight the last period. One historian of the period, Ted Tunnell, put it: "The history of New Orleans was the story of its strategic location near the mouth of the greatest river system on the North American continent" [*Crucible of Reconstruction*, 1984]. Thus it was that in April of 1862 Union warships slipped past Confederate forts and fought the Confederate fleet guarding the city. The Union Army advanced overland and took over New Orleans on May 1. The North controlled the South's largest city from that day forward and Reconstruction was underway.

New Orleans was a metropolis in the midst of a Louisiana plantation and village culture. There was a modest base of immigrants and yeoman farmers (with no slaves), the largest free black population in the South, if not the country, and some sugar planters who came to believe their profit interests might be better served by the North. The Union Army under the leadership of Generals Banks and Butler were the armed force that made it possible for Reconstruction to unfold. Within this mix there was an intense and volatile contention of ideas and clash of forces about the extent and meaning of black freedom and, importantly, black suffrage. Moreover, these forces profoundly influenced Lincoln himself.

The free blacks, or *gens de couleur*, were not of one mind, reflecting their intermediate position in society. They were light-skinned descendants of French settlers or wealthy mulatto immigrants from Haiti. They were bricklayers, cigar makers, carpenters and shoemakers. They were markedly better off than the slave, but their rights were constricted. But from this layer came some of the first black soldiers to fight for the Union Army, a fact related to their (uniquely) already having had their own militia. At the time, some held the view that their fate was "indissolubly bound up with that of the Negro race," and that "we have no rights which we can reckon safe while the same are denied to the field hands on the sugar plantations." Because Reconstruc-

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

age in Europe in the seventeenth century. Many factors cause climate change such as the elliptical orbit of the earth around the sun, the wobbling of the earth on its axis and others such as volcanic and sunspot activity. I am well aware as you are of the vast increase in carbon dioxide in the atmosphere since the industrial revolution which is the cause of the phenomenon called the greenhouse effect. WV has in the past run excellent articles supporting evolution and debunking creationism and intelligent design and often defending the gains of the enlightenment so why not a similar critique of environmentalism.

I know it is the view of the ICL (and mine too) that untrammeled capitalism is the main cause of the despoliation of the earth. Engels first noted this when he wrote about the working class in England in the nineteenth century. The difference between creationism and evolution is that the latter is absolutely scientifically valid and creationism is just religious cant and superstition but global warming does have an element of scientific truth. The fact that so many well meaning people today believe that the number one issue today is to save the planet and their solution to it is to pressure capitalist governments to solve the problem and that we should return to a more technically simple existence may be because of this. WV could occasionally publish articles (or an article) highlighting the marxist position on this issue. To me much of environmentalism is secular apocalypticalism and can be easily manipulated by the ruling class for its own ends when it suits them.

Comradely regards
D. B.

***WV* replies:**

Reader D.B. raises a number of important issues that deserve fuller treatment than can be given in this immediate response. For a summary of our Marxist position on the general topic of environmentalism, we direct our readers to our most recent extensive article on the subject, "In Defense of Science and Technology—An Exchange on Eco-Radicals and HIV Denialists" (*WV* No. 843, 4 March 2005), which is available on our Web site. Our fundamental difference with the environmentalist movement is our view that overcoming ecological problems such as air and water pollution, or dealing with the problem of global warming, fundamentally raises the need to get rid of the irrational, profit-driven capitalist system and set up an internationally planned, socialist economy. This in turn requires workers revolutions to expropriate the means of production which today are owned by the capitalist class.

Because environmentalists accept the capitalist system as inevitable, they are reduced, *at best*, to impotent appeals to the capitalists to stop degrading the environment. More often than not, the policies advocated by environmentalists to supposedly protect the environment and conserve energy by discouraging "overconsumption" dovetail with capitalist austerity policies. In the aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq, we wrote an article on the world oil market, which stated: "The ecology activists are right in one important respect: the massive burning of hydrocarbons—whether oil or coal—is in the long term bad for the earth's atmosphere. The answer, however, is not to save oil by cutting the living standards of North American and European working people" ("The World Oil Racket," *WV* No. 535, 27 September 1991).

A collectivized economy based on international planning would make possible a qualitative development of the world's productive forces, doing away with economic scarcity and laying the basis for the elimination of classes and for the withering away of the state. It would also permit the development and full utilization of renewable sources of energy and other industrial technologies.

There is broad agreement today among scientists that human beings contribute significantly to global warming, especially through the burning of fossil fuels. Still debated—understandably, given the complex nature of the issue—are the questions of how grave the consequences of global warming will be and how rapidly they might manifest themselves. The possible consequences evoked by a number of scientists are extremely serious: rising sea levels and coastal flooding, climate shifts causing populated areas to become arid or inundated, destruction of forests, extinction of many animal and plant species. An extreme projection is that if the oceans warmed sufficiently, huge amounts of methane now frozen under the sea could be released, possibly causing mass extinctions.

That some capitalist spokesmen like Al Gore have expressed alarm about global warming is hardly surprising given the possible economic and social disruption it threatens. Yet much bourgeois hand-wringing over this issue is pure cynicism. British Petroleum, which is under criminal investigation for a major oil spill on Alaska's North Slope this March, earlier won plaudits from environmentalists for its vague promise to limit emissions of so-called greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide from its installations around the world.

Regarding the question of Malthusianism—that is, the idea that much of mankind is condemned to perpetual poverty because the earth is permanently overpopulated compared to its resources—we noted in the article referenced above:

> "Moreover, the development of communism will be accompanied by a corollary downward drift in the present population hypertrophy. Evidence of this can already be seen under capitalism in the industrially advanced countries of the world—e.g., Japan, North America and Western Europe—where economic and technological advancement has effected, not through fiat, a substantial reduction in the birthrate. Under communism, both the division between town and country and economic dependence on the family will virtually disappear. No longer will poor peasants or agricultural workers be compelled to have more children in order to ensure enough manpower to work the land. Human beings will have far greater mastery over both their natural and social environments.
>
> "Additionally, communist society will be based on a thoroughly different set of social values from those that exist today. The liberation of women from patriarchal domination will mean complete and unhindered access to birth control and contraception. Communism will elevate the standard of life for everyone to the highest possible level. By eliminating scarcity, poverty and want, communism will also eliminate the greatest driving force for the prevalence of religion and superstition—and the attendant backwardness, which defines the role of women as the producers of the next generation of working masses to be exploited. A prolonged, mild population shrinkage based on increasing material abundance and progressive social ideals will go a long way toward ensuring that there are enough resources to guarantee the well-being of all."

The organization of industrial production under capitalism necessarily leads to degradation of the environment because capitalist firms are motivated solely by the need to maximize profits. Environmentalists, through their promotion of schemes to "save the environment" under capitalism, help perpetuate the very system that is at the heart of the problem.

Readers particularly interested in these questions may wish to consult our pamphlet *Enlightenment Rationalism and the Origins of Marxism* as well as the following articles: "Eco-Radicalism and Bourgeois Politics" (*WV* Nos. 695 and 696, 28 August and 11 September 1998) and "The Evolution Wars: Religious Reaction and Racist Oppression—Hail Charles Darwin!" (*WV* No. 854, 16 September 2005).■

tion began early and the slaves were given their freedom, it came to pass that black men were in the uniform of the Union Army. And as one black New Orleanian paper put it at the time: "From the day that bayonets were placed in the hands of the blacks.... This war has broken the chains of the slave, and it is written in the heavens that from this war shall grow the seeds of the political enfranchisement of the oppressed race."

The radical unionists and the unity of free blacks and freed slaves placed enormous pressure on Lincoln to grant suffrage to the freedmen. The emancipated slave had entered the political arena. The Radical Reconstruction Louisiana constitution abolished slavery and led to black suffrage and blacks holding office.

The planter aristocracy refused to make their peace with this state of affairs. In September 1874, the (Klan-like) White League routed the Metropolitan Police and black militia of the Reconstruction governor. In 1891 an obelisk monument to this race terror was built to honor the Battle of Canal Street, later the Battle of Liberty Place. There was affixed an inscription in praise of the victory of white supremacy. This incident couldn't have more contemporary relevance. It speaks to what we call the unfinished business of the Civil War. And to this day, the American South is a low-wage bastion and a reservoir of social backwardness to the detriment of the entire working class.

The period known as Radical Reconstruction (of course it was not limited to Louisiana) was the most egalitarian period in U.S. history. It was finally brought to a close when the Northern capitalists looked at the devastated South and saw an opportunity—not for building a radical democracy but for exploiting Southern resources, and the freedmen, profitably. The Compromise of 1877 sealed this betrayal of black freedom and, with the withdrawal of the Union Army from the South, a new system of racist exploitation was established by restricting the rights of freedmen across the board. In 1896, the Supreme Court codified "separate but equal" segregation as the law of the land in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Plessy was a black New Orleanian who refused to vacate his seat on a railway car. The Jim Crow system thus came to infect the whole country.

America has evolved tumultuously from a slave republic, through the Civil War and the abolition of chattel slavery. Yet we live with that legacy of slavery. The struggle against black oppression and for working-class liberation will go forward together in this country or not at all. For the working class to become an instrumentality of its own liberation, it must become a class-for-itself. It must oppose every manifestation of oppression and consciously fight the special oppression of black people. To quote Marx at the time of the Civil War: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." The ultimate reconstruction in this county will come with a socialist revolution led by the multiracial proletariat.

The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, seeks to impart the consciousness of this black centrality to the working class. We seek to forge in struggle the revolutionary workers party that will lead the American workers revolution, which alone can provide a decent life for all through a socialist planned economy. If you want a future without imperialist war, racist oppression and capitalist exploitation, we would ask you to join us. Finish the Civil War!■

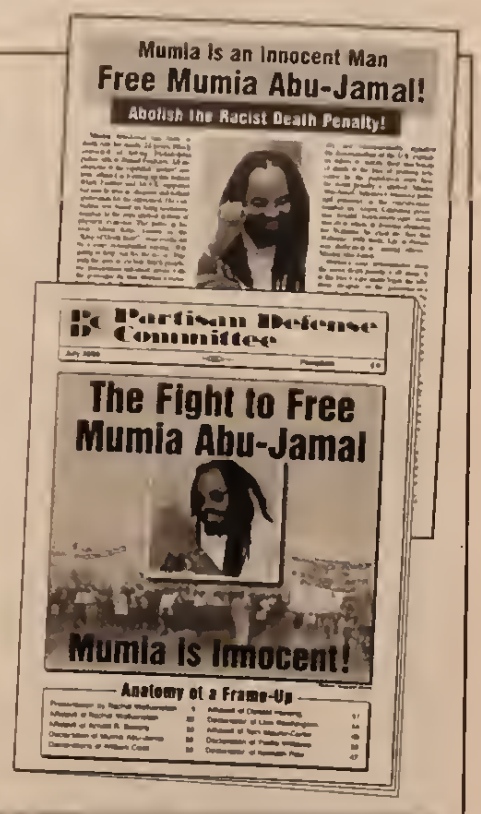
JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



Partisan Defense Committee • e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net • Web site: www.partisandefense.org

P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099 .....(212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867 .....(312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 29574, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029-0574 .....(213) 380-8897
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462 .....(510) 839-0852

Oakland...

(continued from page 3)

legal efforts, Mackler ranted, "If there is a single person out here who is against the motion that had been brought to the court by Mumia Abu-Jamal and by his legal team...if you are against the new trial, you are a goddamned fool."

This tirade by Mackler, who has for years been a prime mover of rallies calling for a "new trial," willfully and ignorantly conflated political demands around which to mobilize mass support for Mumia and legal actions pursued by Mumia in the courts. Since he is quite familiar with the PDC's legal work on Mumia's behalf extending back to the late 1980s, including years spent on his legal team, Mackler's charge against the PDC is both absurd and cynical. Our legal assistance included tracking down a mountain of evidence that Mumia is innocent, notably the Beverly evidence, which makes it clear that Mumia's case consists of a conscious, racist political frame-up of an innocent man. Since this doesn't sit well with liberals, Mackler and SA have all but disappeared the Beverly evidence.

Even as the PDC's Rachel Wolkenstein and Jonathan Piper served on the legal team, we fought against illusions in or reliance on the capitalist courts. At the Oakland rally, Mackler said that he holds "no illusions in the criminal justice system." Utterly belying that claim, Mackler hailed the December U.S. Court of Appeals ruling that Mumia's appeal could go forward on only three of the more than two dozen legal issues Mumia raised as a "major court victory" that would "stun the Pennsylvania legal establishment" (*Socialist Action*, December 2005). Mackler's article called the possibility that the court would reinstate Mumia's death penalty, which is what the prosecution is gunning for, "the worst—but least expected—scenario." That same month the state of California executed Tookie Williams in the face of a massive public outcry! In denying clemency to Williams, California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger pointed to Williams' praise of Mumia, among others, in his book *Life in Prison*. Tookie Williams' execution was a real signal that the state intends to see Mumia dead.

Mackler's speech captured in a nutshell SA's deeply reformist outlook. But in running Mackler for U.S. Senate in explicit opposition to both the capitalist Democrats and the bourgeois Greens, whose candidate is Todd Chretien of the International Socialist Organization, SA has drawn a crude class line, and on that basis the Spartacist League has extended Mackler critical support (see *WV* No. 876, 15 September). As Mackler ended his speech, our contingent chanted: "Vote for Jeff Mackler against Democrats and Greens!" But when presented with the SL's statement of support, Mackler turned green around the gills and vociferously declared that he rejected the support of our revolutionary Marxist organization. Well, if Mackler drops his opposition to the Greens, we'll drop our critical support to him.

The LAC barely distributed its own rally flyer, which was not even posted on the LAC Web site (which hasn't been updated since February 2005!). LAC rally chair Jack Heyman, a longtime member and former official of International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10, provided some thin labor veneer for the "labor action" rally. Heyman mobilized no union presence. For his part, Mackler thanked the LAC for calling "this important rally at this important time"—for which Mackler's two organizations mobilized all of two people. Meanwhile, Todd Chretien did not even bother to show up to the rally that he had endorsed.

In his remarks as rally chair, Heyman echoed recent *WV* polemics, declaring, "It's dangerous to say Mumia is just one legal decision from a new trial and freedom." And Jason Wright, the speaker from the International Bolshevik Tendency (BT), which along with Heyman has been a key player in the LAC since its inception, criticized "comrade Mackler" over the call for a "new trial." But these comments were just window-dressing for Heyman and the BT's years of building protests, committees and coalitions in which "unity" means a nonaggression pact with those who call for a new trial. It also means charging the PDC and SL with "sectarianism" for our fight against the liberal illusions codified in that call. But as Trotsky once quipped about Stalin's venomous lies, even slander should make some sense. Just a week after the PDC endorsed the Oakland rally, the BT Web site featured a brazenly lying and pathetic piece titled "On Recent Spartacist League Polemics" that denounced the SL's purported "desire to avoid working with us in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal"!

Heyman and his BT friends have long insisted in the face of our criticisms that they oppose the call for a "new trial." But the LAC was born waving the "new trial" banner. This bogus outfit was launched in January 1999 in explicit "solidarity with the Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal," one of the most persistent proponents of the "new trial" slogan. Among the LAC's first acts was to issue an international appeal to build rallies in April 1999 around two central demands: "Stop the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal" and "A new and fair trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal."

On September 15, Heyman spoke of the 24 April 1999 West Coast port shutdown by the ILWU and underlined that the ILWU "marched in 1999 with 25,000 other people." As the PDC spokesman at the rally noted, the port shutdown in support of Mumia was a powerful example of "the kind of social power that must be mobilized in a class-struggle fight to free Mumia," but "Heyman himself undermined this action by tying it to appeals for a 'new trial'"—the demand pushed by the organizers of the rally that same day. While drawing large numbers, the April 1999 rallies were a crucial point in the demobilization of Mumia's supporters. Tailoring their demands to what would be acceptable to bourgeois liberals, who viewed Mumia's case as an aberration in an otherwise fair and impartial justice system, meant rejecting the very reasons millions internationally had rallied behind Mumia: revulsion against the injustices inherent in capitalism—poverty, racial oppression, war.

The LAC initiated a May 2000 "Labor Conference for Mumia" that appealed to the Clinton Justice Department to "launch an official investigation into Mumia's case" and resolved to lobby delegates to the Democratic National Convention to pass a motion calling for a new trial. This groveling appeal to the "Democratic" Party of U.S. imperialism could not be a clearer example of the irreconcilable gulf between the strategy of mobilizing the independent power of the working class and that of reliance on the agencies of the capitalist class enemy. The labor fakers and reformist socialists at that conference also adopted a motion calling for "A Broad Labor Campaign to Win Justice for Mumia." The puny efforts they put into building their own September 15 rally expose their "broad labor campaign"—and the LAC itself—as the frauds they are.

The BT and the Fight Against Black Oppression

While in recent years the BT has made a show of taking up Mumia's cause, a defining feature of this dubious organization since its inception in the early 1980s by embittered ex-SL members has been its contempt for the fight for black liberation. While the BT has always pursued an unnatural obsession with our organization, it had not one article about Mumia in its journal *1917* until 1996, and published next to nothing on the black question in the U.S., the strategic question of the American socialist revolution, for the first six years of its existence. These were the Reagan years of rampant cop terror in the ghettos and an upsurge in racist mob attacks and KKK/Nazi terror.

The BT did, however, sneer at SL-initiated labor/black mobilizations against Klan/Nazi fascists in the 1980s, our launching of Labor Black Leagues and our declared aspiration to become a 70 percent black party as "community organizing," a "retreat from the working class" and as "accommodating backward consciousness." And there was the bombing of the Philadelphia MOVE commune in May 1985—eleven black men, women and children burned to death. While much of the reformist left cringed from the elementary duty to defend MOVE, we sought to sear this atrocity into the memory of the working class and to that end held a rally in New York City in solidarity with MOVE.

The BT's response was not to protest the MOVE bombing but to ridicule our rally in solidarity with the victims! In *1917* (Winter 1986), published more than half a year after the MOVE massacre, the BT wrote, "In its capacity as convenor of a memorial meeting for the MOVE victims the SL thought it impolitic to differ with its guests. Accordingly SL speakers confined their remarks to denouncing the authors of the hideous massacre on Osage Avenue and advocating the struggle for socialism via construction of a mass-based Spartacist League." The BT saw the occasion as the time to denounce a spokesman for the victims of racist government slaughter and to attack the SL for not turning the ***memorial*** meeting into a political free-for-all against MOVE!

Before it had ever published an article on Mumia, the BT did make a press splash at the height of the emergency protests during the summer of 1995—in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*. On 16 June 1995 this capitalist mouthpiece ran an article titled, "Not Much Left: 'The Movement' Is Pretty Still Nowadays," smearing all the organizations defending Mumia. First and foremost, the *WSJ* went after the PDC and SL, picking up the BT's slanders of the SL as a deranged "cult." It is striking that the reporter located materials of the organization that had written the least about Mumia in order to attack the organization that had made his case an international cause. The PDC flyer for the September 15 rally commented, "The intent of the *Wall Street Journal* in smearing Mumia's supporters was transparent enough. How and why the minuscule BT was so readily wielded as a tool for the *WSJ* is not."

With the fight for Mumia's life and freedom at a critical hour, mass protests based on labor's social power are urgently needed. Unions representing millions of workers worldwide are on record in support of Mumia. But those millions need to be mobilized in ***class-struggle action*** to demand Mumia's freedom. That they have not been mobilized is centrally the responsibility of the pro-capitalist union misleaders, aided and abetted by such pseudo-socialists and labor fakers as make up the LAC. As the PDC speaker at the September 15 rally emphasized: "What is required is ***political struggle*** to unchain labor's power. This struggle is totally linked to the fight to forge a Leninist vanguard party to lead the working class in socialist revolution. Such a party must act as the champion of all the exploited and oppressed, recognizing that the fight for black liberation is key to the struggle for workers revolution. Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!" ■

Sex...

(continued from page 7)

and the maintenance of the institution of the family as a key prop for capitalism.

Democrats and Republicans alike have led the onslaught against many of the gains won for working people and the oppressed through the massive social struggles that began with the civil rights movement and continued with the mass radicalization of youth against the Vietnam War in the 1960s and '70s. The first significant assault on abortion following *Roe v. Wade* took place under the administration of Democrat Jimmy Carter, the country's first "born again Christian" president. In 1977 he signed into law the Hyde Amendment, which eliminated abortion coverage from the Medicaid health plans of 23 million poor women.

Liberals and feminists look to the racist, repressive capitalist state to "protect" women. We Marxists understand that it requires class and social struggle not only to defend abortion rights, but to make abortion free and accessible to ***anyone*** in need, including poor or working-class women. Bourgeois women will generally have the means to get safe abortions regardless of legality. The Spartacist League and the SYCs advocate a strategy of mass, labor-backed mobilizations to defend clinics against the anti-abortion bigots and terrorists. We call on the working class to fight for abortion rights. This is because the fight for free abortion on demand, free health care and childcare is part of the fight against the state, family and religious institutions that keep the working class shackled to capitalist exploitation. This is part of our fight for socialist revolution to destroy this rotten and reactionary class-divided society.

The SYCs call for women's liberation through socialist revolution. We understand that women's liberation is a material act, requiring the destruction of the capitalist system and the establishment of a socialist, planned economy. As noted in "The Russian Revolution and the Emancipation of Women," *Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 59 (Spring 2006): "One of the tasks of the socialist revolution is the full replacement of the institution of the family with communal childcare, dining halls and laundries, and paid maternity leave, free health care and special efforts to draw women fully into social and political life."

Technology and modern medicine enable humanity to increasingly control the forces of nature and use them to the advantage of human beings. Abortion and birth control give women greater control over their own reproduction, and there are simple measures that greatly reduce the risk of STDs. While these advances allow sex to be a safe and enjoyable act for both men and women, it is only with the destruction of capitalism that humanity will be able to fully avail itself of these advances and be freed from state repression and religious bigotry. And only then will youth be able to do what they please sexually, with whom they please, free of state and parental control. ■

Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forum

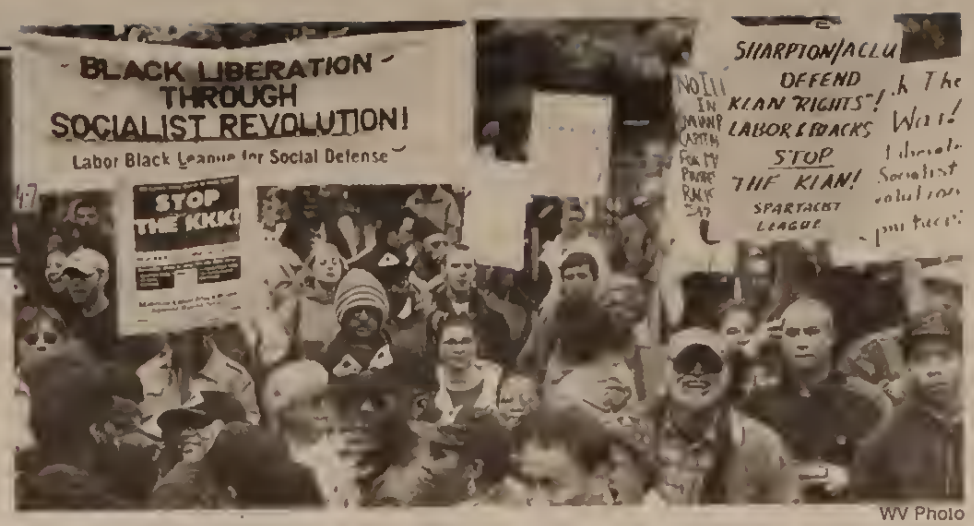
For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Saturday, September 30, 7 p.m.
OISE, Room 2214, 252 Bloor St. West
University of Toronto
(at St. George Subway Station)

TORONTO
For more information: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The first Labor Black Leagues were formed as a result of the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982. We stand for mobilizing the masses of minority and working people in militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.



WV Photo

If You Stand For—

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!

2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabherding and strikebreaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting; keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops, prison guards and security guards out of the unions!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand; free, quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Defend the separation of church and state! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt—cops and courts out of the bedroom! Down with all laws against consensual activities such as "crimes without victims" like pornography, gambling, drugs and prostitution!

6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or community control of the police! Down with the racist and anti-labor "war on drugs"! For decriminalization of drugs! For class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend the deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea—against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For proletarian political revolution to oust their Stalinist bureaucracies! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adventures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

—Join the Labor Black Leagues!

Membership pledge: $3/year unemployed; $10/year employed. For more information:

CHICAGO (312) 563-0441
Labor Black Struggle League
Box 6938, Chicago, IL 60680

LOS ANGELES (213) 380-8239
Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 29574, Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029

NEW YORK (212) 267-1025
Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 2502, Church St. Station
New York, NY 10008

OAKLAND (510) 839-0851
Labor Black League for Social Defense
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604

Darfur...

(continued from page 16)

all imperialist sanctions against the Khartoum regime.

In addressing the Darfur situation, Bill Fletcher Jr., a longtime AFL-CIO spokesman, described the dilemma for himself and other black liberals, writing in "Darfur: What Should the U.S. Do?" (*National Newspaper Publishers-Associatian*, 12 July): "What does one ask of an administration that lied us into a war and occupation of Iraq; threatens Cuba, Venezuela, Iran, Syria and North Korea with possible military action?" Nevertheless, Fletcher does look to Bush, a man intensely and justly hated by black people, to stop the slaughter in Darfur, although without directly utilizing U.S. military forces. Fletcher writes: "The Darfur crisis must be resolved by Africans.... If the Bush administration wishes to help, then let them support the African Union financially and diplomatically. Provide the AU with sufficient logistical support to deploy more peacekeepers."

But who are these "peacekeepers"? The AU deployment in Darfur is currently mainly made up of forces from Rwanda and Nigeria. These countries and the other states making up the AU are themselves ruled by monumentally brutal and corrupt neocolonial regimes. Their military forces routinely rape, torture and massacre tribal villagers, committing atrocities similar to those being committed in Darfur, although without the same kind of publicity. It is grotesque to view the bloody capitalist regimes that rule every country in Africa as part of the answer for Africa's oppressed. Furthermore, the AU is and can only be a shill for the interests of the far more powerful imperialist countries.

In order to gain public support for escalating imperialist intervention in Sudan, the "save Darfur" campaign describes what is happening there as genocide. But what is happening in Darfur is not genocide, an emotion-laden term that has frequently been inflated to cover all national, racial and ethnic atrocities. One of the few liberal publicists who argues against using that label for Darfur is Jonathan Steele, who commented in a British *Guardian* column (19 September) that "Darfur is not Rwanda" but a brutal civil war. Furthermore, he pointed out, "the [anti-Khartoum] rebels also committed atrocities," something that has rarely been reported in the Western media. Despite this recognition, Steele pushes the line in favor of more AU "peacekeepers" to Sudan.

Neither the Bush gang nor the Democrats are eager to engage in a serious intervention in Sudan. As U.S. forces are stretched to the limit in the brutal wars against Iraq and Afghanistan, Democrats and Republicans both prefer to grandstand about "Muslim atrocities" in Sudan while subcontracting any intervention to other countries or coalitions. However, they do find it convenient to cynically stoke outrage over Darfur to serve their ideological purposes.

Furthermore, the calls for intervention into Darfur have from the outset been characterized by the anti-Communist demonization of China, which has significant investments in Sudanese oil, as supposedly responsible for the carnage in Sudan. As Trotskyists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state, where capitalist rule was overthrown by the 1949 social revolution, against imperialist and domestic counterrevolution.

In the dwindling days before the midterm elections, the Democrats are using the events in Darfur in part to appeal to their black constituency. Denouncing the Bush administration for taking so long to assemble an international "peacekeeping" force, Virginia Democratic Congressman Jim Moran thundered, "Would we be this complacent if the genocide wasn't in Africa? Would the administration act any differently if claims of ethnic cleansing were in Europe or the Middle East?"

What about the Palestinians?! For decades, the Palestinians have been the victims of mass expulsion and a brutal military occupation at the hands of Israel. As everyone knows, the Zionist state has been the recipient of massive U.S. financial and military aid, while Washington supports Israel diplomatically in forums like the UN. And the Democrats have been just as staunch supporters of Israel, and in many cases even more so, than the Republicans.

The U.S. imperialist government, whether administered by Democrats or Republicans, *actively supports* the murderous oppression of peoples in various Third World countries when carried out by its allies and client regimes, and is itself the perpetrator of mass murder, most recently in the war against Serbia in 1999 and the occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq today. Notwithstanding the Democrats' attempts to capitalize on anger at the Republicans over Darfur, racist indifference to black life is a constant thread throughout the history of U.S. involvement with Africa. More fundamentally, the systematic oppression and impoverishment of the black population has always been rooted in the bedrock of American capitalism. This was flagrantly demonstrated for all to see by the Democrats' *and* Republicans' abandonment of masses of poor blacks to die a year ago in New Orleans (see article, page one). It is necessary to remember the imperialist "humanitarian" missions undertaken under Democratic administrations, including Clinton's U.S.-led UN intervention to "help" starving black Somalis. Troops brutalized the population, massacring at least 1,000 Somalis at the battle of Mogadishu in October 1993. The Somalis' killing of 18 soldiers in that battle led to the U.S.' ignominious withdrawal the following year, after it was made crystal clear that "humanitarianism" had simply been window-dressing for racist imperialist aggression.

Washington's humanitarian credentials are clearly threadbare today under the justly hated and feared Bush regime (currently engaged with the Democrats in negotiating acceptable means of torture), so aside from practicality, liberals find international coalitions and bodies like the UN the appropriate vehicle to "help" desperate Darfur. But the UN is—as Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin defined its predecessor, the League of Nations, after World War I—an imperialist den of thieves, joined in the UN by their semicolonial victims. Throughout its history, the UN has served as a fig leaf for U.S. imperialism, including the 1950-53 "police action" against the North Korean deformed workers state, which took the lives of upwards of three million Koreans; the 1960 military intervention into the Congo under whose cover the CIA and Belgian imperialists assassinated nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba; and the starvation sanctions against Iraq.

The dominant members of the UN besides the U.S. are those very European nations—Britain, Germany, France—that along with Belgium historically bled, enslaved and exploited Africa, carving it up to suit their imperialist interests. Britain itself conquered Sudan through the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of people. Calling on the imperialists to bring peace and freedom to Darfur is like expecting the fox not only to protect the henhouse but to deliver the feed.

Only a revolutionary, proletarian struggle to bring down imperialism itself can pose the road forward for the besieged peoples of Africa. The key to ending the horrific conditions in Darfur and elsewhere in Africa is a series of workers revolutions, in the imperialist countries as well as in key proletarian centers on the African continent, especially the industrial powerhouse of South Africa as well as Egypt. It is the multiracial U.S. proletariat that has the power to bring down the American imperialist beast through socialist revolution. The Spartacist League/U.S. fights to forge the internationalist, revolutionary workers party that is necessary to provide the leadership to accomplish that historic task. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Darfur: Colonialism's Murderous Legacy

No to UN/Imperialist Intervention in Sudan!

Many people around the world, not least black people in the U.S., are understandably horrified by what is happening in the Darfur region of western Sudan. The conflict has resulted in mass slaughter and the driving of almost two million people from their homes. Its most proximate cause is the unleashing of the *janjaweed* militias, based on nomadic Muslims, by the central government in Khartoum against guerrilla forces based on a farming population that is also Muslim. A major drought in the mid 1980s had already exacerbated competition for land resources between nomadic herders and settled farmers. Underlying the current conflict are the effects of murderous British colonial rule, which carved Sudan out of a myriad of peoples, setting the stage for years of ethnic and religious bloodletting.

However, the outrage of the U.S. black population over the carnage in Darfur is being cynically manipulated by some of the most reactionary forces in American politics today: Christian rightists, neocons and Zionists. As we noted in "U.S./UN Hands Off Sudan!" (*WV* No. 870, 12 May), the forces in the unholy alliance making up the "save Darfur" movement "reduce the complex conflict in western Sudan to 'Arabs' oppressing 'Africans' in order to whip up anti-Arab and anti-Muslim chauvinism, which has greatly intensified since the launching of the reactionary 'war on terror' after the September 11 attacks."

This alliance includes such prominent Democrats as Madeleine Albright, secretary of state in the Clinton administration, who joined other Democrats, Republicans and other notables in addressing a rally of tens of thousands in New York's Central Park on September 17, part of a "Global Day for Darfur." In 1998, the Clinton White House launched aerial bombings in Sudan and Afghanistan on the pretext of harboring Al Qaeda terrorists, killing dozens and destroying Sudan's only pharmaceutical factory. In a September 22 interview on Fox News, Clinton boasted that these attacks proved "how hard" he had tried to kill Osama bin Laden. Albright was a leading architect and spokesman for the UN-endorsed economic sanctions against Iraq in the 1990s, which resulted in the deaths of ***one and a half million people***, many of them children and the elderly. While most black people oppose the brutal U.S. occupation of Iraq, leaders of the "save Darfur" movement include some of the most die-hard partisans of "staying the course" in Iraq.

AFP AP

Left: Demonstrators in Mogadishu, Somalia, gunned down by UN "peacekeepers," part of invasion force led by U.S. under Clinton. Right: Madeleine Albright, Clinton's secretary of state, addresses NYC Save Darfur Coalition rally, September 17.

At this month's UN general assembly, George W. Bush, Tony Blair and other imperialist leaders, along with their mouthpieces like UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, were united in calling for a new UN "peacekeeping operation" to back up the 7,000 African Union (AU) troops already there. There are already 10,000 UN troops in Sudan, ostensibly to police a peacekeeping agreement between rebellious forces in the south of the country, which has a black African population, and the reactionary Muslim Arab regime in Khartoum, whose blood-soaked rule has meant the death and imprisonment of thousands of labor activists, Communists and other opponents.

But any imperialist intervention in Sudan, including under the UN flag or through the agency of the AU, only deepens the misery of all the peoples of the region and strengthens imperialism at the expense of oppressed peoples around the globe. The International Communist League demands: All UN/African Union forces out of Sudan! As Congress threatens to impose new economic and other sanctions under the "Darfur Peace and Accountability Act," we call for ending

continued on page 15

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

COC Productions

RALLY!

Mumia Abu-Jamal's Life Is in Danger— Mobilize Now!

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black Leagues

e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net
www.partisandefense.org

BAY AREA
Saturday, Oct. 21, 2 p.m.
YWCA, Ehrmann Hall
1515 Webster St., Oakland
(at 15th St., 2 blocks from 12th St / City Center BART Station)
More info: (510) 839-0852

CHICAGO
Friday, Oct. 13, 7 p.m.
United Electrical Hall
37 S. Ashland
(at Monroe)
More info: (312) 563-0442

LOS ANGELES
Thursday, Oct. 19, 6:30 p.m.
UCLA Downtown Labor Center
675 S. Park View St.
(4 blocks west of Westlake/MacArthur Park Red Line Station)
More info: (213) 380-8897

NEW YORK
Saturday, Oct. 28, 3 p.m.
Salem United Methodist Church
2190 Adam Clayton Powell Jr. Blvd.
(at 129th St., 2, 3 train to 125th St or A, C, D to 125th St.)
More info (212) 406-4252

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 878 | GCIU C-701 | 13 October 2006

U.S. Torture Elections

Bipartisan Assault on Bill of Rights

AFP

DeCrow/Newsday

Smialowski/Getty

As public support for Bush White House sinks, Democrats promise more effective prosecution of reactionary "war on terror." Center: Member of NYPD "anti-terrorism" force outside New York Stock Exchange, August 2004. Right: NY Senators Hillary Clinton and Charles Schumer at September 7 news conference.

Break with the Democrats! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Tens of thousands of Iraqis have died since the invasion and occupation of Iraq, including in brutal massacres of civilian men, women and children by U.S. forces. From Abu Ghraib to Guantánamo Bay, torture and degradation are meted out to detainees in the "global war on terror." The Military Commissions Act of 2006, passed by both houses of Congress, stipulates that the President can order the seizure of anyone deemed to be an "unlawful enemy combatant," gives the President the right to decide what constitutes torture, and enshrines in law secret military tribunals. The law also retroactively exempts from trial any U.S. agent for post-September 11, 2001 violations of the Geneva Conventions or even the U.S. War Crimes Act.

Also on the home front, only a year ago black and poor people of New Orleans were left to die by the capitalist rulers in a man-made racist atrocity when Hurricane Katrina hit. The working class and the oppressed groan under falling wages, rising prices, police terror in the ghettos and barrios. Voting rights are under sustained attack, as are women's right to abortion, democratic rights for homosexuals and the separation of church and state. Proposed draconian measures against immigrants sparked millions-strong protests last spring. All this is but a snapshot of the climate in which the 2006 midterm elections take place.

The justly despised and feared rule of the Bush-Cheney-Rumsfeld cabal, whose machinations give new meaning to the quip that you know they're lying because their lips are moving, provides fertile ground for "Anybody but Bush" unity, with which the Democrats—the other party of imperialist war and racism—aim to recapture Congress. Bringing up the rear in this broad front of lesser evilism, which extends from disaffected sections of the ruling class to muckraking liberal journalists and workers and youth, is what passes for the U.S. left.

It is the task of the revolutionary Marxists of the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, to put forward the elementary perspective of *class vs. class*. The racist obscenity of Hurricane Katrina revealed not simply ruling-class incompetence and indifference but the systemic oppression of black people in capitalist America. The depredations of this system—including its imperialist wars, its massacres, hideous torture and lies—can and will be ended only when capitalist rule is swept away through the seizure of state power by the working class.

The elephant-and-donkey show of American "democracy" is the means by which the bourgeoisie masks its bloody, racist class dictatorship. As Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin put it in his 1917 work, *The State and Revolution*: "To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism." The working class, which has its hands on the means of production, is the only force with the social power and objective interest to carry out a social revolution that expropriates the bloodsucking capitalist class. But labor's misleaders in both the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and Andy Stern's "Change to Win" coalition tie the working class to its class enemy, centrally through their political support to the Democratic Party. Our task is to wage a political fight to break workers from the pro-capitalist program of the labor tops and to forge a revolutionary workers party—a tribune of all the oppressed—committed to nothing other and nothing less than the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a workers government where those who labor rule.

U.S. Hands Off the World!

It is the elementary duty of the U.S. working class to oppose its "own" bourgeoisie over the bloody occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan. Iraq under U.S. occupation has been turned into a hellhole where scores of people are slaughtered daily, mainly through sectarian violence. Even the United Nations—that den of imperialist thieves and their victims—has reported that torture is now more rampant in Iraq today than under the brutal capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein, who served as an all-purpose tool of the imperialists and butcher of Communists, national minorities and others.

Having, in the main, given Bush & Co. a blank check for war with Iraq, the

continued on page 7

Imperialists Threaten Sanctions After Nuclear Test

Defend North Korea!

OCTOBER 9—North Korea declared today that it had successfully conducted an underground nuclear test, providing a significant deterrent against military aggression by U.S. imperialism. Predictably, the U.S. and Japan responded by whipping up hysteria over the North Korean "threat." Washington called for UN sanctions against Pyongyang, ultimately backed up by the threat of military attack. These renewed threats underline the duty of revolutionaries to stand for the ***unconditional military defense*** of the North Korean deformed workers state against imperialism.

Despite the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, the overthrow of capitalism in North Korea—as in China, Cuba and Vietnam—was a historic defeat for imperialism and a victory for the working people of the world. Though the U.S. rulers howl menacingly over weapons of mass destruction in the hands of "rogue states," it was the U.S. imperialists, under the auspices of the UN, who devastated the Korean peninsula in the 1950-53 Korean War, killing more than three million people. The U.S. is the only power ever to use atomic weaponry, incinerating some 200,000 Japanese civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Had the Soviet Union not developed a nuclear arsenal capable of deterring U.S. imperialism, Korea, China and Vietnam might well today be irradiated rubble. The international working class must support the deformed workers states' possessing and testing nuclear weapons as a means of defense against imperialist blackmail.

Criminally, the Chinese Stalinist regime joined the imperialist-led uproar. On October 8, China joined imperialist Japan in a common declaration that such a test "cannot be tolerated." When North Korean officials informed their Chinese counterparts that the nuclear test was minutes away, Beijing rushed to give Washington the heads-up. Beijing has long sought to pressure Pyongyang to return to the "six-party talks," whose aim is to disarm North Korea.

The Stalinists' illusion that there can be "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism only undermines the defense of the deformed workers states, including China itself, which, after the destruction of the Soviet Union, is the imperialists' prime target in the drive to "roll back Communism." This underlines the necessity of proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies. ***Beijing: Stop your craven appeasement of the imperialist drive against North Korea!***

7 25274 81030 7 41

Chávez, Chomsky and Bush
UN Follies

The United Nations General Assembly last month featured some prime speechifying against the UN's imperialist host. Instead of pounding a Khrushchevian shoe, Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez brandished a tome by Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance* (sales promptly soared), while crossing himself and noting President George Bush's address the day before: "The devil came here yesterday.... It smells of sulfur still today."

Bush-bashing is easy—we expect that for most of our readers, already this devil wears *nada*. For Hugo Chávez and Noam Chomsky, their anti-Bush rhetoric is a cloak for bourgeois nationalism (Chávez) and "kinder, gentler" imperialism (Chomsky)—none of which stops them from being heroes of the reformist left. Chávez has some oil money to spend, including on social programs that relieve some of the misery of the poor in Venezuela, as well as good reason to oppose the U.S.: the Bush administration backed a failed coup against him in 2002. But as we pointed out in "Venezuela: Populist Nationalism vs. Proletarian Revolution" (*WV* No. 860, 9 December 2005): "Chávez is no socialist. A former army colonel now head of the capitalist state, he is an *enemy* of the struggle for socialism—i.e., the fight for workers revolution to expropriate the bourgeoisie."

Chávez's routine brought down the house, the cheers eclipsing the previous lecture by Mahmoud Ahmadinejad—president of the Iranian clericalist state and a Holocaust denier—who complained about "some" who "seek to rule the world relying on weapons and threats while others live in poverty." Naturally, all this rankled U.S. capitalist politicians, since the main purpose of the United Nations is to provide a fig leaf to cover naked slaughter by the imperialists and their underlings. The counterrevolutionary Korean War of 1950-53 was officially a UN "police action"; UN forces helped set up the 1982 massacre of Palestinians at the Sahra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon; and UN-sponsored sanctions against Saddam Hussein's Iraq caused the deaths of at least a million and a half Iraqis in the 1990s—sanctions which Noam Chomsky supported.

Occasional outbursts of anti-U.S. sentiment in the toothless General Assembly lend some window-dressing to the UN's sordid purpose. This year's podium-thumping resonated all the more loudly given how deep a disaster the imperialist invasion of Iraq has become, not only militarily but for the credibility of the U.S. ruling class as it aims to stamp its domination over the planet.

The Democratic Party rushed to defend the Republican Commander in Chief. Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel blustered, "You don't come into my country, you don't come into my congressional district and criticize my president"—never mind that the United Nations is *not* U.S. territory, and that his district might like some of that

AFP

Venezuela's Hugo Chávez at UN General Assembly, September 20.

discounted oil Venezuela's CITGO company is offering the poor. House Democratic leader Nancy Pelosi called Chávez "an everyday thug." A *Hartford Courant* (2 October) editorial writer shot back, "If he's a thug, they should ask Exxon/Mobil for a 40 percent discount and see what happens." Meanwhile, the Bush gang's typically thuggish response was to grab Venezuela's foreign minister at the airport for a few hours of intimidation.

As for Noam Chomsky (who's not actually dead yet, it just feels that way after plowing through his turgid books), his exposure of some of the crimes of U.S. imperialism collapses into the promotion of "pure" democracy through the agency of the UN and "international law." He, too, is an enemy of the struggle for world working-class revolution, the only way to get rid of the imperialists and all capitalist exploiters once and for all. Chomsky actually bragged in 2003 on Radio Havana that "the United States, to its credit, is a very free country, maybe the freest country in the world" (see "Failed Anarchist on 'Failed States'," *WV* No. 874, 4 August). We expect the bound and hooded prisoners in Guantánamo didn't quite catch that. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

American "Democracy" and Colonial Oppression

Radical American journalist John Reed was won to Bolshevism while covering the Russian Revolution in Petragrad in 1917, after which he wrote his classic eyewitness account, Ten Days That Shook the World. *We print below an excerpt from an undelivered speech Reed had prepared for the First Congress of the Peoples of the East, held in September 1920 in Baku, capital of Soviet Azerbaijan. Reed attended the Congress as a delegate from the U.S. and as a member of the Executive Committee of the Third (Communist) International, which was founded by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party as the necessary instrumentality to achieve world socialist revolution. Reed died of typhus after returning to Moscow from the Baku Congress.*

The workers and peasants of the Philippines, the peoples of Central America and the islands of the Caribbean—they know what it means to live under the rule of "free America."

Take, for example, the peoples of the Philippines. In 1898 the Filipinos rebelled against the cruel colonial government of Spain, and the Americans helped them. But when the Spaniards had been driven out, the Americans did not want to go away.

Then the Filipinos rose against the Americans, and this time the "liberators" started to kill them, their wives, and children, torturing and eventually conquering them. They seized their land and forced them to work and make profits for American capitalists.

The Americans have promised the Filipinos independence. Soon an independent Filipino republic will be proclaimed. But that does not mean that the American capitalists will leave or that the Filipinos will not continue to work to make profits for them. For the American capitalists have given the Filipino leaders a share of their profits; they have given them government jobs, land, and money. They have created a Filipino capitalist class that also lives on the profits created by the workers—and in whose interest it is to keep the Filipinos in slavery....

These same American capitalists incite the American workers and farmers against each other. They starve and exploit the peoples of Cuba and the Philippines. Savagely they kill American Negroes and burn them alive. And in America itself, American workers are obliged to work under frightful conditions, receiving low wages for a long workday. When they are exhausted and used up they are thrown out onto the street, where they die of hunger....

We appreciate the need for solidarity among all oppressed and toiling peoples, for unity of the revolutionary workers of all the countries of Europe and America under the leadership of the Russian Bolsheviks, in the Communist International. And we say to you, peoples of the East: Do not believe the promises of the American capitalists!

There is only one road to freedom. Unite with the Russian workers and peasants who have overthrown their capitalists and whose Red Army has beaten the foreign imperialists! Follow the red star of the Communist International!

—"Speech by John Reed," *To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920—First Congress of the Peoples of the East* (Pathfinder, 1993)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Bonnie Brodie

EDITOR: Ray Bishop

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, Michael Davisson, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alan Wilde

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is October 10.

No. 878 — 13 October 2006

Welcome New Readers!
WV Subscription Drive Success!

August 16 to October 4

Local	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%
Bay Area	650	761	117%
Chicago	450	537	119%
Los Angeles	325	386	119%
New York	975	1,053.5	108%
At Large	250	218	87%
National Total	2,650	2,955.5	112%

WV Photo

Subscribe Now!

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
International rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail

❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. #_____

City _____ State _____ Zip_____

Phone (____) _____ E-mail_____

878

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Victory to the Goodyear Strike!

AP

October 5: Goodyear workers picket in front of company headquarters in Akron on first day of strike.

OCTOBER 9—15,000 workers represented by the United Steelworkers (USW) struck Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. on October 5, shutting down 12 U.S. plants in ten states and four Canadian plants. The strike is against company plans to close plants in Tyler, Texas, and Gadsden, Alabama, and to slash wages and health care benefits, even after Goodyear raked in over $200 million in profits last year and awarded top executives millions in bonuses. In 2003, the union agreed to a contract allowing the company to close a plant in Alabama and eliminate 6,000 jobs, while cutting wages, pensions and health care benefits. As one worker in Akron said, "Two billion dollars in concessions in 2003. Now they want more" (Associated Press, 6 October).

The company wants to reduce wages by some 40 percent through combining job classifications, changing work rules and outsourcing maintenance. A shop steward at the Goodyear plant in Fayetteville, North Carolina, told *Workers Vanguard*, "Cut and gut is what they want. They have fantasies of busting the union." Many of the plants are in areas where union jobs, or jobs of any kind, are scarce, and a strike victory will be a blow against the capitalists' vicious union-busting.

The union is planning for a long strike, and, according to *Today's Trucking* online (6 October), the company has stockpiled its rubber products. Goodyear says it will supply its customers by using managers and overseas production. The strike by black, white and Latino Goodyear workers—who now include many women—must be supported by all labor. At Fayetteville, railroad workers are honoring picket lines set up on rail lines going into the plant. Militant picket lines to stop scabs, and the honoring of USW picket lines by unionized truckers and rail workers, can ensure that all production is stopped.

Defense of the unions that have a foothold in the region is an important part of the fight to organize the "open shop" South, where union-busting and anti-black terror have always gone hand in hand. Goodyear operates two non-union plants, one in Oklahoma and one in Ontario. A solid strike to beat back the company could provide an impetus to organize all the non-union plants in the tire and rubber industry.

The union says that Goodyear, the world's third-largest tire manufacturer, wants to close the U.S. plants in order to build more plants overseas. Goodyear has more than 100 plants in 29 countries, pointing to the need for international labor solidarity. Goodyear has been attacking its workers and their unions from Colombia and Guatemala to Britain and Turkey, while fighting unionization drives in Thailand and Malaysia.

In 1999, under the aegis of the International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers' Unions (ICEM), trade-union representatives from 16 countries met in Cleveland to form a network for Goodyear workers from around the world. The ICEM, which includes the USW, has called for elementary measures of international solidarity with the Goodyear strikers, including for "trade unions in the rubber industry—particularly at Goodyear plants in Central and South America—to monitor their inventories and production to ensure that they are not undermining the USW's strike action." Rubber workers internationally must fight against any attempts by Goodyear to break the USW strike by ramping up production, and all longshoremen must refuse to handle any cargo meant to undermine the strike.

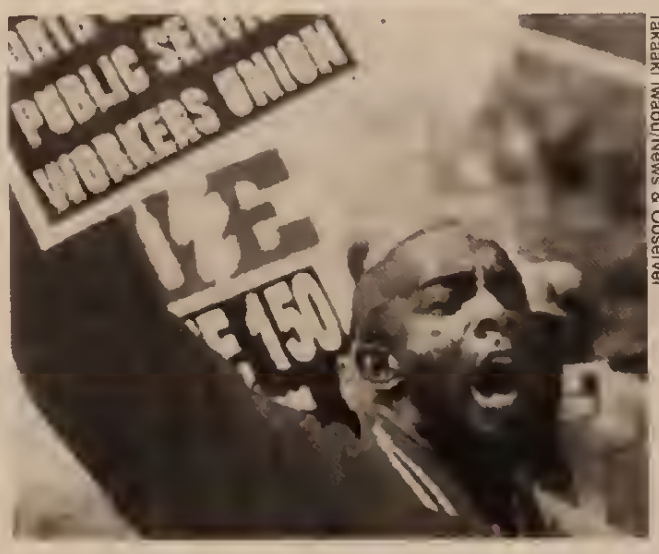
This year the USW campaigned in defense of the Mexican mine and steel workers union, which faced down union-busting in Lázaro Cárdenas, Mexico, winning a militant four-month strike with a plant occupation and pitched battles against the police. But the USW bureaucrats for decades have been at the forefront of the U.S. labor bureaucracy's protectionist campaigns, forming a "Stand Up for Steel" alliance with the steel bosses to call for measures against imports. Protectionism in defense of "American" bosses against "foreign competition" pits American workers against their class brothers and sisters abroad. It is poisonous to the international working-class unity that is needed to advance the struggle against the bosses in each country, including the U.S. A particular target of the USW tops' protectionism is the Chinese deformed workers state. At the 1999 "anti-globalization" protests in Seattle, the Steelworkers tops grotesquely dumped mock Chinese steel into Puget Sound. Anti-Communist China-bashing only serves the counterrevolutionary interests of the U.S. imperialist rulers, who want to turn China into a giant sweatshop.

The United Rubber Workers, which merged with the USW in 1995, was a key component of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and waged some of the most hard-hitten strikes in the 1930s. Today, labor solidarity, and more than ever international class solidarity, is key to rebuilding industrial unions in the U.S. and reversing the bosses' massacre of workers' rights and living standards. *Victory to the Goodyear strike!* ■

Sanitation Workers Battle for Union Rights

Raleigh, North Carolina

Fed up with long hours, low pay and regular abuse from supervisors and city managers, Raleigh sanitation workers staged brief wildcat strikes in mid-September. On two successive mornings, workers from all three sections of the department—garbage, recycling and yard waste—crowded the parking lot at the city's Solid Waste Services facility instead of mounting their trucks, delaying pickups by a day or more. The evening of the second walkout, a majority of the more than 100 sanitation workers voted to join United Electrical (UE) Local 150, which represents around 3,000 public service workers statewide. The stand taken by these overwhelmingly black workers has sent ripples across viciously anti-union North Carolina and won them the support of other workers in the city and region.



Takaaki Iwabu/News & Observer

September 26: Sanitation workers rally for union recognition in front of Raleigh City Hall.

North Carolina today is one of the most industrialized states in the U.S. but has the second lowest rate of unionization, after South Carolina. Going hand in hand with Jim Crow, reactionary "right to work" laws were enacted in North Carolina and elsewhere in the South following World War II to keep the region free of unions. The closed union shop in both private industry and public employment is banned by law and the 640,000 public employees are barred from striking. Collective bargaining for public employees is banned under a 1959 statute. With the rise of the civil rights movement, thwarting the unions was a means of reinforcing the segregation of black workers, who in North Carolina have historically held a large share of city and state jobs. The battle to organize the open shop South is intrinsically linked to the fight against racist discrimination.

Raleigh sanitation workers are outraged at having to toil under a "task" system in which they are paid for finishing a route whether it takes 14 hours or six. One striker told *Workers Vanguard* that the department was "run like a plantation." During 100-degree heat over the summer, these workers suffered through marathon shifts with no additional compensation. In the days immediately before the walkouts, crews were still at work after nightfall. Though fast-growing Raleigh, the state capital, is one of the wealthiest cities in the state, the City Council had slashed the number of sanitation workers, intensifying the speedup.

In the aftermath of the work stoppages, the sanitation workers have picketed City Hall and continued to press their demands in meetings with the mayor. Their demands include an end to forced overtime, time-and-a-half pay for overtime, immediate hiring of all temporary city workers as permanent employees, an end to harassment by the bosses and the right to organize. The city has granted some partial concessions. The city has added six jobs and pledged to maintain six others that had been targeted for elimination. The widely despised solid waste director and operations superintendent were removed from their posts. Department bosses were granted the authority to pay overtime, although at their discretion. Plans were announced to make temporary jobs permanent, but only after six months' probation. The sanitation workers' gains have not gone unnoticed by other city employees, who will also benefit from the work-rule changes.

Until now, no Raleigh mayor had ever met privately with union representatives. However, the mayor is also talking separately with non-union workers, a setup for driving a wedge into this combative work force and undermining the workers' power. Some are reluctant to join UE Local 150 and pay monthly dues because the law forbids cities from forming contracts with unions. Such anti-labor laws must be fought and defeated, and the key to victory is united class struggle against the capitalists and their government. While local and state Democrats have issued pious statements posing as "friends of labor" in response to the mayor's meetings with the sanitation workers, the Democrats and Republicans are in fact partner parties of capital that enforce the racist, anti-union status quo.

The battle for union rights must flow from the standpoint of class against class. This struggle must include organizing immigrant workers from Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America, who are increasingly employed in city jobs in North Carolina, into the unions with full rights and protections. The unions must mobilize in defense of immigrant workers and fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. This is a crucial part of mobilizing labor's power in struggle against capitalist exploitation.

To organize the South will require a labor leadership that actively champions black rights and fights in the interests of all the oppressed around a program of class struggle and the political independence of the working class. Such an organizing drive could give rise to a revolutionary workers party, showing the way forward in the fight to shatter the racist capitalist system. ■

Pack the Courtroom for October 16 Sentencing!

Fight Convictions of Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar!

For over 30 years, attorney Lynne Stewart has been a thorn in the government's side—an outspoken and ardent courtroom advocate for black activists, leftists and others deemed enemies by America's racist rulers. For this, Stewart, along with her Arabic translator Mohamed Yousry and paralegal Ahmed Abdel Sattar, was convicted in February 2005 on frame-up charges of conspiracy to provide "material support to terrorism" and "conspiring to defraud" the U.S. government. The charges stem from Stewart's legal representation of Egyptian Islamic fundamentalist cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, who is serving a life sentence for conspiracy to blow up New York City area landmarks in the early 1990s.

When Stewart, Yousry and Sattar step into court for sentencing on October 16, the government expects its pound of flesh. Prosecutors are demanding a 30-year sentence for Stewart—i.e., condemning the 67-year-old grandmother, who was diagnosed with cancer following her conviction, to spend the rest of her life behind bars. The persecution of Stewart, Yousry and Sattar is an attack on the democratic rights of us all. *We coll on lobor, defenders of black ond immigrant rights, defenders of civil liberties and democratic rights to pack the courthouse to demand: Down with the McCarthyite "onti-terror" witchhunt! Freedom for Lynne Stewort, Mohomed Yousry ond Ahmed Abdel Sattor!*

As we wrote in "Drop the Charges Against Lynne Stewart, Mohammed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar!" (*WV* No. 829, 9 July 2004):

> "At issue is whether attorneys have the right to provide legal defense for anyone with unpopular views without being accused of the crime themselves. At issue is whether anyone accused of a crime has the right to legal defense, the right to free speech and association, to publicize their views to the world outside the jail cell, or even the right to receive news of the world beyond the prison walls. This case is being prosecuted by the same capitalist rulers who ordered torture and maintained that their victims in Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo had no right to legal defense."

WV Photo

AhmedAbdelSattar.org

Top: Lynne Stewart (center). Above: Ahmed Abdel Sattar. Right: Mohamed Yousry with daughter.

Lisa Quiñones

The only "crime" Lynne Stewart was guilty of was representing her client. In a *New York Times* (17 February 2005) op-ed piece, former New Jersey Superior Court judge Andrew Napolitano commented: "No doubt the outcome of this case will have a chilling effect on lawyers who might represent unpopular clients. Since 9/11 the federal government's message has been clear: if you defend someone we say is a terrorist, we may declare you to be one of them, and you will lose everything."

The evidence against Mohamed Yousry, a doctoral candidate in Middle Eastern Studies at New York University, consisted of his notebooks of discussions with Sheik Abdel Rahman. Yousry's thesis adviser, Zachary Lockman, had suggested that he take advantage of his rare access to the sheik to develop a theme for his doctoral dissertation. An opponent of Islamic fundamentalism who never set foot in a mosque in his life, Yousry took notes on the Mubarak dictatorship and "Muslim totalitarianism" in Egypt. Yousry is facing two decades in prison for *doing his job* as a translator.

Writing of the trial of his student, Lockman noted that the prosecution "acknowledged that Mohammed had never advocated violence or Islamic fundamentalism. My guess is that the real reason they went after Mohammed was to get Stewart: She knew no Arabic, and Abdel Rahman knew very little English, so without including Mohammed in the alleged conspiracy, prosecutors wouldn't have had much of a case" ("Translating Arabic into Injustice," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 February). Ahmed Abdel Sattar, a postal worker and a supporter of the sheik, was convicted of conspiracy to "kill and kidnap persons in a foreign country." He faces life imprisonment essentially for making phone calls to the sheik's supporters in Egypt and Afghanistan.

The convictions of Stewart and her legal assistants are a frontal attack on the Sixth Amendment right to an attorney and on the free speech rights of us all. The prosecution was based on hundreds of hours of videotaped and recorded discussions between the sheik and Stewart—meetings that are supposed to be free from government snoops. Stewart's "material support to terrorism" consisted of making the views of her imprisoned client known to a Reuters journalist, in violation of the patently unconstitutional restrictions (Special Administrative Measures—SAMs) placed on Stewart as a condition of being allowed to meet with the sheik. To the prosecution, this simple exercise of First Amendment free speech rights constituted a "jail break." What next? Is publishing a column by Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was framed up in effect as a "terrorist" for his political views, "material support to terrorism"? What about signing a petition on behalf of the Irish nationalist IRA or Basque ETA prisoners?

This was an "anti-terrorism" show trial without any terrorists, which was precisely the point. Even the government admitted that not a single act of violence arose from this alleged terror conspiracy. But to assure a conviction, Judge Koeltl

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

1. Publication title: *Workers Vanguard*
2. Publication no.: 09-8770.
3. Filing date: 25 September 2006
4. Issue frequency: Bi-weekly, except skipping 3 alternate issues in June, July, August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December.
5. No. of issues published annually: 22.
6. Annual subscription price: $10.00.
7. Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104.
8. Complete mailing address of headquarters or general business office of publisher: Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104
9. Full names and complete mailing addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher—Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104; Director of Party Publications—Bonnie Brodie, 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104; Editor—Ray Bishop, 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104; Managing Editor—Helene Brosius, 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104
10. Owner: Spartacist Publishing Co. (Unincorporated Association), 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007-4104
11. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: None.
12. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates: Not applicable.
13. Publication title: *Workers Vanguard*
14. Issue date for circulation data below: 15 September 2006.
15. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: a. Total number of copies (Net press run): 10,819; b. Paid and/or requested circulation: (1) Paid/requested outside-county mail subscriptions stated on Form 3541: 1,821; (2) Paid in-county subscriptions stated on Form 3541: 0; (3) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, counter sales, and other non-USPS paid distribution: 5,670; (4) Other classes mailed through the USPS: 375; c. Total paid and/or requested circulation [Sum of 15b (1), (2), (3), and (4)]: 7,866; d. Free distribution by mail: (1) Outside-county as stated on Form 3541: 186; (2) In-county as stated on Form 3541: 0; (3) Other classes mailed through the USPS: 142; e. Free distribution outside the mail: 0; f. Total free distribution (Sum of 15d and 15e): 328; g. Total distribution (Sum of 15c and 15f): 8,194; h. Copies not distributed: 2,625; i. Total (Sum of 15g and 15h): 10,819; j. Percent paid and/or requested circulation: 96.00%.

No. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: a. Total number of copies (Net press run): 11,000; b. Paid and/or requested circulation: (1) Paid/requested outside-county mail subscriptions stated on Form 3541: 1,017; (2) Paid in-county subscriptions stated on Form 3541: 0; (3) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, counter sales, and other non-USPS paid distribution: 7,693; (4) Other classes mailed through the USPS: 362; c. Total paid and/or requested circulation [Sum of 15b (1), (2), (3), and (4)]: 9,072; d. Free distribution by mail: (1) Outside-county as stated on Form 3541: 182; (2) In-county as stated on Form 3541: 0. (3) Other classes mailed through the USPS: 209; e. Free distribution outside the mail: 0; f. Total free distribution (Sum of 15d and 15e): 391, g. Total distribution (Sum of 15c and 15f): 9,463; h. Copies not distributed: 1,537; i. Total (Sum of 15g and 15h): 11,000; j. Percent paid and/or requested circulation: 95.87%.

16. This statement of ownership will be printed in the 13 October 2006 issue of this publication.
17. Signature and title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner: (Signed) Bonnie Brodie (Director of Party Publications), 25 September 2006. I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. I understand that anyone who furnishes false or misleading information on this form or who omits material or information requested on the form may be subject to criminal sanctions (including fines and imprisonment) and/or civil sanctions (including civil penalties).

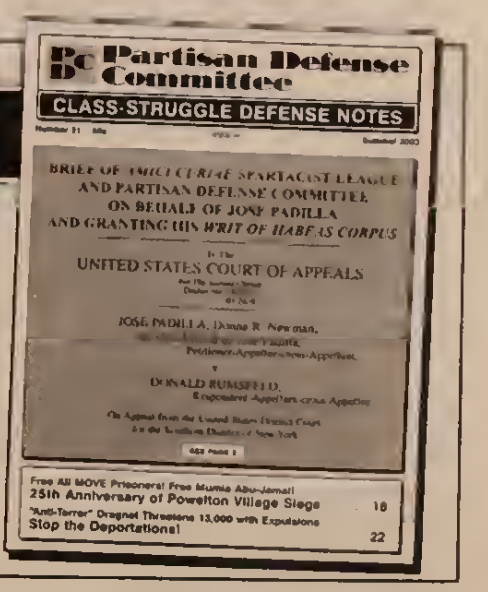
CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

No. 31, Summer 2003

50¢ (24 pages)

Order from/make checks payable to:
Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013-0099

Phone: (212) 406-4252
E-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net



From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

The United States of Torture

For several years now, since the inception of the US occupation of Iraq (and the installation of the Iraqi puppet regime), the American people have been treated to a plethora of promises of peace. Events were supposed to pacify the people, like various elections, the scribbling of a 'constitution', the arrest of Saddam Hussein, each was supposed to lead to the angelic choirs of peace, and the equally heavenly rise of 'democracy.'

In fact, every event has led to more, not less, unrest, and violence is choking the country, leading it down the path of civil, sectarian war.

The behavior of the occupying power (the US) has helped lead to this dire end, in large part because of how many tens of thousands of Iraqis have been treated once they've fallen into the clutches of the Americans.

A recent book on American imprisonment and yes —torture, in Iraq, Afghanistan, and here at home argues that Americans have fueled the nationalist, and anti-occupation resistance, by their ignorance, their racism, and their treatment of Iraqi detainees.

One need only mention the notorious Abu Ghraib torture center to, in a mere name, tell a hundred stories, but the new book, *American Methods: Torture and the Logic of Domination* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, forthcoming May, 2006), by activist/writer Kristian Williams, tells us of how other people were treated, in other parts of the country, in other countries, and here, in the United States, to show us how central torture is to the American way of life.

Of course, if you are African or Native American, this is hardly a new idea. But, as most eyes are focused on the raging war in Iraq, Williams writes: "Torture is the technique of empire; empire, the ideological framework and political infrastructure of torture."

Williams argues that torture is a state tool of domination, and is used to impress upon Iraqis the sheer power of the US.

For one relatively minor, but telling example, he cites the *Guardian* interview of an Iraqi woman, Huda Alazawi, who, with her entire family, were thrown into Abu Ghraib, where she worked picking up trash. She said:

> Because I could speak a bit of English I was given the job of emptying the rubbish. There was never enough food and one day I came across an old woman who had collapsed from hunger. The Americans were always eating lots of hot food. I found some in a packet in a bin and gave it to her. They caught me and threw me in a one metre-square punishment cell. They poured cold water on me for four hours. [p. 14]

Miss Alazawi was held in solitary confinement for 157 days.

Again, relatively minor, but it reflects how average people were treated at the hands of the Americans. Of course, people were beaten to death, humiliated, raped, and forced to do foul things.

If there were no pictures, however, who would be writing about it?

Occupations are about power, mass violence, and the terror of the occupying state against the invaded state.

To get some sense of that massive violence, I invite you to read Williams' forthcoming work.

Williams writes that torture, whether in Abu Ghraib, in Unit 2, of the Chicago Police Station, or in any state institution, is a tool to create terror, and silence. He writes:

> Torture...is not incidental to state power; it is characteristic of that power. Torture doesn't represent a system failure; it is the system. [p. 3]

And of course, this way of treating people didn't just happen.

It came from the highest levels of government—the White House, the so-called Department of Justice, the Defense Department—all sent messages in the field: 'the gloves are off'; 'do what you have to do', etc.

That it doesn't really work is almost beside the point.

In December, 2003, President George W. Bush (or, rather his speechwriters) claimed, in an address to the nation, "the torture chambers and the secret police are gone forever." [p. 7]

Today, in the shadow of Abu Ghraib's memory, we find secret prisons run by the puppet regime, and masked police swarming all over the cities.

Torture, and terror, has just changed management.

8 March 2006

©2006 Mumia Abu-Jamal

Send urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, made payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" and earmarked for "Mumia," to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

allowed prosecutors to inflame the jury with details of kidnappings of foreigners in the Philippines and the murder of tourists in Luxor, Egypt. Prosecutors claimed that these acts were inspired by supporters of the sheik, though they had nothing to do with the defendants. Fearing that wasn't enough, as the trial proceeded in September 2004 the prosecution seized on the anniversary of the September 11 attacks, which patently had nothing to do with the case, by playing a videotape of Osama bin Laden—in a courtroom less than a mile from "Ground Zero"!

This case illustrates once again how "conspiracy" prosecutions provide legal cover for repression of the government's political opponents when the state can find no evidence of criminal activity. The early trade unions in this country were outlawed as "criminal conspiracies" against "free trade." Leftists, union organizers and opponents of U.S. entry into the First World War were imprisoned on charges of "seditious conspiracy." In 1943, 18 Trotskyists and leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters were thrown in jail under the Smith Act for conspiracy because of their opposition to U.S. imperialism in World War II.

Defense of Lynne Stewart takes on added significance with the passage in Congress last month of a bill sanctioning torture, affirming the president's authority to designate anyone he wishes an "enemy combatant," and eliminating *habeas corpus* for detainees in the "war on terror." Shortly after news broke of the National Security Agency's domestic wiretapping program, Stewart filed a motion seeking a new trial should it be shown that the Feds illegally subjected her strategy sessions with her lawyers to unlawful electronic surveillance. The government's response was that Stewart and her attorneys couldn't see the government response—it was too "classified." Judge Koeltl has yet to rule on the motion.

The vendetta against Lynne Stewart is a centerpiece of the government's "war on terror," which is a pretext for U.S. imperialism's rampages around the world and for a modern-day witchhunt against all who are perceived as standing in the way of the aims of the capitalist government. Her prosecution and conviction represent an escalation of the rulers' attacks on democratic rights won through massive struggle, including the English Civil Wars of the 1600s and two bourgeois revolutionary wars in this country, the War of Independence and the Civil War. Be sure: the attacks on civil liberties are not solely the work of Bush, Cheney & Co. The Democrats promote themselves as the more effective officers to lead the "war on terror." The "anti-terror" law under which Stewart was prosecuted was signed by Democratic president Clinton, and the SAMs that strip prisoners of elementary rights to communicate with the outside world were implemented under his administration.

Behind the facade of American "democracy" stands the capitalist state's machinery of organized violence: armed bodies of men—the police and military, with their adjuncts of the courts and prisons—committed to defend and enforce capitalist class rule against workers and the oppressed. The fact that the government is going after lawyers signifies an ominous attempt to eviscerate the right to effective counsel in the American legal system. The labor movement, fighters for black rights and all opponents of capitalist injustice have a direct interest in joining in defense of Stewart, Yousry and Sattar.

On October 15, the day before the sentencing, supporters of Lynne Stewart will be holding a rally at New York City's Riverside Church, 4-7 p.m. The rally the next day will be held at 8:00 a.m. outside the federal courthouse at Centre and Worth Streets in lower Manhattan. Freedom for Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar! ■

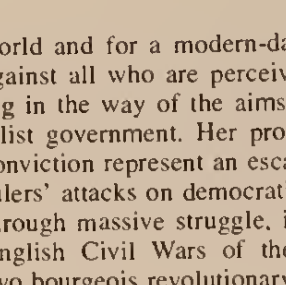
JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



Partisan Defense Committee • e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net • Web site: www.partisandefense.org
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099 .....(212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867 .....(312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 29574, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029-0574 .....(213) 380-8897
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462 .....(510) 839-0852

NY TWU Local 100 Tops Endorse Spitzer

Toussaint Backs His Jailer

Talk about sleeping with the enemy. Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president Roger Toussaint and the Local 100 Executive Board recently endorsed Eliot Spitzer, the Democratic New York state gubernatorial candidate. The same Spitzer who, as New York State Attorney General during the three-day transit strike last December against the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA), slammed the union with injunctions and massive fines of a million dollars a day. The same Spitzer who threw Toussaint in jail for four days for leading Local 100 on strike in defiance of the state's anti-labor Taylor Law! The endorsement is no case of forgetfulness but a conscious policy of class collaboration by the craven, pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy.

Last year's strike by the nearly 34,000 transit workers sent shock waves throughout New York City, the world financial capital, showing the social power of labor and showing, in particular, the strategic power of Local 100. A barrage of threats and attacks by Republican governor George Pataki and mayor Michael Bloomberg couldn't undermine the support that many blacks, Latinos and other working people in New York City and beyond gave the strike. They saw in it a blow struck on their behalf against the racist capitalist rulers who continue to grind them down. But city labor leaders, from NYC Central Labor Council president Brian McLaughlin to United Federation of Teachers president Randi Weingarten, did their best to get the strikers back to work. The strike was called off after three days by Toussaint and the Local 100 leadership, and the TWU is still without a contract ten months later.

The pro-Democratic Party Local 100 leadership saved much of its ire in the post-strike period for MTA head Peter Kalikow and Governor Pataki. "Day of Action" protests by the union over the past few months, which have let workers angered over the lack of a contract blow off some steam, have been touted by the union leadership as a way to pressure the MTA and the governor to settle the contract. In fact, they have been little more than pro-Spitzer rallies, with the union leadership banking on his election to get a contract. The last "Day of Action" is scheduled for November 7, with the "action" being, vote Spitzer. In Toussaint's own words, "If the MTA no longer has the Governor's Mansion backing for every last slap at workers and riders, then our fight has the possibility of gaining more traction and yielding broader results" (*Local 100 Express*, September 2006). Photos of Spitzer are all over the current "Special Issue" of *Local 100 Express*.

The so-called "opposition" leaders running against the current Local 100 leadership in upcoming union elections have said nothing against the union's support to Spitzer, which shows their own support for the capitalist system. Executive Board member Marty Goodman, who is supported by the reformist group Socialist Action, denounces Spitzer as a "fake progressive." But Goodman shows his own support for the capitalist system, its state and politicians by praising the capitalist Green Party candidates for state attorney general and governor who claim they would "never sign an injunction against Local 100." Maybe he should tell that to Socialist Action leader Jeff Mackler, who is running for U.S. Senate in California against the Greens as well as the Democrats.

By calling for a vote to Spitzer, the union tops are undermining the very purpose of the union: to defend the interests of the workers against the bosses. Spitzer enforced the Taylor Law fines, making workers shell out six days' pay as punishment for striking. But some workers have argued that he was just doing his job. As attorney general, Spitzer *was* doing his job by upholding the anti-union laws and trying in the process to cripple this multiracial union, whose largely black and immigrant members stood shoulder to shoulder with their white co-workers during the strike. As governor, Spitzer will continue to defend the interests of the bosses.

No hard feelings: TWU Local 100 president Roger Toussaint (far right) with state attorney general Eliot Spitzer at September 4 NYC West Indian Day Parade.

Under capitalism there are two fundamental classes in society: the capitalist class and the working class, whose interests are irreconcilably counterposed. As we wrote in a *Workers Vanguard* supplement titled "NYC Transit Strike: Union Power vs. Class Collaboration" (reprinted in *WV* No. 861, 6 January):

> "Like every major strike, this was a hull-headed battle between labor and capital. On one side are the bosses, their government, whether run by Democrats or Republicans, and the repressive capitalist state apparatus, mainly the courts and cops. The role of the courts and government officials during the strike starkly demonstrated that the 'democratic' trappings of the capitalist state are but a facade for the dictatorship of the exploiting class. On the other side, the workers have their own weapons: their numbers and power based on their collective labor at the workplace, and their union organization."

The arrogant MTA bosses underestimated the determination of the TWU workers to fight back against union-busting attacks. The Local 100 leadership under Toussaint led a brief but powerful display of the social power of the TWU workers, but at bottom showed their pro-capitalist, class-collaborationist program. This program preaches the lie of the partnership between labor and capital and helps uphold the decaying capitalist system responsible for the racist and political frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the reactionary "war on terror," the brutal occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq and the racist atrocity of New Orleans, where masses of overwhelmingly black and poor people were left to die in the face of Hurricane Katrina.

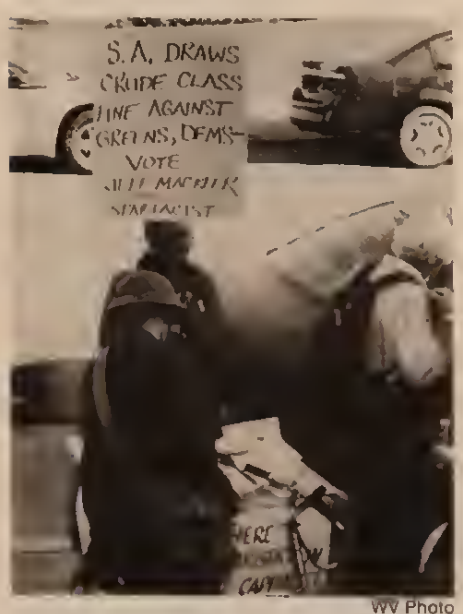
A fight to forge a class-struggle leadership in the unions is necessary—a leadership that will fight for a workers party independent of and opposed to all the parties of the capitalist class, that will stand up for the interests of workers and all the oppressed. To end this racist capitalist system requires the building of a multiracial workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution, burying capitalism once and for all.■

California: Vote Mackler!

Critical Support Is Not a Marriage Proposal

Workers Vanguard prints below in its entirety a letter received from Socialist Action (SA) "rejecting" our critical support to Jeff Mackler, who is running for U.S. Senate in California (see "Critical Support to Socialist Action in Senate Election," *WV* No. 876, 15 September).

SA is under the misapprehension that our electoral tactic requires its embrace (although, frankly, it could use the votes). As a comrade put it to Mackler at an SA forum he gave in New York on September 24, we aren't proposing marriage and we don't need his consent. Our extending critical support to Mackler is premised on the fact that, standing as an avowed socialist against the capitalist Democratic Party and capitalist Green Party, SA's campaign draws a crude class line. Thus it furthers the fight for the complete political independence of the proletariat from the ruling class and its parties and the forging of a revolutionary workers party.



WV Photo

September 15: Spartacist table at Oakland rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

While calling for a vote to Mackler, we have in no way buried our political opposition to SA's deeply reformist program and practice, nor will we. Mackler does seem to understand *this* aspect of critical support, whining at the September 24 event that our support to him is like that of a rope supporting a hanging man. Until and unless Mackler withdraws his opposition to the capitalist Democrats and/or Greens, he has our vote.

* * *

25 September 2006

Spartacist League.

We read in the September 15 addition [sic] of "Workers Vanguard" that the Sparticist [sic] League has endorsed the Socialist Action candidacy of Jeff Mackler for the U.S. Senate seat in California.

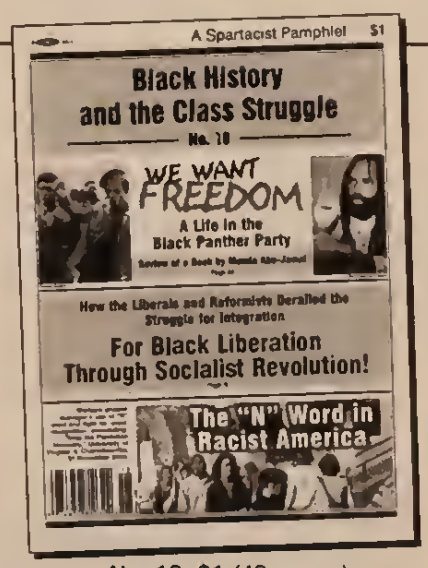
This is to inform you that Socialist Action rejects your support on the grounds that it would be detrimental in the extreme to advancing and popularizing the program and practice of revolutionary socialism.

Mark Ostapiak, Director, Jeff Mackler for U.S Senate Campaign for the Political Committee of Socialist Action

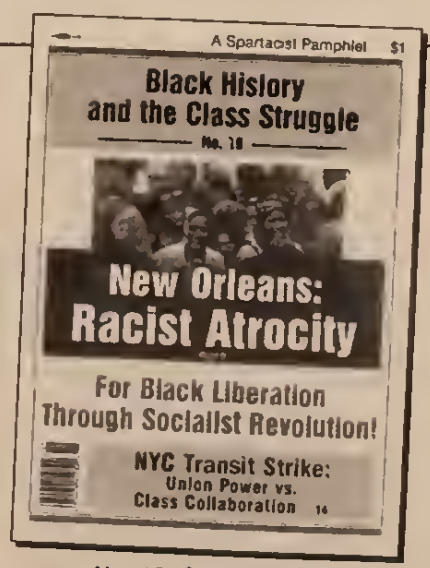
P.S. A hard copy of this letter was also sent to your San Francisco address sometime last week.

Sincerely,
Mark Ostapiak, director, Mackler for U.S. Senate Campaign
415-255-1080

For more information about the Jeff Mackler for U.S. Senate Campaign, check out www.socialistaction.org/mackler forsenate/■



No. 18 $1 (48 pages)



No. 19 $1 (48 pages)

Black History is sent to all *Workers Vanguard* subscribers.

Order from/make checks payable to:

Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Elections...

(continued from page 1)

Democrats are now calling for an "exit strategy" in order to cut U.S. imperialism's losses and to be able to more effectively deploy its forces elsewhere. Among those Republican politicians who have also objected to Bush's Iraq policies, John Warner, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, was quoted in the *New York Times* (6 October) as saying that if the situation in Iraq is not brought under control, "it's a responsibility of our government to determine: Is there a change of course we should take?"

As the Bush White House flounders, the Democrats are ever more stridently promoting themselves as the party that can effectively wage the "war on terror," not least by augmenting U.S./NATO forces in Afghanistan. Extricating U.S. forces from the Iraq quagmire could also give Washington more flexibility to pursue its threats against both neocolonial Iran and the North Korean deformed workers state, and to pursue as well the imperialists' strategic goal of capitalist counterrevolution in China. The Democrats have support from some quarters within the Pentagon.

While many Democrats and liberal spokesmen denounce the Iraq war and occupation, they all embrace the murderous occupation of Afghanistan as a "just" war in retaliation for the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon. The pundits are coy, at best about the fact that Osama bin Laden and the forerunners of the Taliban earned their stripes as CIA-financed Islamic reactionaries, armed to the teeth by the U.S. to fight Soviet troops following the USSR's entry into Afghanistan in 1979.

We ***hailed*** the Red Army intervention, noting that this was one of the few genuinely progressive acts by the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy and that it offered the possibility of extending the social gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution to the oppressed peoples and women of Afghanistan. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's ignominious withdrawal in 1988-89 was the opening for the victory of imperialist-backed counterrevolution throughout East Europe and within the Soviet Union itself. Afterward, bin Laden turned on his former masters, waging a "holy war" against the U.S. "infidels" as well as their Israeli junior partners and their satrap Arab regimes in the Near East.

AP

Guantánamo inmate being transported by U.S. guards.

AP

Maher Arar, victim of U.S. "extraordinary rendition," shown with wife at November 2003 press conference in Ottawa, where he described ten and a half months of torture in Syrian prison.

Accompanying the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, the imperialist rulers proclaimed the "death of communism" and opened a period of renewed attacks against working people and the oppressed. The U.S. has wielded its now-unchallenged military superiority to extend its power internationally. At the same time, the decades-long decline of the industrial base of the U.S. economy means that American imperialism has lost its overwhelming economic dominance—the underpinning of its military might. This contradiction is a key factor in the irrationality of the "faith-based" Bush regime, whose many debacles have increasingly turned more farsighted sections of the ruling class against the administration.

Nonetheless, the U.S. rulers are united in their intent to overturn the remaining deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba and restore capitalist rule. In stark contrast to the liberals and reformists who have served as ideological weapons in the imperialists' drive for "democratic" counterrevolution, the Spartacist League stands for the ***unconditional military defense*** of the deformed workers states. We support China and North Korea's possession of nuclear weapons as a deterrent against imperialist attack. To defend and extend the social gains of the workers states embodied in their collectivized economies, we call for proletarian political revolution against the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies, whose dogma of building "socialism in one country" means the futile pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. We fight for the program of Lenin and Trotsky: for the rule of workers democracy and the pursuit of socialist revolution internationally.

In the case of dependent capitalist countries such as Iran, it is the duty of revolutionary Marxists to militarily defend them against imperialist attack, while giving not an iota of political support to the brutal regimes that preside over them. The Iranian regime says that it is not developing nuclear weapons. Whatever the case, in the context of imperialist military threats, we recognize Iran's *need* for nuclear weapons and oppose any economic or other sanctions. The Iranian working class must overthrow the reactionary mullah regime, which has slaughtered leftists, workers, women and national minorities.

It is U.S. imperialism that is the main enemy of the world's peoples. The U.S. is the only country to have used atomic weaponry, bombing Nagasaki and Hiroshima in 1945. From the annihilation of the Native American population to the enslavement of black Africans, from the massacres in the Philippines during the early days of imperialist expansion to the dirty, losing counterrevolutionary war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, the history of America's rulers is that of blood-soaked barbarity. *U.S. imperialism hands off the world!*

Bipartisan War on Our Rights

The latest assault on the U.S. population's rights in the name of the "war on terror" was the passage in September of the Military Commission Act. The Supreme Court had ruled in June that Bush's military tribunals were unconstitutional because they were not sanctioned by law. So after making a show of resisting some of Bush's demands, John McCain and other Republican Senators cobbled together a "compromise" that gave Bush what he wanted. Among the new law's most sinister aspects is the renunciation of *habeas corpus* protections for non-citizens. The law explicitly states: "No court, justice, or judge shall have jurisdiction to hear or consider an application for a writ of habeas corpus filed by or on behalf of an alien detained by the United States who has been determined by the United States to have been properly detained as an enemy combatant or is awaiting such determination."

Washington Post

Sadistic Abu Ghraib prison guard Charles Graner pummeling helpless Iraqi detainees.

From the Latin meaning, "you shall have the body," a writ of *habeas corpus* is a legal instrument requiring that a person detained by the authorities be brought before a court of law so that the legality of the detention may be examined. It is rooted in English common law dating back even further than the *Magna Carta* of 1215. In a landmark 1772 case, a slave named Somersett who had been brought to Britain by his American master was ordered set free after his abolitionist supporters obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* and brought his case before a British court.

As we warned in "'Anti-Terror' Law: Shredding Your Rights" (*WV* No. 770, 7 December 2001): "The new laws and directives that today target immigrants will ultimately be used against black people and the whole working class." This warning was borne out the following year with the arrest of U.S. citizen Jose Padilla in Chicago and his detention as an "enemy combatant." In a July 2003 *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief submitted on Padilla's behalf by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee (printed in *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* No. 31, Summer 2003), we noted that his case "poses the evisceration of the rights and privileges of citizenship embodied in the first ten Amendments to the Constitution and secured on the battlefield of the Civil War and in class and social struggle over the past hundred and more years." We also stated:

> "The 'war against terrorism' is a fiction, a political construct, not a military reality.... It is no more a 'war' in a military sense than 'war against cancer,' 'war against obesity' or a 'war against immorality.' Like the 'war against communism' and the 'war against drugs,' this 'war' is a pretext to increase the state's police powers and repressive apparatus, constricting the democratic rights of the population. The Executive's declaration that its 'war against terrorism' forfeits constitutional protections for designated individuals echoes the regimes of shahs and colonels and presidents 'for life' from the Near East to Africa to Latin America, to justify the mass imprisonment and unmarked graves of political dissidents. Like them, the Executive is proclaiming the ***right to disappear*** citizens of its choosing."

And in regard to attorney Lynne Stewart, her prosecution on conspiracy charges stemming from her legal work on behalf of an Egyptian Islamic fundamentalist cleric poses a direct attack on the rights to legal defense and free speech and association (see article, page 4).

The vote over the Military Commissions Act was largely partisan, with most Democrats voting against it. But make no mistake: this ominous measure was prepared by the overwhelming bipartisan support that the Patriot Act received in 2001 and again when it was renewed earlier this year. It was prepared by the near-unanimous support in Congress for the invasion of Afghanistan and the backing Congress gave for the Iraq invasion. It was also prepared by Bill Clinton's 1996 "Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act," which greatly curtailed *habeas corpus* rights.

The new law gives the Executive a green light for torture. David Cole commented in an article in the *Nation* (23 October) titled "Sanctioning Lawlessness": "It's so hard to be a satirist these days. When reality outstrips even *The Onion*, what's left for Jon Stewart?" Cole writes that the law "paves the way for the CIA to resume its practice of 'disappearing' terror suspects into secret 'black sites' and subjecting them to harsh interrogation tactics, including depriving them of sleep, forcing them to stand naked for long periods in frigidly cold rooms while periodically dousing them with cold water, and God knows what else."

Is it any surprise that the likes of Cheney and Rumsfeld, who seek to reverse the humiliating defeat of the U.S. imperialists at the hands of the Vietnamese and to smash any vestiges of the "Vietnam syndrome" domestically, have led the charge to enshrine such torture techniques as were widely used during the Vietnam War? In so doing, they are acting in the interests of *their class*. Bob Woodward's recent book *State of Denial* notes that Dr. Strangelove himself, Vietnam War criminal Henry Kissinger, is on board as a central adviser to the Bush White House. It should be no mystery that observing any niceties of bourgeois democratic rights is at most an inconvenience to this gang.

There is the case of Maher Arar, a Canadian citizen born in Syria who was detained by U.S. authorities in September 2002 during a stopover in New York on his way back to Canada. Accused of being a terrorist, Arar was deported to Syria under the notorious policy of "extraordinary rendition," imprisoned there in solitary confinement, and tortured for nearly a year before being allowed to return to Canada. Arar's case became known internationally as he courageously spoke out about his ordeal and pursued legal action against the U.S. government. His case is no aberration. The Associated Press (6 October) reports that tens of thousands of people are "mistakenly" linked to names on "terror watch lists": "More than 30,000 airline passengers have asked just one agency—the Transportation Security

continued on page 8

Elections...

(continued from page 7)

Administration—to have their names cleared from the lists."

Democratic Rights Are Indivisible

The success of the rulers' attacks on the rights of the populace ultimately depends on the level of class and social struggle. To give a taste of what is needed, the Spartacist League actively built a February 2002 united-front mobilization in Oakland, California, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League, in opposition to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act and in defense of immigrant rights.

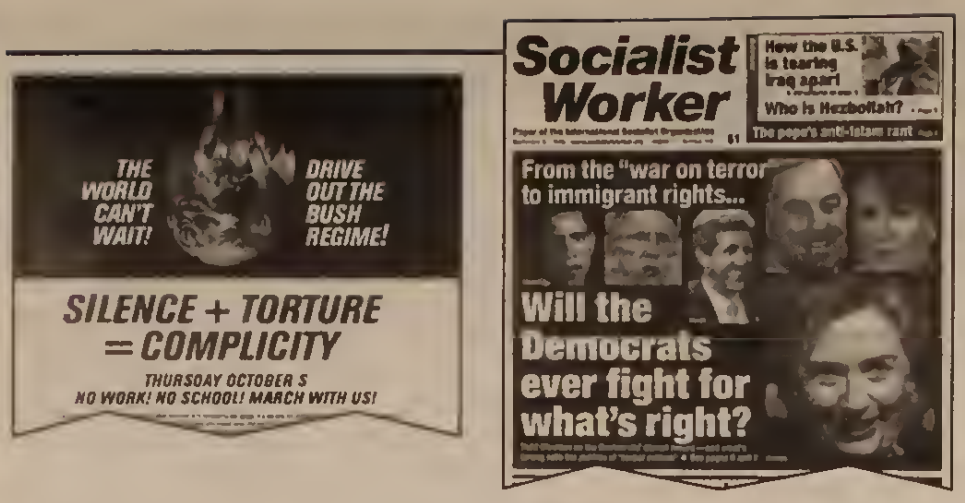
While fighting against every attempt by the government, whether administered by Republicans or Democrats, to reverse the hard-won gains of the working class and the oppressed, we Marxists have no illusions in the inviolability of reforms gained under capitalism. Take the example of voting rights. After massive integrated struggle during the civil rights movement to smash Jim Crow segregation in the South, and with the black power movements in Northern cities during the tumultuous 1960s, the expansion of voting rights and other concessions were wrested from the racist rulers. Attesting to the fleeting nature of such gains, Adam Cohen castigated Congress in a *New York Times* (8 October) column for a new bill requiring that voters produce a government-issued photo ID. Cohen notes that "the bill's requirements are so onerous and inflexible that they could prevent millions of eligible voters without driver's licenses —who are disproportionately poor, minority or elderly—from casting a ballot." He went on:

> "Poll taxes and literacy tests are unconstitutional today, but the forces of disenfranchisement have come up with creative new methods....
>
> "This year, Florida adopted new rules for voter registration drives that were so onerous—and carried such draconian punishments for mistakes—that the League of Women Voters of Florida announced that for the first time in 67 years it would not register voters."

The League of Women Voters on a voter registration strike in Florida! That says plenty about the times through which we are going.

Meanwhile, had you beamed down to Earth from another planet, you would be forgiven for thinking that the pivotal question facing the American populace in this election is...the Mark Foley scandal. The worst-kept secret in Washington was Foley's homosexuality, despite this Republican Congressman's record of hypocritical attacks on the rights of gays. But then stories emerged of his "toying" with Congressional pages in their late teens via e-mail and instant messaging. Reactionary "family values" moralism is being pushed by both capitalist parties, while "minor" questions like the legalization of torture, the evisceration of civil liberties, the steady decline of workers' wages and racist attacks on black people and immigrants disappear off the front pages.

The Democrats are pushing the Foley "scandal" for all it's worth, hoping among other things that much of the Republicans' evangelical Christian base stays home in November. As Marxists, we very much *oppose the persecution of Foley* on the basis of his sex life, as well as the entire "pedophilia" hysteria. We oppose the persecution of anyone who engages in consensual intergenerational sex and all reactionary "age of consent" laws. The only guideline that should exist is that of effective consent, regardless of age, gender or sexual preference. We defend Foley as we would any victim of sex witchhunts. Thus uniquely on the left we have defended the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) against persecution. *Government out of the bedroom!*



Left: *NY Times* (4 October) ad by RCP's "World Can't Wait" outfit. Right: Cover of ISO's *Socialist Worker* (22 September). "Anybody but Bush" reformists act as handmaidens of Democratic Party of U.S. imperialism.

"Anybody but Bush" Reformists vs. Revolutionary Struggle

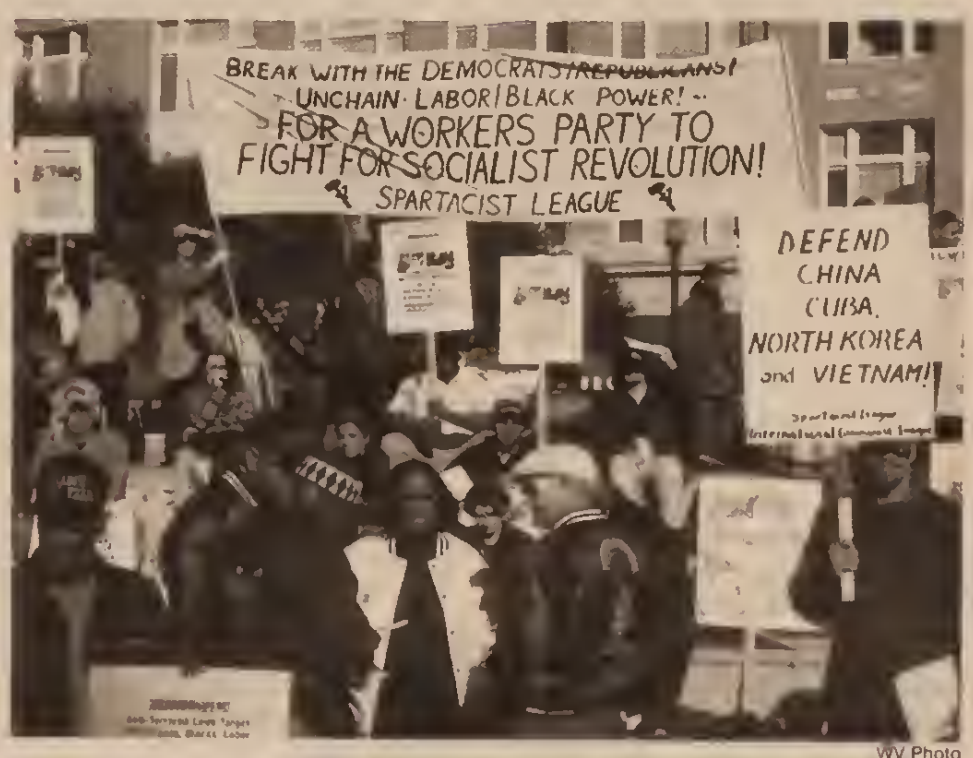
There is an urgent need for some hard class struggle against the capitalist rulers, whose broad-gauged attacks on democratic rights come on top of years of assaults on unionized jobs and on workers' pensions and health care. The *New York Times* (28 August) reported that "wages and salaries now make up the lowest share of the nation's gross domestic product since the government began recording the data in 1947, while corporate profits have climbed to their highest share since the 1960's." By one estimate, CEOs now make *more than 400 times* the typical worker's wage. A recent census report showed that worker productivity rose 16.6 percent between 2000 and 2005—much of this due to simple speedup—while the median hourly wage has declined 2 percent since 2003. The investment bank UBS describes the current period as the "golden era of profitability."

A break in the largely one-sided class war occurred when the New York City transit workers struck last December, closing down the financial center of U.S. imperialism for three days (see article, page 6). But the labor officialdom's main response to the attacks of the Bush gang is to boost the Democrats' electoral fortunes. Thus the AFL-CIO is pumping in some $40 million toward the elections—the most it has ever spent on a non-presidential election. In doing so, the union tops show again that they are indeed the "labor lieutenants of capital."

There is no "third road" to getting rid of the horrors of the capitalist status quo and achieving the revolutionary overturn of this system. The working people and oppressed masses of this country need their own, revolutionary party, completely independent of the bosses. As we wrote before the last presidential elections ("Break with the Democrats! For a Workers Party!" *WV* No. 832, 17 September 2004):

> "The fundamental problem, though, is political consciousness. It is commonplace for American workers to identify themselves as 'middle class.' This bourgeois ideology, or false consciousness, is transmitted to the working class by the conservative pro-capitalist AFL-CIO officialdom. It is reinforced by ostensible socialists who give open or backhanded support to the Democratic Party and capitalist politicians like Ralph Nader as 'lesser evils' or 'realistic' choices."

In today's post-Soviet climate of "death of Communism" ideology, what Karl Marx called "all the old crap" has been revived —from liberal-utopian schemes for a "just" capitalism to right-wing expressions of discontent, including increased religiosity. In the face of this reality, it is difficult to imagine anything more pathetic than the reformist left, which operates mostly on the terrain of petty-bourgeois protest politics and by serving as assistants to the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy.



WV Photo

Oakland, 9 February 2002: Labor-centered mobilization called in defense of immigrant rights and against "war on terror" repression.

Some may remember the Communist Party (CP). A 17 August article in its *People's Weekly World* says it all about their redundant existence as cheerleaders for the other party of racism and war: "If, on the other hand, the Democrats regain control of the Congress, it will be interpreted as an unambiguous and massive repudiation of Bush's strategy of occupation and a signal to the new Congress that the removal of U.S. troops [from Iraq] must be at the top of their legislative agenda." The anti-Communist reformists of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) polemicized against the CP for this pandering to the Democrats. But the ISO's "answer" to such overt Democratic Party lesser-evilism is to run one of its leading spokesmen, Todd Chretien, as the candidate of the small-time capitalist Green Party for U.S. Senate in California (see "ISO Goes All the Way with Capitalist Greens," *WV* No. 866, 17 March).

The Greens provide a way station for disgruntled liberals on the road back into the Democratic Party. Running for president as a Green in 2000 and as an independent in 2004, Ralph Nader made clear that his purpose was to pressure the Democrats to take a "progressive" direction. The ISO shamelessly echoes this theme in a *Socialist Worker* (22 September) front-page headline: "From the 'War on Terror' to Immigrant Rights...Will the Democrats Ever Fight for What's Right?"

Meanwhile, the Workers World Party (WWP) is stumping for Green Party candidate David Sole for U.S. Senate in Michigan. WWP's International Action Center (IAC) has also issued a call for a vote to black Democratic Congressional candidate Charles Barron in Brooklyn, declaring that this capitalist politician would "help put one of our own in Congress" (*Workers World*, 27 July). But no amount of black mayors, governors, Congressmen or Senators—whether Democratic or Republican—will ameliorate the grinding conditions of the black population, whose oppression is rooted in the capitalist system that these politicians help oversee.

Not to be outdone, the "World Can't Wait" operation of the misnamed Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) held scraggly rallies on October 5 to "drive out the Bush regime." The RCP was equally blatant during the last presidential elections, calling in the 29 August 2004 issue of *Revolutionary Worker* (now named just *Revolution*): "Go ahead and vote for Kerry if you feel you really have to." Like, whatever.

Offering its own plan to tinker with the capitalist system, the WWP's erstwhile comrades in the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) and its ANSWER coalition have called for nationwide rallies on October 28 to "force the issue of the Iraq war onto the U.S. political stage... less than two weeks before the election." ANSWER's demand to "Cut the Pentagon budget! Double the education budget!" offers the timeworn reformist notion that popular pressure can convince the rulers of the imperialist capitalist system to meet the needs of the workers they brutally exploit.

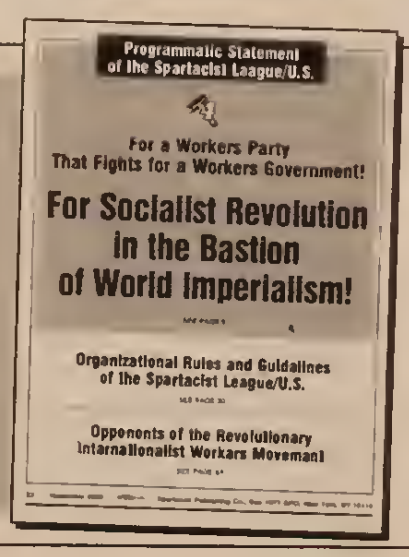
In this desolate landscape, we came up with a single electoral tactic—critical support to Jeff Mackler. In running as the candidate of the reformist Socialist Action for U.S. Senate in California against both the Democratic Party and the Greens, Mackler is drawing a crude class line (see article, page 6). As Marxists, we oppose electoral support to any bourgeois party on principle. Thus, no matter how depraved the Bush regime is, we fight against the politics of Democratic Party lesser-evilism.

As revolutionaries, our intervention into bourgeois elections, including by running our own candidates or through tactics such as critical support, is a means to put forward the Marxist program for the complete political independence of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie and for building a workers party capable of leading all the exploited and oppressed in socialist revolution. ■

Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

$2 (40 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



Philippines...

(continued from page 12)

the left. Anyone alleged to have taken part in "rebellion," including for acts carried out years ago, could be arrested at any time without a warrant—a threat against any group or individual deemed to be "subversive." A case in point is that of leftist Congressman and veteran labor leader Crispin Beltran, who was arrested on the basis of a 21-year-old warrant. When lawyers challenged the arrest because the charges had been dropped in 1988, Beltran was then accused of "incitement to sedition" and subsequently charged with "rebellion" against the Arroyo regime.

Arroyo's reign of terror is abetted and backed up by the presence of the U.S. imperialist military. Washington is intent on reinforcing the repressive apparatus of its Philippine bourgeois lackeys, enhancing imperialist exploitation and quashing social unrest in a country torn by a long-running Muslim secessionist rebellion, a protracted peasant insurgency and mass unrest over worsening economic conditions. Since 2001, the U.S. has provided the regime with $1.2 billion in aid. Much of this goes toward arming and training elite killer forces and supplying the military with helicopters, transport planes and naval patrol craft.

WV Map

U.S. Navy

July 25: Amphibious Assault Ship, part of massive U.S.-led Rim of the Pacific naval exercise near Hawaii. American military expansion along Pacific Rim includes renewed presence in Philippines.

a hit list containing the names of 26 leftist and other opposition groups described as enemies of the state. Moreover, as Amnesty International (AI) noted in a 15 August report, "Philippines: Political Killings, Human Rights and the Peace Process," the government made public the names and addresses of members of the CPP-led National Democratic Front and others who had taken part in "peace negotiations" with the regime and whose identities had supposedly been protected by a "safe conduct" agreement.

A notorious ringleader of the murderous repression is General Jovito Palparan, who was appointed the army's Chief of Staff following his return from heading up Philippine detachments that took part in the U.S.-led occupation of Iraq until pulling out two years ago. After Palparan was assigned to Central Luzon in September 2005, the number of assassinations in the region reached 52 in four months. Palparan, who retired this September, has also been accused of perpetrating a spate of disappearances and assassinations of leftists during previous postings in Samar and Mindoro. The AI report quotes an Agence France Presse (3 February) article in which Palparan, known as "the Butcher of Mindoro," coolly stated that the bloody repression would bring "collateral damage but it will be short and tolerable.... The killings, I would say, are necessary incidents in a conflict."

Among those killed under Arroyo are 43 trade-union leaders and members, including Diosdado Fortuna, president of the Nestlé workers union, who was slain in September 2005 during a militant strike. The previous year saw the notorious massacre of striking Hacienda Luisita sugar workers in Tarlac (see "Protest Massacre of Unionists in Philippines!" *WV* No. 838, 10 December 2004). Other targets have included members of the CPP-linked national labor federation Kilusang Mayo Uno (May First Movement), the Negros Federation of Sugar Workers, and electric utility and bus company unions. Other victims linked to the CPP include 113 members of the Bayan Muna (Nation First) party and 86 activists from the Gabriela women's group. And at least 42 journalists have been cut down during Arroyo's presidency.

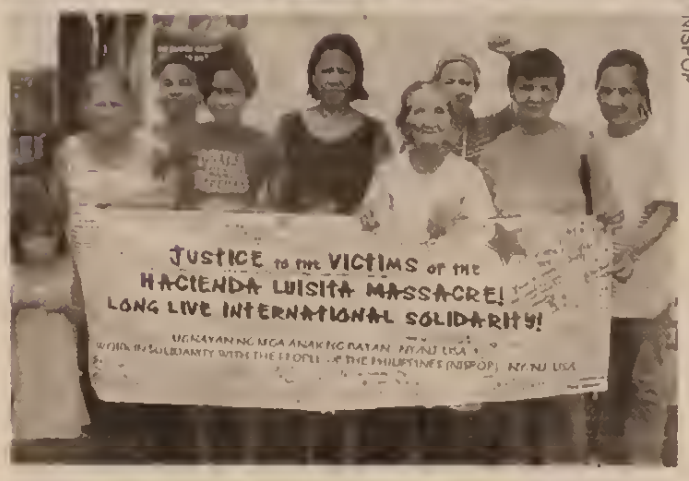
The Arroyo regime's repression has particularly hit the countryside, long the site of massacres carried out by the state, the landlords and death squads. Some 70 peasants and peasant leaders involved in land disputes have been killed. In November 2005, the army in the Visayas region attacked peasants holding a public meeting, killing nine. In a March 2005 slaughter shown live on national television, security forces stormed a military prison where 26 unarmed Muslim detainees, mostly displaced peasants and fishermen, were shot dead as they protested their arbitrary and prolonged detention and horrific prison conditions.

In a sop to international pressure, on August 17 Arroyo announced the formation of the Melo Commission, which is supposedly meant to investigate the murders of leftists and labor leaders. Composed of longtime loyalists of both the Macapagal and Arroyo families, this whitewash commission includes a former Supreme Court justice, the Chief State Prosecutor and the director of the National Bureau of Investigation!

Meanwhile, the longstanding terror campaign against the oppressed Moro population continues unabated. Since 2001, when the U.S. opened a "second front" in the "global war on terror" by landing troops on the island of Mindanao, tens of thousands of Moro Muslims have been forcibly displaced and hundreds tortured, killed or disappeared. The sight of American soldiers roaming Mindanao and inflicting bloody repression is a haunting reminder of the atrocities meted out to the Muslim population under U.S. colonial rule at the turn of the 20th century. This March marked the 100th anniversary of the methodical slaughter by American troops of some 900 Moro men, women and children who had taken refuge in the bowl of the volcanic crater of Bud Dahu mountain. No one was spared. "Not even a baby alive to cry for its dead mother," wrote Mark Twain in denouncing this atrocity. President Theodore Roosevelt congratulated General Leonard Wood, who directed the bloodbath, and his men "upon the brilliant feat of arms wherein you and they so well upheld the honor of the American flag."

The marginalization and expropriation of the Muslim population intensified in the postcolonial period, especially under Marcos, who attempted to put an end to the "Muslim question" by overwhelming the Moro population with Christian migrants. While in 1903 Muslims constituted 76 percent of the population of Mindanao, today they make up less than 20 percent. A Leninist-Trotskyist party would act as the tribune of the people, fighting for full equality for minorities and for the integration of the Muslim toilers into the working class. *Down with the military occupation of Mindanao! U.S. and Philippine troops out now!*

AFP



NISPOP

Above: November 2004 funeral procession in Luzon for striking sugar workers killed in police massacre at Hacienda Luisita. Left: People of Hacienda Luisita display messages of solidarity, October 2005.

Despite our fundamental political differences with the Maoist CPP, we call on the workers movement internationally to defend them as the government again steps up its repression. The combative Filipino working class and its trade unions must mobilize their social power in class struggle against the bloody regime. But such a struggle requires politically combatting the class-collaborationist program of the CPP and others on the left who have repeatedly channeled plebeian anger and protests into support for a "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie, waving the colors of Filipino nationalism. What is needed is the building of a Leninist-Trotskyist party—a Philippine section of a reforged Fourth International. Such a party, acting in concert with its comrades in the imperialist centers, is the necessary instrument to lead the proletariat, marching at the head of the oppressed, in the fight for socialist revolution.

Workers, Leftists, Muslims Under Attack

The death squads would not be able to operate without the complicity, direction and protective umbrella of regional military commanders. The Armed Forces of the Philippines circulated a June 2005 document called "Knowing Your Enemy,"

Arroyo Regime Aids Imperialists' Anti-China Drive

After gaining nominal independence following World War II, the Philippines remained a semicolonial vassal of the U.S., serving as a linchpin of the anti-Communist ASEAN alliance. In the 1960s and '70s, Clark Air Base and the Subic Bay Naval Base were crucial platforms for U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary war against the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The Arroyo government, a rabid supporter of the "global war on terror," provided airspace and military facilities for U.S. warplanes en route to aircraft carriers and bases in the Indian Ocean during the invasion of Afghanistan, and it sent troops to Iraq. This March, the regime signed an agreement setting up the Security Engagement Board (SEB), which will increase U.S. forces in the

continued on page 10

The National Archives

March 1906: U.S. imperialist troops pose over Moros (Muslims) slaughtered in volcanic crater.

Philippines...

(continued from page 9)

Philippines under the pretexts of maritime safety, fighting "terrorism" and dealing with natural disasters and epidemics. The SEB is the latest in a series of military pacts drawn up since 1998 that effectively create a permanent U.S. military presence in the country. Manila has also invited the U.S. to reoccupy the bases it abandoned at the time of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92.

The growing U.S. military presence in the Philippines over the past decade is part of a broader strategic shift of American military forces to the Asia-Pacific region. This shift is aimed squarely at China, as the imperialists stoke their drive for capitalist counterrevolution in the largest and most powerful of the remaining deformed workers states, as well as at North Korea. A U.S.-Japan joint policy statement issued in February 2005 that declared capitalist Taiwan a "mutual security concern" signaled the imperialists' intention to strengthen their military agreements and reposition their forces against China.

The Pentagon's 2002 "Nuclear Posture Review" lists China as one of seven potential targets of a U.S. nuclear first strike. The U.S. has infested the Pacific Ocean with a massive armada of warships, aircraft carriers and nuclear submarines. Barely a month passes without a military exercise conducted in the Pacific Rim involving thousands of American troops from different branches of the military, at times carried out jointly with U.S. allies. Near Guam this June, the Pacific Command's "Valiant Shield" exercise, one of the largest in decades, involved some 30 warships, including three aircraft carriers, hundreds of warplanes and 22,000 troops.

Washington is seeking once again to turn the strategically located Philippine archipelago into an unsinkable aircraft carrier and add it to the string of countries around China's perimeter that provide the U.S. with military bases, from Kyrgyzstan on China's western flank to South Korea, Taiwan and Japan along the Pacific Rim. The Bush administration announced a nuclear pact with India in March as a step toward bringing that country into Washington's anti-China alliance. In Australia, the southern arm of this encirclement, the U.S. is building huge bases at Bradshaw and at Yampi Sound.

Internationally, almost the entire left refuses to defend China against imperialism under the pretense that it is a capitalist country, pointing, for example, to the Beijing bureaucracy's "market reforms" and the significant amount of investment by offshore Chinese and imperialist capital on the mainland. In fact, the imperialists have a two-pronged strategy for capitalist counterrevolution, combining military pressure with economic penetration. Currently, the U.S., European and Japanese capitalists are putting enormous pressure on China to open up its state-owned financial system to foreign banks, while the IMF "advises" Beijing to reduce its budget deficit by cutting back on investment in infrastructure, an austerity measure that would destroy the livelihood of millions of Chinese toilers.

Ever since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the imperialists have set China as the main target for counterrevolution, aiming to reverse the gains of the 1949 Revolution. Despite profound bureaucratic deformations, the Chinese Revolution was of world-historic significance, overthrowing the rule of the imperialist-backed Chinese bourgeoisie and creating a collectivized economy that laid the basis for an enormous leap in social progress. A nation that had been ravaged and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation. In a country defined by abject peasant backwardness, the revolution enabled women to advance by magnitudes over their previous status.

These gains, however, have been undermined by Stalinist misrule. Following the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country" and its corollary, "peaceful coexistence," the Chinese Communist Party regime, from Mao Zedong up through today, has conciliated imperialism, not least through selling out revolutions in other countries. And one effect of "market reforms" has been the strengthening of domestic counterrevolutionary forces.

The impact of capitalist restoration on the Chinese population would be even more devastating than what befell the working people of the former Soviet Union, which had been a global industrial

Gamma

Slum neighborhood in Manila.

and military power. It is in the direct interest of the international proletariat to defend China and the other remaining deformed workers states—North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. What are necessary are proletarian political revolutions to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies. Such a perspective must include the fight for socialist revolution internationally, crucially extending to the U.S., Japanese and European imperialist centers.

Class Collaboration vs. Proletarian Independence

Arroyo, like her predecessors, presides over the grinding immiseration of the Filipino population, imposing one IMF-dictated austerity program after another to pay for usurious loans, otherwise known as the "foreign debt." Over eleven million of the Philippines' 33 million people of working age are unemployed or underemployed. And some eight million Filipinos are currently working abroad, including in such dangerous places as Iraq, where an estimated 6,000 are working. At the same time, the large diaspora of overseas workers, along with Filipino seamen, who make up roughly one-fifth of the international maritime workforce, form a living bridge linking the struggles of the proletariat in the Philippines to those of its class brothers and sisters around the world.

Over 40 percent of households in the Philippines lack adequate shelter and food. Tens of thousands of Manila slum dwellers eke out a living scavenging mountains of garbage dumps. The public education and health systems have sharply deteriorated as a result of stepped-up privatization and slashing of public spending. In February, a devastating landslide, largely caused by deforestation, buried 1,800 people on the island of Leyte. The incompetence of the regime and its failure to provide the most basic relief was a cause of anger and indignation across the country. And in the slums around Manila, massive fires are now commonplace, as steep increases in power rates force people to use kerosene and candles for lighting. Thousands have been left homeless there.

Bent on reversing some measures instituted after the fall of the Marcos dictatorship, the Arroyo regime has launched a campaign for constitutional "Charter Change," or "Cha-Cha." The proposed changes to the constitution include removing restrictions on the operation of foreign capital in the country and eliminating provisions for the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively. It also calls for replacing the current electoral system, under which leftist parties have won a number of Congressional seats. If Arroyo succeeds in ramming through this scheme, the 2007 legislative elections will be postponed. There is plenty of opposition to "Cha-Cha" among sections of the bourgeoisie. But one thing the competing wings of the ruling class agree on is the need to repress the workers and the poor. As Arroyo told her cabinet, "The fight against the Left remains the glue that binds" (*Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 18 June).

Resistance is growing among workers, farmers, students and minorities fighting for justice for the victims of the regime's terror, an end to the U.S. military presence, the repeal of value-added taxes, land reform, an increase in the minimum wage and other demands. But the Filipino left, centrally Sison's CPP, is attempting to channel this plebeian anger into a broad "anti-imperialist united front" with those sections of the domestic bourgeoisie that fear foreign investment rivalry and are uneasy with the Arroyo regime's hawkish posture and open embrace of its American imperialist master.

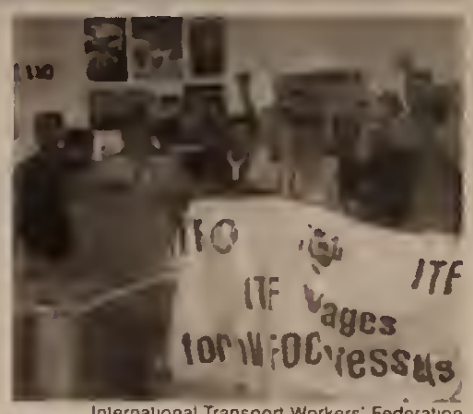
While pursuing on-and-off peace talks with the government, the Sisonites taunt Arroyo as "anti-Filipino" and seek to broker alliances with disaffected military officers and the shadowy MKP (Nationalist Filipino Soldiers). In a March 12 statement, Sison called for the "legal and nonviolent ouster of the Arroyo regime" through a "broad united front of patriotic, progressive and anti-Arroyo forces" that would be "open to the participation of civilian and military officials and personnel of the reactionary government." The statement called for the formation of a "Transition Council" that would include "the representatives of all major coalitions, political parties, mass organizations and groups of retired military and police officers." The Sisonites thus seek an alliance with some of the very forces trained by the U.S. to hunt down leftists and Muslim militants.

Underlying this class-collaborationist policy is the Menshevik-Stalinist program of "two-stage revolution": fighting for a "democratic" revolution in league with

ILWU Support Key
Filipino Seamen Win Strike in L.A.

Eighteen Filipino crewmen aboard the M/V *Endless*, owned by a Greek company and registered in Panama, went on strike in the L.A. area Port of Long Beach for four days last month, and they won with the support of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU). The seafarers set up a picket line at the top of the gangway, carrying signs that read: "Seamen on Strike for Wages, Hours and Conditions." The company had cheated them out of $362,000 in back wages and refused them break time, with most of the crew not having been home for two or three years.

The strike began on September 7 after an inspector for the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF)—a global organization of dockers, seamen, truckers and rail and aviation unions—investigated the books and confirmed the crew was owed back wages. ILWU Local 13 members, backed by the ILWU International, honored the picket line and stopped loading the ship. With the *Endless* paralyzed and another ship blocked from the berth, the owners granted $227,000 in back pay, and acceded to the crew's demands for repatriation at company expense and the promise that they would not be blacklisted. This victory gives a taste of the power of international labor solidarity in action.■



International Transport Workers' Federation

Filipino seamen celebrate victory at Los Angeles area seafarers' center.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

L.A. Times

AP

Left: As Marcos dictatorship tottered in 1986, "People Power One" brought U.S.-backed Cory Aquino to power. Right: 2001 "People Power Two" coup ousted corrupt president Joseph Estrada, brought bloody Arroyo regime to power.

a mythical "progressive" and "anti-imperialist" wing of the bourgeoisie while relegating the struggle for socialism to an indefinite future. From the Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927, which was drowned in blood by Chiang Kai-shek, to the massacres of Indonesian Communists by General Suharto in 1965, history has repeatedly demonstrated that the first "stage" of "two-stage revolution" ends in the blood of the working class and the oppressed.

Against this Stalinist program of betrayal, revolutionary Marxists fight for the political independence of the proletariat from all wings of the bourgeoisie. In regard to the Philippines and other countries of belated capitalist development, the International Communist League is guided by the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, whose validity was borne out by the proletarian Russian Revolution of 1917.

As explained by Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the October Revolution, the evolution of backward countries that came to capitalist development in the epoch of imperialism reflects the process of "combined and uneven development": cottage industries and other backward forms of production exist side by side with massive industrial plants, funded by imperialist capital, employing the most advanced technique. Thus in the Philippines, production for the world market has led to the emergence of a modern, concentrated proletariat working for electronics giants like Hitachi and Philips, Japanese automakers and other major corporations, while the peasantry has been robbed of its lands to make way for sugarcane, coconut and banana plantations dominated by the likes of Dole and Del Monte. Facing this huge propertyless, impoverished mass is a sliver of a domestic bourgeoisie that acts as compradors for the imperialists.

Too weak to confront its imperialist overlords, on whom it depends for securing its class rule, and living in fear of a revolutionary upheaval of the exploited masses, the stunted Philippine bourgeoisie is incapable of achieving the democratic gains associated with the bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries, such as national liberation, agrarian revolution, political democracy and the separation of church and state. For the Stalinists' mythical "progressive" national bourgeoisie, even a moderate agrarian reform is enough to give them apoplexy, and democracy is a "luxury" they cannot afford. They prefer death squads.

As Trotsky wrote in *The Permanent Revolution* (1930), "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving ***democracy and national emancipation*** is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation." Once in power, the proletariat of necessity must move toward building a collectivized economy through the expropriation of capitalist property. This in turn requires a fight to extend proletarian revolution to the imperialist centers in order to set the stage for an internationally planned economy—the basis for building a socialist society based on material abundance.

Jean Weinberg

Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky, photographed in exile in Turkey in 1931. *The Permanent Revolution* (1930) applies lessons of 1917 Russian Revolution to countries of belated capitalist development.

Forge a Trotskyist Party!

It is crucial that the Filipino proletariat champion the just struggles of the rural poor against the landlords and agribusiness interests. Rejecting the vanguard role of the working class, the Maoist CPP and New People's Army have been waging peasant-based guerrilla warfare for almost four decades. Such guerrilla movements represent the class interests of the petty bourgeoisie and of necessity must seek to attract and make compromises with one wing of the bourgeoisie. Fundamentally, the CPP's guerrilla struggles have served as a pressure tactic on the bourgeoisie, aimed at forcing concessions at the negotiating table.

Even under the most favorable historical circumstances, guerrilla warfare has been capable at most of creating bureaucratically deformed workers states. Thus in Cuba, Castro's guerrilla movement, based on the petty-bourgeois peasantry, was able to take power in 1959 and smash capitalist property relations in 1960-61 due to extremely exceptional circumstances: the flight of the national bourgeoisie, the absence of the working class as a contender for social power in its own right, and, most importantly, an economic and military lifeline thrown by the Soviet Union. Even so, the Cuban Revolution placed in power an *anti*-proletarian, nationalist regime, requiring a fight for proletarian political revolution. With the destruction of the Soviet Union, and consequently no readily available lifeline against imperialist encirclement, the narrow historical opening that made it possible for petty-bourgeois forces to overturn the capitalist order has been closed.

What is necessary is a programmatic break with all variants of the Menshevik-Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution" that dominates the Filipino left. Both the CPP and its breakaway groups, including the Workers Party (PM), hailed "People Power Two," the 2001 coup that ousted corrupt populist president Joseph Estrada and installed Arroyo with the blessing of the Catholic church and the backing of the Makati Business Club (see "For Workers Revolution in the Philippines!" *WV* No. 763, 31 August 2001). The Sisonite Bayan Muna party even campaigned for Arroyo's senatorial ticket in the 2001 elections after her regime bloodily suppressed a May Day demonstration by Estrada's plebeian supporters.

Like the CPP, the PM, whose policies are inspired by Felimon Lagman, a labor leader assassinated a month after Arroyo took power, demands a "transitional revolutionary government" to replace Arroyo. A current vehicle for the PM's class-collaborationist politics is the Laban ng Masa (LnM—Struggle of the Masses) bloc, whose components range from the social-democratic BISIG party to the Revolutionary Workers Party-Mindanao, which is affiliated with the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat.

In February, the PM/LnM advocated alliances with "patriotic" elements within the military and police. In particular, PM/LnM hailed a group of officers who had rebelled against Arroyo, declaring: "We are united with the Magdalo officers and rebel soldiers in their cause to overthrow an illegitimate regime" (Laban ng Masa Web site, 22 February 2006). This line was a continuation of PM honcho Sonny Melencio's 2002 call for a "revolutionary united front" that was to include such "non-socialist groups" as the Young Officers Union, a nationalist military formation that called for a coup d'état against Arroyo (*Links*, January-April 2002).

In their appeals to the military officer corps and the police, the CPP and PM trample on the Leninist understanding of the capitalist state. Consisting at its core of the cops, courts, prisons and army, the capitalist state is a machinery of violence that exists to defend the profits and rule of the bourgeoisie against the working class and the oppressed. The struggle against repression, exploitation and poverty requires a fight to sweep away capitalist rule through a proletarian revolution that shatters the bourgeois state and replaces it with a workers state, supported by the peasantry and other oppressed plebeian layers.

Key to a victorious socialist revolution in the Philippines is the forging of an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party, centrally through polemical struggle against all variants of nationalism and class collaboration promoted by the opportunist left. Reforge the Fourth International—world party of socialist revolution!■

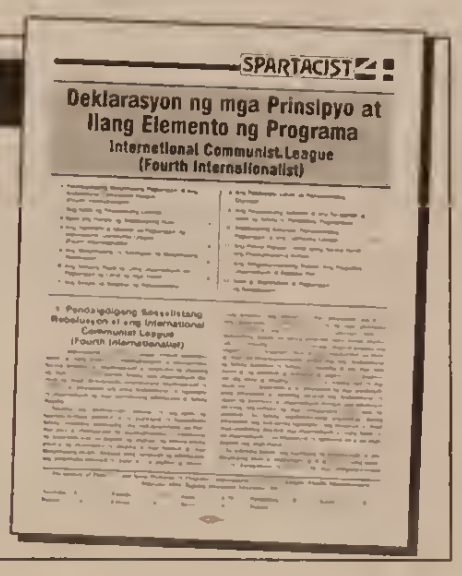
Available in Tagalog

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Adopted in 1998 at the Third International Conference of the ICL.

$1 (16 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116


SPARTACIST
Deklarasyon ng mga Prinsipyo at Ilang Elemento ng Programa
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BAY AREA
Thursday, November 2, 6 p.m.
The Russian Revolution
San Francisco State University
Cesar Chavez Student Center, Room T-153
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, November 4, 2 p.m.
The State and Revolution
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(across from the Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK
Thursday, October 12, 7:30 p.m.
New Orleans: One Year After Katrina Racist Atrocity Continues
Columbia University
Kent Hall, Room 522A
Information: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

TORONTO
Wednesday, October 18, 6:30 p.m.
Imperialism: The Death Agony of the Capitalist System
University of Toronto
Sidney Smith Bldg., Room 2115
100 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER
Wednesday, October 25, 6 p.m.
Imperialism and War—U.S./UN/Canadian Imperialism: Hands Off the World! Out of Iraq, Afghanistan and Haiti!
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 211
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

WORKERS VANGUARD

Philippines: Down With Arroyo's Reign of Terror!

White House

AFP

Left: U.S. imperialist chief Bush reviews troops with Philippine president Arroyo in Manila, October 2003. Right: Thousands of Manila protesters demand Arroyo's resignation in February, defying ban on demonstrations during state of emergency.

U.S. Troops Out Now!

Declaring "all-out war" against the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the New People's Army (NPA), the government of president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo has unleashed a renewed campaign of terror, vowing to "crush" them in two years. While the stated goal of this offensive, which was announced on June 16, is the destruction of Jose Maria Sison's CPP and its affiliated organizations, the repression targets all who speak out for social justice or any improvement in the miserable conditions of the Filipino masses.

The new campaign is the latest chapter in an ongoing drive by the Arroyo regime against leftists and other oppositionists. Since Arroyo was installed in power in 2001, the police, the military and death squads have run rampant. The Philippines has become the site of an unrelenting wave of abductions, torture, disappearances and assassinations of not only leftists and labor and peasant activists but of women's rights leaders, Moro (Muslim) leaders, lawyers and journalists, with over 700 killed under Arroyo. Even before Arroyo announced the new crackdown, the *Asia Times* (2 June) observed, "That the activists are not being killed en masse, but rather at a slow-motion rate of one every other day, seems calculated to maximize the chilling effect while also minimizing public outrage."

A state of emergency was declared in late February on the eve of the 20th anniversary of "People Power One"—the movement that signaled the end of the hated Marcos dictatorship and resulted in the installation of Corazon Aquino as president. This crackdown, which followed a rumored coup attempt, fit seamlessly into the ongoing repression. Arroyo banned all demonstrations celebrating the fall of Marcos, raided opposition media offices and ordered the police and armed forces to suppress "any act of insurrection or rebellion." Nevertheless, public protests broke out against the state of emergency, which was lifted after a week. And in March, more than 10,000 women defied a police ban and marched on International Women's Day in Manila and other cities.

Fifty-nine individuals, ranging from leftist members of Congress to military officers, were arrested during the state of emergency on bogus charges of rebellion and planning a Communist/rightist coup d'état. Fifty of those arrested were prominent figures from across the spectrum of

continued on page 9

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

FREE MUMIA NOW!

Mumia Abu-Jamal's Life Is in Danger— Mobilize Now!

RALLY!

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black Leagues

BAY AREA
Saturday, Oct. 21, 2 p.m.
YWCA, Ehmann Hall
1515 Webster St., Oakland
(at 15th St., 2 blocks from 12th St./City Center BART Station)
More info: (510) 839-0852

CHICAGO
Friday, Oct. 13, 7 p.m.
United Electrical Hall
37 S. Ashland
(at Monroe)
More info: (312) 563-0442

LOS ANGELES
Thursday, Oct. 19, 6:30 p.m.
UCLA Downtown Labor Center
675 S. Park View St.
(4 blocks west of Westlake/MacArthur Park Red Line Station)
More info: (213) 380-8897

NEW YORK
Saturday, Oct. 28, 3 p.m.
Salem United Methodist Church
2190 Adam Clayton Powell Jr. Blvd.
(at 129th St., 2, 3 train to 125th St. or A, C, D to 125th St.)
More info: (212) 406-4252

e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net • www.partisandefense.org

COC Productions

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 879 | C-701 | 27 October 2006

Bush, Democrats Whip Up Nuclear Hysteria

Defend North Korea! Down With UN Sanctions!

"The U.S. extreme threat of a nuclear war and sanctions and pressure compel the DPRK to conduct a nuclear test...as a corresponding measure for defense." North Korea's Foreign Ministry issued this stark statement four days before the country conducted its first nuclear test. Less than a week after the test, the United Nations Security Council unanimously voted on October 14 to impose sanctions against North Korea—an act of war, as the North Koreans rightly noted.

Fifty-six years ago, the forces of what became the Democratic People's Republic of Korea entered the south of Korea with the purpose of liberating that area from the collaborators with the Japanese imperialist occupation—the former colonial masters of Korea—who remained in place under the auspices of the post-World War II U.S. military forces in the region. In the process of attempting to reunify Korea, the Northern-based army unleashed a powerful social revolution in the South and came within a hairsbreadth of driving the U.S. imperialist army off the peninsula. In just over two years, the U.S. military, which led the assault on Korea under the aegis of the UN, sustained nearly as many losses as it did during the ten-plus years of the Vietnam War. In the process, the U.S. slaughtered over three million Koreans, incinerating and suffocating many villagers with oceans of napalm.

As Trotskyists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state, and thus welcome the development of nuclear weapons by North Korea as a necessary deterrent against imperialism. Our defense of North Korea—ruled through primogeniture by Kim Il Sung's son, Kim Jong Il, at the head of the Stalinist bureaucracy—is a defense of the overturn and expropriation of capitalism. To abandon defense of the workers states is to abandon the cause of international proletarian revolution. That cause and, thus, the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states of China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea, form the cornerstone of the International Communist League's program.

The Korean War has never ended, not just technically because the U.S. refused to sign a peace treaty, but in reality. Far from being the product of the steroid-enhanced "axis of evil" delusions of the Bush administration, U.S. imperialism's sole policy toward the Stalinist-led North has always been to destroy it on the road to overturning the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Today, it is the Democrats who posture as "tough" on North Korea, attacking the Bush administration from the right.

AP

DigitalGlobe

Above: Demonstrators in Seoul, South Korea, protest visit by U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, October 19. Below: Five-megawatt reactor at North Korea's Yongbyon nuclear facility.

The Korean War was initiated by Democratic president Harry Truman and continued by his Republican successor, Dwight Eisenhower, while General Douglas MacArthur promoted the notion of nuking China. There is little question that the possibility of a nuclear riposte by the USSR gave pause to the Dr. Strangeloves, while the entry of a million-plus "volunteers" of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, after China itself was militarily threatened by the U.S., allowed North Korea to survive. To this day, the U.S. maintains nearly 30,000 troops in South Korea, including a naval base and three air bases. These troops have been repeatedly used to back up the suppression of working-class militancy and social uprisings in the South and are a signal of U.S. imperialism's intent to reverse its defeat in the North. *All U.S. troops and bases out of South Korea!*

The day before the statement was issued by North Korea's Foreign Ministry, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Chris Hill warned, "We are not going to live with a nuclear North Korea. [It] can have a future, or it can have these weapons. It cannot have both." The anti-nuclear pretensions of the U.S. are the purest hogwash designed to erase the memory of the incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of World War II. It is the U.S., in its 2002 "Nuclear Posture Review," that has targeted China and North Korea, among several other countries, for a potential nuclear first strike. Meanwhile, on several occasions South Korea has covertly sought to develop the technology necessary for nuclear weaponry. Japan, which has more than 40 tons of plutonium, is a screw's turn away from developing nuclear weapons. And then, of course, there is Israel's large nuclear arsenal.

Nevertheless, North Korea's nuclear test has been characterized by most bourgeois commentators as the product of a bizarre, deranged and rogue dictatorship. There is much peculiar about the dynastic, mythologized bureaucratic rule of the Kims in general and specifically about the proclivities of "Dear Leader," Kim Jong Il. But North Korea's decision to conduct the test is not only rational; it is an essential first step to developing nuclear weaponry to deter imperialist attack. It is no accident that North Korea's only partial respite from the unrelenting pressure of U.S. imperialism was during the period when it was economically and militarily in alliance with the USSR. Indeed, had it not been for the Soviet nuclear arsenal, it is likely that much of China, Vietnam as well as North Korea would be irradiated rubble.

Down With Imperialist Nuclear Blackmail!

In the aftermath of the 1962 Sino-Indian border conflict, during which the USSR refused to support China in the service of the Soviet quest for "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism, we hailed China's first nuclear explosion in October 1964 as an elementary act of defense in the context of the Soviet betrayal. As we then stated: "The main point is that every increase in the ability of the Chinese to hold the U.S. at bay militarily is an increase in time to prepare the proletarian revolution—above all in *America*—the only final safeguard to all gains thus far

continued on page 3

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917

FROM THE KORNILOV COUP TO THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

SEE PAGE 7

43

7 25274 81030 7

Israeli Taaffeites Capitulate to Zionism Over Lebanon

We reprint below an article translated from Le Bolchévik *No. 177 (September 2006), journal of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League. The statement by Gauche Révolutionnaire (GR) referred to in the article was dated 31 July. It appears in English, with a 28 July date, on the Web site of Socialist Alternative, GR's U.S. cothinkers.*

As the Israeli air force and artillery were shelling Lebanese towns and villages, killing more than a thousand people and displacing a million people—i.e., a quarter of the population of the country; as the bombings were devastating the infrastructure of the country; as the Zionist oppression of the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip was reaching new heights, Gauche Révolutionnaire, French section of the Committee for a Workers' International (CWI), reproduced a declaration dated 31 July of its "sister organization in Israel," Maavak Sozialisti (Socialist Fight), which it distributed as a leaflet at an August 12 demonstration in Paris against the Israeli offensive. This declaration opposes the Israeli attack in Lebanon, but on the basis that...the poor Israeli state was a victim of a deadly trap by the Lebanese Hezbollah:

> "The massive bombardment has harmed workers more than it has harmed Hezbollah—which is dragging the Israeli army into the trap it has prepared in South Lebanon.
>
> "And now, after having promised us that there will be no need for a land invasion and a re-occupation of South Lebanon, the politicians and generals are sending the ordinary soldiers to do exactly these things."

So, it was the unlikelihood of an easy military victory and the risk of the conflict being prolonged that drove the Israeli acolytes of Gauche Révolutionnaire to want to "stop the second Lebanon war." In other words, the call for an end of the fighting is in no way linked to any kind of solidarity with the population bombed in Lebanon! For these pro-Zionist "revolutionaries," the bloody oppression of the Lebanese and the Palestinians is of little import: their statement appeared on the *day following* the Qana massacre, where dozens of people, including many children, were killed, and their leaflet has not a single slogan addressing the oppression of the Lebanese or Palestinian peoples.

Continuing with such base chauvinism, the Israeli social-patriots of Maavak Sozialisti went so far as to accuse the Ehud Olmert government of having done a poor job and not having sufficiently guaranteed security in Northern Israel against Hezbollah's missiles:

> "The government does not care about the residents of the north, neither those who left nor those who remained.
>
> "The capitalist system which in normal times is incapable of providing us with a decent living, health, decent education and affordable housing, is also incapable of providing security and is leading us into a new quagmire in Gaza, the West Bank and in Lebanon."

In this conflict, the LTF/ICL was unambiguously for the military defense of Hezbollah against the Zionist attack, without, however, giving the slightest political support to this reactionary Islamist organization. Gauche Révolutionnaire in France published another statement, dated 20 July, which, contrary to that of its Israeli group, theoretically accords to Hezbollah "the right to resist Israeli aggression," while adding: "But to do it with indiscriminate attacks on Israeli civilian areas is counterproductive." As for us, we consider the terrorism of the Zionist state in Lebanon to be infinitely greater than that of Hezbollah.

AP

Qana, Lebanon: Rescue worker carries body of child from home demolished in July 30 Israeli missile attack that killed dozens of villagers.

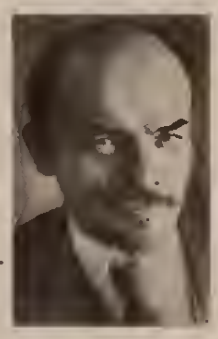
It is necessary to overthrow the Zionist capitalist rulers, and the only social force which can accomplish this task is the proletariat, Hebrew-speaking and Arabic-speaking. This is why the fight for socialism in Israel/Palestine is inseparable from the fight to mobilize the Hebrew-speaking proletariat in defense of the Palestinian people, and more generally, to break it from the Zionist ideology which today chains it to the Israeli bourgeoisie. Likewise, Arab workers must break with nationalism and reactionary, anti-Semitic Islamic fundamentalism. We fight to forge authentic revolutionary workers parties in the Near East, based on such a perspective. This would be in fact the antithesis of the despicable social-patriotism of Maavak Sozialisti.

This is not the first time, and certainly not the last, that GR has been caught red-handed capitulating to Zionism. Last year they published an article in their paper complaining that the wall that imprisons the Palestinians of the West Bank is "an expression of the failure of the Israeli ruling class to respond to rampant insecurity and to the social conflicts caused by the economic crisis" (*L'Egalité*, March-April 2005). In other words, for GR, the problem with the Zionist terrorists who rule the state of Israel is not that they oppress the Palestinians, but that their methods are ineffective for bringing the Palestinians to heel.

This said, while Maavak Sozialisti is a social-democratic organization committed to the Israeli Zionist bourgeoisie, GR, for its part, is a social-democratic organization committed to the French bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie of the Dreyfus Affair and of the anti-Semitic raids under Vichy. GR proved this once again during the Israeli attack against Lebanon by publishing two leaflets, neither of which mentioned, much less condemned, the criminal maneuvers in Lebanon of the Chirac/de Villepin government, whose UN resolution No. 1559 (together with the U.S.) laid the basis for the Israeli attack.

Only the creation of a socialist federation including the Hebrew-, Farsi-, Kurdish-, Arabic-, etc. speaking peoples, Sunnis and Shi'ites, Christians and Muslims can bring about peace in the region. This will be realized only through a series of workers revolutions led by multiethnic proletarian parties, in the Near East as well as in the imperialist centers of Europe, the United States and Japan. This is what all the sections of the International Communist League are dedicated to. *For a socialist federation of the Near East!* ■

TROTSKY



LENIN

Karl Marx on Historical Materialism

Writing in 1859, Karl Marx provided a classic summary of historical materialism, which lies at the basis of the worldview developed by himself and Friedrich Engels.

In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or—this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms—with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution.

—Karl Marx, Preface, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Bonnie Brodie

EDITOR: Ray Bishop

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Broslus (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, Michael Davisson, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alan Wilde

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is October 24

No. 879 **27 October 2006**

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

NYC Notice: The New York Spartacist League's public office will not be open on Sat., October 28, due to our rally to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. See page 11 for details.

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Edward A. Wolkenstein

On August 11, Ed Wolkenstein died from leukemia, three weeks after the diagnosis, in his home in Brooklyn, New York, which he shared with his wife of 60 years, Gloria. Ed was a lifelong communist and fighter for black liberation. Ed was a leader in the Young Communist League, editor of *New Foundations* during the Korean War, worked at Bethlehem Steel in Lackawanna, NY, as part of the Communist Party's fraction, and was elected as a USW shop steward and convention delegate. Ed was subpoenaed twice to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee, in 1957 for his Communist Party activity and in 1964 as a founding member of Progressive Labor (PL). In 1964, Ed helped build mass protest in Buffalo against the Committee and he appeared in defiant opposition to it. After leaving PL, Ed put out his own newsletter, *Spirit and the Sword*, dedicated to the fight for black rights. His intervention into the New Left was to establish the John Brown Institute for Marxist Studies in Buffalo, and he founded the Socialist Club at the University of Buffalo, in which membership was based on agreement with Lenin's *The State and Revolution*.

In the mid '70s, Ed withdrew from political activity and taught reading in vocational schools, and he became president of his teachers union local. Later, he considered himself a supporter of the Spartacist League, particularly motivated by the SL's anti-fascist mobilizations and intervention into the political revolution in the DDR (East Germany). He founded the Buffalo Committee to Free Mumia, supporting the work of the Partisan Defense Committee.

Ed was steadfast in his love, devotion, pride and support of his children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, who gave him much pleasure. He was the father of four children: Rachel, Naomi, Seth and Noah. Rachel's husband, Gary, joined the family early on. Ed's three grandchildren, Rebecca, Dehorah and Gabriel, and five great-grandchildren, Felicia, Joshua, Zachary, Mia and Ezra Jai, were very much in his consciousness through the last days of his life. Ed welcomed his grandchildren's spouses, John, Tony and Thoureth, into the family. In the days before his death, Ed's family, including his brother Jack, was with him.

The onset of Alzheimer's inhibited Ed from active participation in politics. However, to his death he maintained his disdain of scabs, finks and government agents and never stopped raging against the crimes of American imperialism, at home and abroad.

We extend our deepest condolences to comrades Rachel and Seth Wolkenstein as well as to all of Ed's family and many friends.

Wolkenstein Family

1925–2006

North Korea...

(continued from page 1)

made by the international working class" (*Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965).

For revolutionary Marxists, it is axiomatic that for socialist revolution to survive, it must in relatively short order achieve world dominance by the proletarian seizure of power in the most advanced strongholds of imperialism. The bureaucratic castes that rule in the deformed workers states have no such perspective. They derive their relative economic privilege and social power from their parasitic relationship to the workers states and, thus, fear most of all a reawakening of any proletarian militancy that would threaten to replace their dominance. Thus, while occasionally forced to defend the revolutions over which they hold political sway from imperialism's attacks, these Stalinist bureaucrats seek to maintain a futile policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism as part of their nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country" (or even half a country in North Korea).

During the U.S.-mobilized Cold War that followed World War II and targeted the Soviet Union for nuclear attack, the USSR offered important military and material support to the newly formed Chinese deformed workers state, similarly targeted during the Korean War. With the easing of the Cold War, the Stalinists in the Soviet Union were willing to trade off that support for rapprochement with the U.S. imperialists. Similarly during the Vietnam War, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) seized the "opportunity" to throw in its lot with the American imperialists in opposition to a fictional Soviet "social imperialism." As the U.S. sought the overturn of the military, industrial powerhouse that resulted from the 1917 October Revolution, the CCP's efforts were much appreciated by the U.S. and assisted in preparing the way for counterrevolution in the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, a world historic defeat for the international proletariat.

In the case of North Korea, China criminally voted for sanctions against North Korea in the UN Security Council, having earlier condemned the nuclear test in an October 8 joint statement with the newly elected right-wing Japanese prime minister, Shinzo Abe. And all along, Beijing has been working to pressure the Pyongyang regime into the "six party talks" whose aim is to disarm North Korea. For its part, North Korea is pushing for "bilateral" talks with the U.S.

What has been the net result of China's shameless toadying? To be sure, the imperialists now accord China the stature of a major, if aberrant, operator on the world stage. And there is the imbibing of heady beverages at sumptuous banquets accompanied, no doubt, by numerous opportunities to enrich oneself for favors accorded to the imperialist investors. But since the overturn of the degenerated workers state in the USSR, the U.S. has redeployed to Asia forces it once used to contain the Soviet "threat," and these forces endanger not just Pyongyang but centrally Beijing. At the same time, the U.S. has been strengthening its ties with Japanese imperialism, targeting China under the guise of "defending" capitalist Taiwan. For its part, Japan has sought to prettify its vicious occupation of China and Korea during the first half of the 20th century until its defeat in World War II, while currently using North Korea as an excuse to overturn the restrictions on its military contained in the postwar constitution.

Captain C.W. Huff/National Archives

Seoul, 1950. Under UN flag, U.S. imperialists slaughtered some three million people in Korean War, reduced peninsula to rubble.

Beijing's craven appeasement of the imperialist drive against North Korea is particularly dangerous to China's own defense. Capitalist counterrevolution in China would be a devastating defeat for the international proletariat, turning the world's most populous country into one giant sweatshop directly for the imperialist exploiters, or perhaps some other eventuality not now envisioned. What is urgently posed is the struggle for proletarian political revolution in China to oust the ruling Stalinist bureaucrats in Beijing and replace them with a regime based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism. A workers political revolution in China would be a spur for a similar uprising in North Korea while igniting socialist revolution in South Korea, providing the basis for the ***revolutionary reunification*** of the Korean peninsula. It would arouse the powerful Japanese proletariat in opposition to its capitalist rulers and set the stage for a worldwide proletarian offensive against imperialist rule.

For International Socialist Revolution!

In the U.S., the Democrats have seized upon North Korea's nuclear test to portray themselves as the hard wiseguys who know how to defend America against the real rogue states like North Korea and Iran. Former Democratic Senator Sam Nunn summed up the lessons of the North's nuclear test as follows: "What it tells you is that we started at the wrong end of the 'axis of evil.' We started with the least dangerous of the countries, Iraq, and we knew it at the time. And now we have to deal with that" (*New York Times*, 10 October). And Senate minority leader Harry Reid put it even more sharply: "Distracted by Iraq and paralyzed by internal divisions, the Bush administration has for several years been in a state of denial about the growing challenge of North Korea, and has too often tried to downplay the issue or change the subject.... The first step toward ending North Korea's nuclear weapons program must be to ensure that this alleged first nuclear test is also the last" (Agence France-Presse, 9 October).

One thing is clear: if the Democrats regain control of the Senate and/or House in the upcoming elections, it will be in large part because voters are dismayed by the seemingly endless occupation of Iraq. But the Democrats are, in fact, imperialist warriors par excellence. Virtually every major U.S. imperialist action in the 20th century was carried out by Democratic presidents—because U.S. rulers are aware that the Democrats' posture as "friends" of working people makes them better able to sell U.S. imperialism's wars to the population. Indeed, Bill Clinton was preparing to bomb North Korea into submission in 1994 had he not obtained a promise from Kim Jong Il to cease attempts to reprocess plutonium from fuel rods. What the Democrats are offering is a superior "war on terror," one that would have as today's prime target North Korea as an opening shot against the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

The predatory aspirations of the U.S. are so apparent that even some of those sham socialists who eschew the defense of the deformed workers states under the preposterous fiction that these are capitalist societies feign sympathy for North Korea's plight. Thus, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) described the current conflict as a "Bush-initiated U.S. confrontation" and "the latest example of more than a half-century of military pressure from the U.S. and its client state, South Korea, beginning with a war between the Koreas from 1950 to 1953" (*Socialist Worker* online, 13 October).

It takes no small amount of chutzpah for the ISO, whose progenitors were baptized during the Korean War when they capitulated to British and U.S. imperialism and refused to defend the Korean social revolution from imperialist attack, to offer such concern. Now they sigh that no sane person wants a war in Korea as they promote a "real disarmament" that starts "with the driving force of militarization of foreign policy in Asia—the United States government."

Here the ISO betrays their abjectly reformist faith that a good and harmless imperialism can be created. A vote for this or that version of imperialist policy will have zero impact on the aspirations of America's rulers, who seek nothing less than world domination. An end to war and devastation requires the overthrow by the proletariat of the imperialist world order, and that task cannot be accomplished without the forging of a revolutionary Trotskyist international party committed to that end. It is to that purpose that the ICL devotes all its resources. ■

IG: Dangerous Lies and Cynical Slanders

A Link in the Syphilitic Chain of Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism

We reprint below a 20 October supplement to Espartaco *No. 26 (September 2006), newspaper of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League.*

The Internationalist Group (IG) was never known for its concern for the truth, but now it has burrowed to new depths in the dunghill of lies. Their new article titled "'Fight the Right' Rhetoric and Apologies for 'Lahor' Death Squads—GEM: Caboose of the Mexican Popular Front" (*The Internationalist* online, October 2006) is a campaign of slanders for use in circles hostile to Trotskyism, directed against the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), section of the International Communist League. Whereas Stalin had Trotsky airbrushed out of photographs, the IG, with a click of the computer mouse, doctors its Web site from one day to the next in a guilty cover-up. Their article is designed to be read not in Mexico but is for international consumption. Not only is it not available in Spanish, when it was first posted, some of their comrades in Mexico didn't even know that their *líderes máximos* in New York had written it. And they have the nerve to charge us with "imperialist arrogance"!

Panorama

Planeta

Stalin school of falsification: In photo at left, Lenin addresses Red Army troops leaving for Polish front, May 1920. In later version at right, Stalinists disappeared Trotsky and Kamenev from platform stairs.

In a crude attempt to paint us as acolytes of the bourgeois PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution], the IG cut in half the front page of *Espartaco* No. 26 (September 2006) and a Spartacist [GEM] forum leaflet, disappearing our call to "Break with AMLO [Andrés Manuel López Obrador, PRD presidential candidate] and the Bourgeois PRD! Forge a Revolutionary, Internationalist Workers Party!" leaving only: "The Attacks of the PAN [ruling National Action Party] Against Workers and the Oppressed and the Struggle for Socialist Revolution." Their graphic had a headline reading: "'Attacks of the PAN'? What About the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] and PRD?" After we pointed out this grotesque falsification to them at the APPO [Popular Assembly of the People of Oaxaca] march in Mexico City on October 9, the IG altered its Internet graphic to show the entire cover page, while still maintaining the headline! Even slander should make some sense.

Caught in the contradictions between their own politics and what is going on in reality, they resort to lies and slanders, which are the opening steps to encourage and justify violence against political opponents in the workers movement. At the APPO march on October 9, the principal leader of the IG in Mexico—in a calculated provocation to bring violence against us—began to shout to the demonstrators that we defend death squads, which have been responsible for violent attacks and assassinations in Oaxaca and elsewhere. They later threatened to mobilize people to violently oust us from the event, but without success.

After consolidating a bureaucratic stratum, Stalin used slanders in an attempt to silence political opposition; when this did not work, he resorted to violence. Writing at the time of the grotesque Moscow frame-up trials against historic Bolshevik leaders, Leon Trotsky observed in a 1937 foreword to *The Stalin School of Falsification* that "the preparation of the bloody judicial frame-ups had its inception in the 'minor' historical distortions and 'innocent' falsification of citations." The IG is not in a position to emulate Stalin's brutality, but their lies derive from the same opportunist appetites, political incapacity and desperation.

Union-Busting Demagogy

Where do these slanders that we are "apologists for 'labor' death squads" come from? From our principled defense of the SNTMMSRM miners union against [president Vicente] Fox's and the PRD's state attack! During the miners strikes, we called for the freedom of all the jailed unionists, for dropping the charges against all their members and leaders, including [union head] Napolcón Gómez Urrutia; we called for the victory of their strikes, especially but not only in Lázaro Cárdenas [see "Miners, Steel Workers Strikes Shake Mexico," *WV* No. 872 (9 June)]. For the IG, our defense of Mexican corporatist unions against attack by the bosses and their government, in particular of the miners union, is to "defend strikebreaking, and worse: murdering strikers"—even lying requires a bit more ingenuity! Assuming their readers are mentally deficient, the IG tries to make them believe that we defend the SNTE [teachers union] national bureaucracy (read: the sinister Elba Esther Gordillo) and the [pro-PRI corporatist union] CROC thugs in Oaxaca *against* the APPO and the striking Local 22 *af the selfsame SNTE*.

The type of unions the IG likes is exemplified by the municipal workers union of Volta Redonda, Brazil, a *cop-infested* union led by trade union opportunists determined to protect their own positions. To this end, the IG's Brazilian group dragged the union through the bourgeois courts in 1996, appealing to the capitalist state to adjust the union leadership to their own advantage. Basically as apologists for Latin American petty-bourgeois nationalism, the IG's only niche in Mexico can be as the left opposition within the spectrum of the PRD, which is why they argue that the only real trade unions in this country are those tied to the bourgeois-nationalist PRD, while the PRI-affiliated unions (like the miners and some of the most powerful union organizations in the country) represent "the class enemy" (*El Internationalista/Edición México* No. 1, May 2001)! For the IG, the miners union struggle was "a settling of accounts within the regime," i.e., *a mere quarrel within the bourgeaisie*, which in some obscure way "affects the workers, and thus there must be mobilizations to reject this frontal assault hy the government" (*El Internacionalista/Edición México* No. 2, August 2006). While the IG launches pompous calls for a "National strike against the murderous government!", conspicuously absent from all their propaganda is any elementary call for government hands off the miners union, any call for victory to their strikes, any call to drop the charges against Napoleón Gómez Urrutia. A very curious way indeed to "defend" a strike! Instead, the IG writes, "Relatives [of the Pasta de Conchos mine explosion victims] told reporters that the union and the company 'are the same thing'." Surely the bosses have their doubts, after *184 strikes* by the miners union in the last five years!

When Jan Norden, leader of the IG, was still a Trotskyist, he edited some of our best polemics against positions that are now held by his own group! In 1989, [former PRI president] Carlos Salinas de Gortari went after the PRI-affiliated oil workers union, imprisoning its leader, Joaquín Hernández Galicia ("La Quina"). Norden at the time was editor of the Spartacist League/U.S. newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*, and member of the Editorial Board of *Spartacist* [Spanish-language edition]. In both papers we took up the defense of the oil workers union, including "La Quina" himself, and wrote:

> "Many of the rad-lib intellectuals ask how one can possibly defend this labor kingpin, the embodiment of the corrupt *charro* (cowboy) bureaucrats who have lorded it over the unions for decades, and still claim to be a 'democrat'....
>
> "The Trotskyists, who understand the class character of the USSR as a workers state despite its bureaucratic degeneration under Stalinist rule, and thus defend it against imperialism, likewise defend the unions against the bosses despite the sellout bureaucracy which sits atop these repositories of workers power. As Leon Trotsky wrote 50 years ago, 'In the last analysis a workers' state is a trade union which has conquered power' (*In Defense of Marxism* [1939]). Those who don't defend the Soviet Union also can't defend the oil workers union in Mexico."
>
> —*Workers Vanguard* No. 470, 3 February 1989, and *Spartacist* [Spanish-language edition] No. 22, April 1989

Catering to Latin American Third World Nationalism

The founding nucleus of the IG came out of our International Communist League a little more than a decade ago. Incapable of dealing with the 1991-92 counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR and the *retragression in the consciousness of the warking class* that accompanied this world-historic defeat for the proletariat, they turned away from the hard struggle to build Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties to introduce revolutionary consciousness into the working class and lead it to power through new October Revolutions. Facing the gulf between the current forces of Trotskyism and the magnitude of our goals, they deserted from Trotskyism to tail after class forces alien to the proletariat, prettifying and adapting to existing consciousness.

To accommodate to Third World nationalism, as the IG does, means capitulating to bourgeois class forces. To give a "radical" veneer to their anti-Marxist positions, they accuse us of covering up for PRD participation in cases of repression against recent social struggle. A quick look through our press sends their fabrications to the garbage. The IG assumes that their readers would never manage to obtain a copy of *Espartaco*. The cover article of our latest issue is devoted to combatting illusions in the PRD, including prominently its participation in the police breaking of the [1999-2000 National Autonomous University of Mexico] UNAM strike, in the murderous repression in Lázaro Cárdenas, in Atenco, etc. Stalin also depended on the fact that paper accepts

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
international rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail

❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

❑ I would like to contribute $ _____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

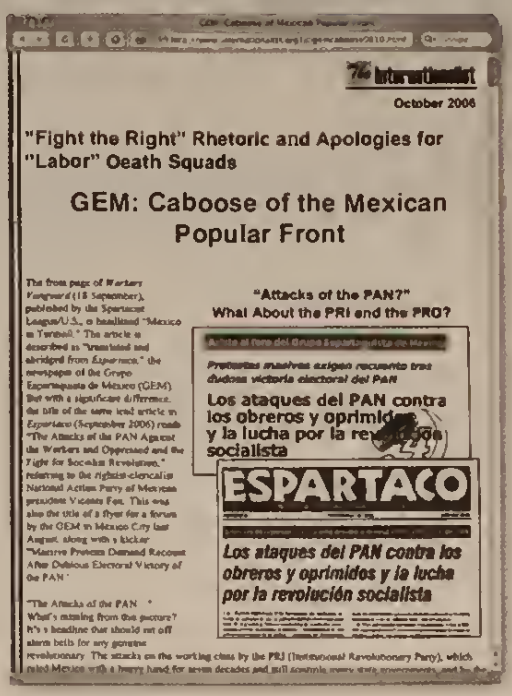
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

879

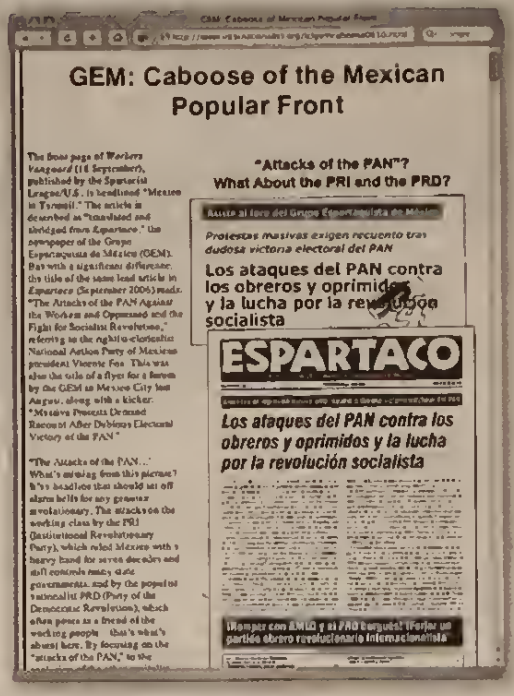
Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

"Learn to Work in the Stalin Manner"



1. IG Lie

IG crops graphic of GEM flyer and *Espartaco*, portraying GEM as supporters of bourgeois PRD.



2. IG Cover-Up

Caught out, IG revises its Web site to show *Espartaco* slogans against PRD, while continuing to hide anti-PRD slogans in GEM flyer and maintaining their lie in graphic header.

3. The Truth

GEM forum flyer with slogans disappeared by the IG: "Break with AMLO and the Bourgeois PRD! Forge a Revolutionary, Internationalist Workers Party!"

whatever is written on it. The (standard) human mind, nonetheless, is a little more demanding.

For liberals and nationalists, to tell the truth often represents an insult. In *Espartaco* No. 26 we wrote: "Although sections of the PRD try to pose as 'friends' of the oppressed, undoubtedly the majority of those who support the PRD also identify, in one degree or another, with some of the reactionary Catholic values that the PAN prominently pushes" [also printed in *WV* No. 876, 15 September]. We didn't have to wait long for the IG to become indignant at this simply factual assertion. "This is imperialist arrogance masquerading as Marxism," their article screams. Oh really? It's hardly a secret that the Mexican proletariat and poor petty-bourgeois masses are permeated by Roman Catholicism and its reactionary values, but it seems the IG never heard that the dominant ideology in every society is that of the ruling class. It is no surprise that, after a decade of existence, the IG's Mexican group has managed to publish no more than two articles in their Spanish-language newspapers on the brutal oppression of women in Mexico. In contrast, we pay particular attention to combatting backward consciousness, regularly publishing articles on social issues such as the murders of women in Ciudad Juárez, the defense of [pop singer] Gloria Trevi, for free abortion on demand and gay rights. We are stubbornly committed to forging a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to act as the ***tribune of the people***, "who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression...in order to set forth ***before all*** his socialist convictions and his democratic demands" (Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*).

Likewise, the IG, embellishing the struggles of the pauperized Bolivian masses last year as a proletarian revolutionary situation, takes great offense at our straightforward assertion that the "proletarian instrumentality for overturning capitalism [in that country] has been qualitatively diminished" due to the closing of tin mines and a great part of industry. Their search for substitutes for the proletariat has shifted over to Oaxaca, where they have devoted themselves to prettifying the consciousness of the struggling petty-bourgeois masses, presenting the teachers as "knowing well that 'PRI, PAN and PRD are the same'" (a position the IG had to abandon 13 days later) and conjuring up "a 'revolutionary danger'" (*El Internacionalista/Edición México* No. 2). Now they add: "We are waiting with baited [sic] breath for the GEM to inform us that in [sic] there is no working class in Oaxaca as well." Well... outside of the service sector, there isn't much. The APPO is an organization based on unionized teachers and the petty bourgeoisie (students and peasants). Its program and outlook are entirely based on illusions in the democratic reform of the capitalist state, looking to the PRD to carry it out.

We defend the teachers strike and the APPO against the state and right-wing attacks that they have heroically resisted, and recognize that such struggles can be a spark for broader social struggle; this however does not translate into painting the APPO as something it is not. The IG is incapable of acknowledging that the industrial working class, in any case tiny in Oaxaca, is not a relevant force in the current convulsive struggles of the Oaxacan masses.

Democratic Rights and Permanent Revolution

The Trotskyist perspective of the permanent revolution recognizes that in backward countries, democratic aspirations—such as national emancipation—occupy a privileged position in the consciousness of the working class and the oppressed masses and are a motor force for socialist revolution. The bourgeoisie (whatever its outlook) cannot satisfy the masses, whose only road forward is the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1940, Trotsky explained that due to imperialist penetration, which proletarianizes the native population of colonial and semi-colonial countries, the national bourgeoisie occupies a much inferior position in relation to the development of industry, while the proletariat plays the most important role in the life of the country. Inasmuch as the national bourgeoisie intends to offer any resistance to foreign capital, it is forced to base itself, to a greater or lesser degree, on the proletariat. On the other hand, "the governments of those backward countries which consider it inescapable or more profitable for themselves to march shoulder to shoulder with foreign capital, destroy the labor organizations and institute a more or less totalitarian regime" ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"). This essentially expresses the difference between the outlook of the PRD and that of the PAN, and it is why the PRD poses as a friend of the oppressed.

The flip side of the IG's accommodation to petty-bourgeois nationalist prejudices is their dismissal of democratic rights, i.e., a renunciation in deeds of permanent revolution. The situation we find ourselves in today, with clear threats of massive repression by the PAN, is in reality a continuation of the campaign against AMLO beginning in 2004. We opposed the *desafuero* [stripping of political immunity] of López Obrador—Fox's attempt to prevent this popular PRDer from competing in the presidential elections—because it was a transparently anti-democratic attack whose ultimate target was the working class (see *Espartaco* No. 24, Summer 2005).

The IG dismissed the whole thing as an inter-bourgeois quarrel, asserting that the working class had no side. Their oh-so-radical distortions are simply meant to cover their tracks, after they zigzagged violently regarding the PRD mobilizations of recent years, which brought out millions in defense of basic democratic rights, like universal suffrage. For at least a year and a half, they have said that we are capitulating to the PRD for distributing our communist press at these protests; i.e., for intervening with the perspective of breaking youth and workers from nationalism and winning them to Marxism. And then they suddenly show up at AMLO's "National Democratic Convention" on September 16! This is obvious, retrospective derrière-covering for not having taken a side with oppressed masses mobilized in defense of their democratic rights.

To Change Reality, You Have to Recognize It Exists

At the center of the IG's politics is their claim that there is a "popular front" around the PRD since some trade unions support that party. Their recent article includes a list of such unions in order to prove their point, which in fact does the exact opposite. Included in their list is the FNUAS (National Front for Trade Union Unity and Autonomy), a bloc between the UNT ["independent" National Union of Workers] and...the CROC and the miners union, the very unions that the IG has declared "the class enemy"!

As we have many times explained, the popular front—to which we Marxists are irreconcilably opposed—is not a synonym for any and every case of class collaboration, but rather is a coalition of one or more workers parties with bourgeois forces, generally with the aim of administering the capitalist state. However, to follow the IG's definition is to conclude that there is a popular front in practically every country in the world. For example, in the U.S. the unions are politically tied to the Democratic Party, so why doesn't that constitute a popular front too?

The IG talks as if revolution in Mexico were on the horizon. They write that "Mexico's capitalist rulers (and their U.S. imperialist patrons) have required a popular front to act as a roadblock to revolution. Today they need it more than ever." However, the current convulsive struggles of the Mexican proletariat have had a defensive character. As we wrote in *Espartaco* No. 26: "Mexican society looks like a powder keg about to explode, but here is the fundamental problem: the proletariat is strongly tied ideologically to the bourgeois PRD. It is necessary to intervene in class and social struggles with the program of revolutionary Marxism, struggling to break these ties. Only in this way can a Leninist-Trotskyist party be built in order to lead the working class to power." The IG, for its part, has defected from Trotskyism in order to pursue alien class appetites. Trotsky once wrote:

> "All citizens of the Soviet Union are today studying, as is their duty, the Stalinist *History of the CPSU* [Communist Party of the Soviet Union], the unique codification of lies and frame-ups. Among the students there are, of course, to be found thousands of thinking representatives of the youth who are trained in handling facts and checking history by documents. Many of them doubtless ask those official leaders whom they have least cause to fear: 'But why do we find that the assertions in this "history" are refuted at every step by the newspapers and periodicals in the corresponding period?' The instructor, a finger upon his lips, replies significantly: 'One must learn to work in the Stalinist manner.' This means, one must learn how to lie expediently, or at least wink one's eyes at the totalitarian lie."
>
> —"'Learn to Work in the Stalin Manner'" (1939)

The IG is learning fast! ■

Espartaco

Publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México

No. 26, September 2006
$.50 (24 pages)

Subscription: $2 for 4 issues
(includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

Young Spartacus

Defend Anti-Minutemen Protesters at Columbia!

We reprint below an October 9 leaflet by the New York Spartacus Youth Club in defense of protesters against the Minuteman Project at Columbia University. As part of this defense, the SYC makes clear that the defense of immigrant rights requires a class-struggle fight against the capitalist system, which breeds all forms of oppression and bigotry. We fight against illusions pushed by reformist organizations like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) and the Revolutionary Communist Party that the Democratic Party and Green Party are "lesser evils." They are capitalist parties that seek to administer a system of profit based on the exploitation of labor and the oppression of blacks, immigrants and women, among others. Historically the party of the Confederacy, a strong proponent of chauvinist protectionism and the preferred party for waging imperialist war, the Democratic Party now advocates tighter border control and more effective prosecution of the so-called "war on terror."

Nowhere in their coverage of the protest against the Minutemen do the ISO and PSL breathe one word of criticism against the protest's co-sponsors, the College Democrats–even after members of the College Democrats called in the *Columbia Spectator* for stronger enforcement of security guidelines and to "prevent outside troublemakers from entering" campus events (12 October)! As we note in our leaflet, the campus administration is the agent of the bourgeoisie on campus, thus by no means a defender of leftists and the oppressed. Columbia University president Lee Bollinger made his views on free speech quite clear when he intervened to prevent Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad from speaking on campus because Ahmadinejad's speech would not "reflect the academic values that are a hallmark of a University event such as our World Leaders Forum."

Supporters of the ISO and PSL collaborated with the same administration in excluding the SYC from an October 11 meeting of the Columbia Protestors' Defense Committee, and refused entry to non-students. This effectively strengthens the ability of the administration to suppress protest on campus and undermines the defense of the anti-Minutemen protesters. So why did they exclude us? Because our communist politics stand in stark opposition to their program of class collaboration and reliance on the campus administration.

* * *

The Columbia University administration has initiated an investigation into what occurred last Wednesday, October 4, inside a Columbia College Republicans-sponsored event with Jim Gilchrist, the founder of the racist, fascistic Minuteman Project. A group of students went on stage as Gilchrist was speaking and unfurled two banners, "No One Is Illegal" and "No to Racism." Gilchrist and his ilk are trying to claim that the protesters violently attacked him. This lie is picked up in the bourgeois media, with the rabid right-wing NY *Post* describing the protesters as "thugs." The truth is the opposite. The protesters were physically attacked by Gilchrist's right-wing goons, who shut down their own meeting. Gilchrist left after saying, "You're doing a great job, kids. I'm going to have more fun with this than with my prepared speech." Meanwhile, NYC Mayor Bloomberg stated that the president of Columbia has "got to get his hands around this." This is the same vile capitalist politician who turned New York into a giant police

Honda/Getty

Columbia University, October 4: Anti-Minutemen protesters assaulted by right-wing goons while unfurling banner on stage.

No Administration Reprisals! Defend Immigrant Rights!

pen in 2004 against anti-RNC (Republican National Convention) protesters. We condemn the physical attack and call to: *Defend anti-Minutemen protesters! No administration reprisals! Defend immigrant rights!* The administration is making use of postings, images and personal information posted on the networking Web site "Facebook" in its investigation. We say: *Down with the investigation!*

The Spartacus Youth Club joined hundreds of students, activists, community members and workers in a protest initiated by the Columbia Chicano Caucus outside the event. The Minuteman Project is an anti-immigrant fascistic organization that rants against "illegal aliens" and calls on the Border Patrol to reinforce measures to prevent immigrants from crossing the border. They are interpenetrated with fascists and have a paramilitary/vigilante component that "patrols" the border. They should be confronted and stopped when they try to carry out physical provocations against immigrants and their allies. This is what happened when the Minutemen tried to create a provocation against L.A.'s diverse working class at a Labor Day march and picnic in the Los Angeles area on September 4. We say "Down with the Minutemen! Mobilize labor to defend immigrant rights!"

The invitation by the campus Republicans was intended to promote the Minutemen's racist filth and ideology. We argued and acted on the basis that their racist ideas must be refuted through protest and exposure. But shutting them down in this context simply played into the hands of the reactionaries' false and absurd claim that the left is trampling free speech, when in fact it is the right-wing bigots that have been waging a massive campaign to purge the campuses of leftists, immigrants, blacks and any voice that is in opposition to the ruling-class agenda. Bush's minions on the campus work in tandem with the likes of racist ideologues David Horowitz and Ann Coulter who seek to harass and intimidate student groups and leftist professors, such as pro-Palestinian Professor Joseph Massad, who was prevented from teaching his course at Columbia. Now the right wing in this country is using and distorting this current incident to whip up and bolster their vicious campaign. In opposition to this right-wing witchhunt, we call on all students who defend immigrant rights to take a side and defend these students under attack!

As millions of impoverished Mexican and Central American immigrants risk their lives to find some means of livelihood in the U.S., the racist U.S. imperialist rulers, both Democrat and Republican, seek to blame the immiseration of the U.S. working class on immigrants. They consciously whip up anti-immigrant hysteria through racist "English only" laws, deportations, and now the construction of a 700-mile-long wall on the border with Mexico. Some Democratic Party politicians posture as "friends of immigrants" as part of their efforts to round up votes. Whether it's the Kennedy-McCain "guest worker" program—a form of indentured servitude—or the more nakedly repressive legislation pushed by the Republican-controlled Congress, the capitalist rulers are united in targeting immigrant workers for greater repression. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. As the SYC speaker stated at the outside protest, "The bipartisan 'war on terror,' which is a war on immigrants, blacks and labor here, and is the pretext for imperialist war abroad, gives groups like the Minutemen the green light to carry out fascistic, vigilante mobilizations against immigrants."

SYC speaker at October 4 protest outside Minutemen speech at Columbia.

It is in this reactionary climate that the usual racist bigots, like Chris Kulawik of the Columbia Repuhlicans, target the pro-immigrant rights students and the left on campus.

The statement released hy "Those who occupied the stage," which includes supporters of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Party for Socialism and Liheration-backed ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War and Racism) Coalition, wrongly conflates racist ideas with fascism. We understand that fascism is not a question of "free speech" but racist terror. Our class-struggle program of labor/black mobilizations has succeeded in preventing fascists from carrying out their murderous program. Fascists like the Nazis and the KKK are groups that have a long history of "speaking" with the lynch rope and recruiting to a program of genocide and racist terror. They are paramilitary terror organizations who mobilize for murderous action against blacks, Jews, immigrants, smashing the labor movement, exterminating communists, and totalitarian suppression of bourgeois democratic rights and institutions. Fascists' "speech" is a call for destroying all rights for the labor movement, annihilating blacks and communists.

The perspective encapsulated in the slogan "No 'Free Speech' for Racists," present on a sign at the outside protest, is a liberal, moralistic call to suppress racist ideology, rather than to fight it, and an appeal to the bourgeois state to regulate what people can and cannot say. This is a dangerous illusion. Furthermore, it is false to think that *the source* of racism and oppression is backward ideas. Liberal preaching cannot overcome these racist attitudes. Racism and all forms of oppression are rooted materially in the class-divided society in which we live.

The ISO speaker at the outside protest stated that the Minutemen "don't have a right to free speech because it's not free speech, it's hate speech...." We oppose demands on the campus administration and on the capitalist state to police "hate speech" because it bolsters the repressive power of those institutions, enabling them to use such codes and laws to victimize student protesters, minorities and leftists. While the statement released from "Those who occupied the stage" criticized the administration for "failing to condemn the perpetrators of violence," we warn against reliance on the administration. The administration's role is to administer Columbia on behalf of the racist capitalist ruling class. The reformist ISO acts as though the university is some kind of "ivory tower" that will be "tainted" by racist ideas, which fits in with their consistent class-collaborationist politics. In fact, Columbia

continued on page 9

The Russian Revolution of 1917

From the Kornilov Coup to the October Revolution

We print below, edited for publication, the second and concluding part of a class given by comrade Diana Coleman as part of a series of educationals on Leon Trotsky's The History of the Russian Revolution *(1932), which was held in January of this year as a Spartacist League young cadre school. The first part appears in* WV *No. 877, 29 September.*

PART TWO

Let me speak about the war again. In his *History*, Trotsky said sharply of the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*, which was rejecting revolutionary defeatism in March: "'Defeatism' was not invented by a hostile press under the protection of a censorship, it was proclaimed by Lenin in the formula: 'The defeat of Russia is the lesser evil.' The appearance of the first revolutionary regiment, and even the overthrow of the monarchy, did not alter the imperialist character of the war." From February to October, the Bolsheviks began to wield the peace demand more directly because the proletarian seizure of power, the necessary precondition for realizing that demand, was now on the agenda. Lenin never repudiated his scathing pre-1917 polemics against the social pacifists, like Kautsky, or those who conciliated them, like Trotsky at that time. These polemics were crucial to winning Trotsky to Bolshevism and genuine revolutionary internationalism. For Lenin, any demands for peace were now inseparable from the impending socialist revolution and the seizure of power.

Lenin gave an instructive talk on 14 May of 1917 appropriately titled "War and Revolution." He starts out talking about the need to understand the "class character of the war," i.e., what the war is waged for and what classes staged and directed it. He said:

> "We Marxists do not belong to that category of people who are unqualified opponents of all war. We say: our aim is to achieve a socialist system of society.... But in the war to win that socialist system of society we are bound to encounter conditions under which the class struggle within each given nation may come up against a war between the different nations, a war conditioned by this very class struggle. Therefore, we cannot rule out the possibility of revolutionary wars."

Lenin ridicules the declarations of the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary (SR) compromisers for "peace without annexations" when they have ministers in the Provisional Government that is telling the army to take the offensive. He goes on to say:

> "The Russian revolution has not altered the war, but it has created organizations which exist in no other country.... We have all over Russia a network of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. Here is a revolution which has not said its last word yet. Here is a revolution which Western Europe, under similar conditions, has not known. Here are organizations of those classes which really have no need for annexations...."

Lenin is talking about dual power here. In ending this article he says:

> "Nothing but a workers' revolution in several countries can defeat this war. The war is not a game, it is an appalling thing taking toll of millions of lives, and it is not to be ended easily.
>
> "The soldiers at the front cannot tear the front away from the rest of the state and settle things their own way. The soldiers at the front are a part of the country. So long as the country is at war the front will suffer along with the rest.... Whether you will get a speedy peace or not depends on how the revolution will develop."

In this article and in many others you see Lenin's internationalism: "When power passes to the Soviets the capitalists will come out against us, Japan, France, Britain—the governments of all countries will be against us. The capitalists will be against, but the workers will be for us. That will be the end of the war which the capitalists started." You also see him taking the situation of dual power into account and actually planning for what will happen after the Soviets seize power. There are a lot of articles where he ridicules the idea that peace conferences and peace resolutions can end interimperialist war and states that only the proletarian seizure of power can do that. Although the Bolsheviks certainly supported mass fraternization at the front, which Lenin called an "instinctive" response, the soldiers had to understand that this would not end the war.

I recommend the book *Kronstadt and Petrograd in 1917* by the Bolshevik sailors' leader F.F. Raskolnikov. It is a very lively and readable account of revolutionary Kronstadt and Bolshevik work in the army and navy. Trotsky talks about how sailors from Kronstadt toured the country with special mandates from the Kronstadt Soviet granting them free transport and the right to vote in, speak at and even convene local committee meetings. Raskolnikov describes one of the tours he went on to different ships in the active navy "which at that time had still not emerged from under the influence of 'compromiser' sentiments." In one place he unmasked a former editor of a "Black Hundreds" [pogromist] publication who had become the deputy chairman of a soviet as an SR. In another he spoke, somewhat nervously, to a ship's crew that had only a few months back passed a resolution calling for "war to the end," but was welcomed enthusiastically as he denounced the war, the government and the coalition with the bourgeoisie. On another ship a rightist officer threw his comrade off the deck. Elsewhere he spoke to a group of Bolshevik-minded Estonians through an interpreter. It is fun reading.

Staatsbibliothek, Berlin

Armed guard outside Smolny Institute during October Days.

The Fall of Riga and "Defensism"

In Volume One of *The History of the Russian Revolution*, Trotsky says of the liberal bourgeoisie: "In external appearance the war policy of liberalism remained aggressive-patriotic, annexationist, irreconcilable. In reality it was self-contradictory, treacherous, and rapidly becoming defeatist." Since the liberal bourgeoisie didn't think it could use the February Revolution to advance the war, they planned "to use the war against the revolution." Trotsky noted, "The concern of the moment was not to secure advantageous international conditions for bourgeois Russia, but to save the bourgeois regime itself, even at the price of Russia's further enfeeblement."

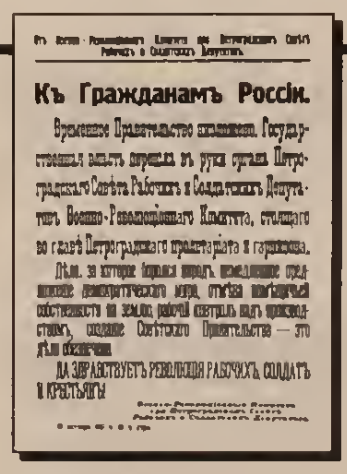
On August 20, German forces occupied the key Russian seaport of Riga. Baltic sailors had been fighting to protect the approaches to Petrograd, in their words, "not in the name of the treaties of our rulers with the allies...but in the name of the defense of the approaches to the hearth-fire of the revolution, Petrograd." Trotsky calls this "the deep contradiction in their position as vanguards of a revolution and involuntary participants in an imperialist war." These events tested the Bolsheviks' internationalism. They did not for a minute intend to share with the ruling groups the responsibility, before the Russian people and the workers of the world, for the war.

Fearing that defensive moods would turn into a defensist policy, Lenin wrote: "We shall become defencists *only after* the transfer of power to the proletariat.... Neither the capture of Riga *nor the capture of Petrograd* will make us defencists." Writing from prison, Trotsky said: "The fall of Riga is a cruel blow. The fall of Petersburg would be a misfortune. But the fall of the international policy of the Russian proletariat would be ruinous." In the first week of October, fears about a German attack on Petrograd again mounted sharply.

The Provisional Government began actively to plan to abandon Petrograd and set up the government in Moscow. Rabinowitch [*The Bolsheviks Come to Power* (1976)] says cautiously that "there is no direct evidence that the Provisional Government ever seriously entertained the idea of surrendering Petrograd to the Germans without a fight," but he is at least honest enough to say why everyhody thought exactly that. Rodzianko, the former head of the State Duma, said: "Petrograd appears threatened.... I say, to hell with Petrograd.... People fear our central institutions in Petrograd will he destroyed. To this, let me say that I should be glad if these institutions are destroyed because they have brought Russia nothing hut grief." The workers and peasants, especially after Rodzianko's hlunt confession, had no doubt that the government was

continued on page 8

VAAP



Къ Гражданамъ Россіи.

Временное Правительство заявляетъ...

ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТЪ РЕВОЛЮЦІЯ РАБОЧИХЪ, СОЛДАТЪ И КРЕСТЬЯНЪ!

Left: Demonstration honoring Second Congress of Soviets. Above: 25 October proclamation by Military Revolutionary Committee announces "immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of landed proprietorship, workers' control over production, and the establishment of Soviet power."

1917...

(continued from page 7)

getting ready to send them to school under German general Ludendorff. This echoes the "patriotism" of the French bourgeoisie in 1871, who begged Bismarck to come in and crush the Paris Commune.

Lenin was calling for insurrection now, not least because revolutionary Petrograd with its majority Bolshevik Soviet was being directly threatened with a bloodbath by German imperialism; a conspiracy was entered into by the Kerensky government and the Anglo-French imperialists to surrender Petrograd to the Germans, and in this way to suppress the revolution. Lenin called for the overthrow of the Kerensky government and the substitution of a workers' and peasants' government "to open the road to peace, to save Petrograd and the revolution, and to give the land to the peasants and power to the Soviets." The shift in Bolshevik propagandistic emphasis led Lenin to remark in 1918 that "we were defeatists at the time of the tsar, but at the time of Tsereteli and Chernov we were not defeatists." The Bolsheviks never abandoned a defeatist posture toward the Russian bourgeois government—they simply varied the tactical application because of the class war then raging in Russia.

RSFSR Artist

Left: Cruiser *Aurora*, manned by Kronstadt sailors, at the Nikolaevsky Bridge, 25 October 1917. Above: Poster shows members of Bolshevik Kronstadt Committee.

The Revolutionary Crisis Matures

The Bolsheviks as an organization had to decide to proceed with the revolution. All but one of the copies of the letter that I referred to before, titled "The Bolsheviks Must Assume Power," were burned by the majority of the Central Committee, who had been trying to keep Lenin's appeals from getting into the hands of the worker-Bolsheviks. Lenin, still in hiding, was raging and writing to everybody: Smilga who was a party leftist and president of the Regional Committee of the Soviets, Krupskaya in Petrograd who read his letters out to the Vyborg District Committee. By the time Lenin wrote "The Crisis Has Matured" on September 29, he was tendering his resignation from the Central Committee to free his hands to go to the party membership. One worker from the Vyborg District Committee said: "We got a letter from Ilych for delivery to the Central Committee.... We read the letter and gasped. It seems that Lenin had long ago put before the Central Committee the question of insurrection. We raised a row. We began to bring pressure on them."

Early in October—and now over the head of the Bolshevik Central Committee—Lenin wrote directly to the Petrograd and Moscow Committees: "Delay is criminal. To wait for the Congress of Soviets would be...a disgraceful game of formalities, and a betrayal of the revolution." He noted that the masses could just as easily become disillusioned with the Bolsheviks as they had with other parties, if the Bolsheviks failed to act. As laid out in Trotsky's *Lessons of October*, the basic position of the rightists in the party, led by Zinoviev and Kamenev, was that the party would be risking everything in an armed insurrection, the outcome of which was extremely dubious, when they could be winning "a third and even more of the seats in the Constituent Assembly." This purely parliamentary, social-democratic course was thinly camouflaged by their assertion that, of course, the soviets were important and that dual power would continue for an unlimited length of time. No, that was not possible; there would have been another Kornilov or perhaps he would have returned.

Of course, if Kamenev and Zinoviev's policy had won, we would be hearing today about the massive forces arrayed against the revolution and how it was impossible anyhow. Like so many defeats, from Germany and China in the 1920s to Spain in the 1930s, which occurred because of the lack of a vanguard party with a hardened revolutionary leadership, had the Bolsheviks failed to lead the October Revolution the defeat would all be blamed on the objective situation and the backwardness of the masses. This is what I call the Stalinist theory of the crisis of followers, where they say, "We tried to lead you, but you wouldn't follow."

The first showdown in the Bolshevik leadership over the insurrection was the famous meeting on October 10 where the insurrection was voted up ten votes to two—Zinoviev and Kamenev voted against. The resolution, as is typical of Lenin, starts with the international situation, that is, the ripening of world revolution; the insurrection in Russia is regarded only as a link in the general chain. The idea of having socialism in one country was not in anyone's mind then, even Stalin's.

Rabinowitch tells a funny story about the October 10 meeting:

> "This was to be Lenin's first direct confrontation with the Central Committee since his return from Finland; it had been carefully organized by Sverdlov at Lenin's behest. By an ironic twist of fate the gathering was to be held in the apartment of the left Menshevik Sukhanov, that unsurpassed chronicler of the revolution who had somehow managed to turn up at almost every important political meeting in Petrograd since the February revolution. But on this occasion Sukhanov was not in attendance. His wife, Galina Flakserman, a Bolshevik activist since 1905...once had offered Sverdlov the use of the Sukhanov flat, should the need arise.... For her part, Flakserman insured that her meddlesome husband would remain away on this historic night. 'The weather is wretched, and you must promise not to try to make it all the way back home tonight,' she had counseled solicitously as he departed for work early that morning."

Talk about a strained personal relationship!

The resolution of October 10 was immensely important. It promptly put the genuine advocates of insurrection on the firm ground of the party majority. The workers were arming, drilling, setting up the Red Guards. Workers at the weapons factories were funneling weapons directly to the workers. But the October 10 meeting certainly did not eliminate the differences in the leadership. There was another meeting on October 16, where Lenin again argued for insurrection and Kamenev and Zinoviev again voted against it. The next day, Kamenev and Zinoviev submitted a public statement to Maxim Gorky's newspaper opposing the insurrection, which was published on October 18. Lenin called them strikebreakers and demanded their expulsion from the party. This didn't happen because the insurrection intervened. Stalin tried to paper over the differences in the Bolshevik newspaper, alibiing Kamenev and Zinoviev, keeping his options open in case the insurrection failed.

The Party, the Soviets and the Conquest of Power

Kamenev and Zinoviev's differences with Lenin were principled questions: seize state power or not. You can't get more fundamental than that. Trotsky had tactical differences with Lenin: should the insurrection be run through the soviet or directly through the party? Trotsky speaks about the importance of soviet legality to the masses, and the usefulness of appearing to be defending the soviets. But Trotsky had no naive hopes that the Congress of Soviets itself could settle the question of power. You can see in Trotsky's chapter "The Art of Insurrection" that by 1917 he had finally understood Lenin on the party question. He wrote: "In order to conquer the power, the proletariat needs more than a spontaneous insurrection. It needs a suitable organization, it needs a plan; it needs a conspiracy. Such is the Leninist view of this question." He goes on:

> "The organization by means of which the proletariat can both overthrow the old power and replace it, is the soviets....
> "However, the soviets by themselves do not settle the question. They may serve different goals according to the program and leadership. The soviets receive their program from the party.... The problem of conquering the power can be solved only by a definite combination of party with soviets—or with other mass organizations more or less equivalent to soviets."

The government was planning to send the Petrograd garrison to the front. There was total uproar and refusal from the Petrograd regiments. It was at this point in early October that the Menshevik and SR compromisers put up a resolution in the Petrograd Soviet, which had a Bolshevik majority. Rabinowitch describes this:

> "The Menshevik Mark Broido put before the deputies a joint Menshevik-SR resolution which, while calling on garrison soldiers to begin preparations for movement to the front, at the same time sought to calm them by providing for the creation of a special committee to evaluate defense needs and to prepare military defense plans that would inspire popular confidence. At bottom, the intent of the resolution was to facilitate cooperation between the Petrograd Soviet and the government in the interest of the war effort."

VAAP

Military Revolutionary Committee troops operating captured telephone exchange.

Boy, were they surprised when the Bolsheviks eagerly seized on this proposal, resulting in the formation of the Military Revolutionary Committee that organized the insurrection! In an interesting passage in the *History*, Trotsky writes:

> "The formulae were all-inclusive and at the same time ambiguous: they almost all balanced on a fine line between defense of the capital and armed insurrection. However, these two tasks, heretofore mutually exclusive, were now in actual fact growing into one. Having seized the power, the Soviet would be compelled to undertake the military defense of Petrograd. The element of defense-camouflage was not therefore violently dragged in, but flowed to some extent from the conditions preceding the insurrection."

The Military Revolutionary Committee had a Left SR as its formal head, but proceeded in a Bolshevik fashion with Trotsky as its principal political leader. Basically, in what one might call a "cold insurrection," the Bolshevik-led Soviet took control of the armed bodies of men out of the hands of the Provisional Government. By October 13, the Soldiers'

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BAY AREA

Thursday, November 2, 6 p.m.
The Russian Revolution
San Francisco State University
Cesar Chavez Student Center, Room T-153

Monday, November 6, 5 p.m.
Mini-Forum
Elections 2006:
A Revolutionary Marxist Perspective
San Francisco State University
Rosa Parks F, Cesar Chavez Student Center

Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO

Tuesday, November 7, 7 p.m.
The Capitalist State—
An Instrument of Organized Terror
University of Chicago
Harper, Room 102, 1116 E. 59th St.

Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, November 4, 2 p.m.
The State and Revolution
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(across from Beverly/Vermont Red Line Station)

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

Thursday, November 2, 7:30 p.m.
The Russian Revolution and the Fight for New Octobers
Columbia University
Kent Hall, Room 522A

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

TORONTO

Wednesday, November 1, 6:30 p.m.
The 1917 Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power
University of Toronto
OISE, Room 4420, 252 Bloor St. West

Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, November 8, 6 p.m.
Hail the 1917 October Revolution! For the International Rule of the Working Class!
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 211

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

Section of the Petrograd Soviet voted to transfer military authority from Headquarters to the Military Revolutionary Committee. In other words, the Soviet now had the state power in all but name. By October 21 or 22 the Military Revolutionary Committee told the military high command bluntly that they were not in charge any more. Rabinowitch says that's insurrection right there. The troops were ready, the Red Guards were ready.

On October 24, Kerensky fairly stupidly provided the spark by trying to shut down the Bolshevik newspaper. The Military Revolutionary Committee sent in a detachment to reopen the newspaper and began seizing government institutions and communication centers. Lenin was still worried. He wrote:

> "I am writing these lines on the evening of the 24th....
> "With all my might I urge comrades to realise that everything now hangs by a thread; that we are confronted by problems which are not to be solved by conferences or congresses (even congresses of Soviets), but exclusively by peoples, by the masses, by the struggle of the armed people....
> "Who must take power?
> "That is not important at present. Let the Revolutionary Military Committee do it, or 'some other institution'...."

Lenin became so agitated that he went in disguise to the Bolshevik headquarters at Smolny, where the Petrograd Soviet was located, to see what was happening. Even a day later, they still hadn't taken the Winter Palace (where the Provisional Government was based) due to a very over-elaborate plan. One Bolshevik remembered that Lenin "paced around a small room at Smolny like a lion in a cage. He needed the Winter Palace at any cost: it remained the last gate on the road to workers' power. V. I. scolded...he screamed...he was ready to shoot us." Kerensky escaped in the safety of a diplomatic vehicle flying the American flag. You will be interested to know that Kerensky eventually wound up here in the U.S., home to *gusanos* of all varieties, at the Hoover Institution at Stanford. There he wrote and lectured about how to fight communism—something which he hadn't done too well at in life.

The Birth of the Soviet Workers State

When the Second Congress of the Soviets opened, the cruiser *Aurora* was still firing on the Winter Palace. In response to the uprising and seizure of power, now openly proclaimed by the Military Revolutionary Committee, the Mensheviks and SRs walked out of the congress, some proclaiming that they were going with the majority of the City Duma deputies to the Winter Palace to die with the Provisional Government. They left deluged by shouts of "lackeys of the bourgeoisie" and "good riddance." Only the Left SRs and a few remnants of left menshevism stayed. The compromisers wanted nothing to do with the workers state. Always up for a coalition with the bourgeoisie, they wanted no coalition with the Bolsheviks.

Lenin got up and opened his speech with the famous sentence: "We shall now proceed to construct the socialist order." The three-point agenda was end the war, give land to the peasants and establish a socialist dictatorship. The peace decree promised an end to secret diplomacy and proposed to the governments and peoples of the warring countries immediate negotiations to secure a democratic peace without annexations and without indemnities. The land decree, borrowed in its essentials from the agrarian program of the Left SRs, abolished private property in land and provided for the transfer of all private and church estates to land committees and soviets of peasants' deputies for distribution to the peasantry according to need. A new revolutionary government of People's Commissars, at first made up exclusively of Bolsheviks, was appointed, which over the next period proceeded with nationalizing the banks, restarting industry and laying the foundations of the new soviet state.

Very importantly, they worked on convening the Third (Communist) International as the necessary instrumentality to achieve world socialist revolution. They fought with all possible means and determination to spread the revolution to the advanced industrial countries of Europe.

1 October 1917: Workers from Putilov factory exchange banner with Pavlovsky regiment. Banner reads in part: "Long Live All-Russian Revolution as Prologue to Social Revolution in Europe."

Read Victor G.'s revealing letter to *WV* (see "On Lenin's Address to the Petrograd Soviet," *WV* No. 861, 6 January) about how the account of Lenin's speech to the Petrograd Soviet that appears in the *Collected Works* is at variance with other newspaper accounts of the time that highlighted Lenin's points on the international extension of the revolution.

The Spectre of "Democratic" Counterrevolution

Let me touch briefly on two final debates: the question of a broad socialist coalition and the Constituent Assembly. On the first question, historian Rabinowitch echoes people like Sukhanov, who at the time thought it was terrible that the Bolsheviks didn't invite into the government the compromiser parties: the Mensheviks and the Right SRs. Not surprisingly, arguments in favor of forming a government in coalition with the Menshevik and SR compromisers were advanced within the Bolshevik Party by Kamenev and Zinoviev, who had opposed the insurrection in the first place, as well as by some others. Sukhanov bemoans the fact that by walking out of the congress the Mensheviks and the Menshevik-Internationalists "gave the Bolsheviks with our own hands a monopoly of the Soviet, of the masses, and of the revolution."

In principle the Bolsheviks were not opposed to a coalition. They agreed to a coalition with any party if it would accept soviet constitutionalism, which meant accepting the reality of the October insurrection and the fact that the soviets had a Bolshevik majority and they would therefore form the majority of the government. But that was a big "if." At least Rabinowitch is honest enough to tell you what the problem with this was: not only had the Mensheviks and SRs walked out of the soviet hut:

> "Initially fierce resistance to the Bolshevik regime coalesced around the so-called All-Russian Committee for the Salvation of the Country and the Revolution organized on October 26, primarily by the Mensheviks and SRs in the Petrograd City Duma ...
> "Leaders of the Committee for Salvation also drew up plans to coordinate an uprising in Petrograd with the entry into the capital of Krasnov's cossacks, expected momentarily."

They were unsuccessful, of course, but they certainly didn't waste a minute before organizing counterrevolution, not one minute. Let me state as a general rule, it is a bad idea to seek a coalition with those who are actively trying to overthrow the workers state and kill you all.

Trotsky states that what was in question here was "the liquidation of October—no more, no less" by diverting the revolution back into the channel of a bourgeois regime. Since the Bolshevik opposition had gone public with this, Lenin finally denounced them publicly as waverers and doubters: "Shame on all the faint-hearted...on all those who allowed themselves to be intimidated by the bourgeoisie or who have succumbed to the outcries of their direct and indirect supporters!" These conciliators backed down, especially as it became clear that there was no one to form a coalition with. The most acute party crisis had been overcome. A couple of Left SRs finally did join the government—at least until the Soviet government signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918.

Finally, I want to address the Constituent Assembly. I was reassured to find out that a new youth comrade in the Bay Area who wanted to talk about the Constituent Assembly wasn't worried about why the Bolsheviks dispersed it. He wanted to know why they ever called for it! A better impulse, I think. We wrote a good article on constituent assemblies titled "Why a Revolutionary Constituent Assembly?" (*WV* No. 221, 15 December 1978). It makes the point that in backward countries under autocratic or military bonapartist rule, the struggle for a sovereign constituent assembly based on universal suffrage can in certain circumstances be key in uniting the toiling masses behind the proletarian vanguard. It was based on such an understanding that the Bolsheviks fought throughout the spring and summer of 1917 for elections to a constituent assembly at a time when the government refused to hold them out of fear that this would lead to a peasant uprising. This stage had passed with the workers seizing state power, but the Bolsheviks didn't simply call off the elections to the Constituent Assembly because a pro-soviet majority might well have emerged in the wake of the peasant land seizures. That would have been useful in reinforcing the authority of the soviets among the peasants in the upcoming civil war.

However, this was not to be. Between the old election lists and the way parliamentary elections gave the petty-bourgeoisie the overwhelming weight of the vote, the SRs, Kadets and Mensheviks won the majority of seats in the Constituent Assembly. It was a retrograde force and could become a focus for bourgeois restorationist forces. So the Bolsheviks wisely demanded that the Constituent Assembly recognize the victorious soviet power as its first act. Only when they refused to do so did the Soviet Executive Committee decree the dissolution of the assembly. The dissolution of the Constituent Assembly closes this chapter of the history of the Russian Revolution and the history of the Bolshevik Party. The differences revolved around the fundamental questions: should we struggle for power, can we assume power? Through struggle, internal and external, they resolved both these questions in the affirmative.

In conclusion, the October Revolution remains our compass. It demonstrates how a revolutionary party can win the working masses away from the reformist class traitors and lead them to power. To quote Trotsky: "Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer."■

Columbia...

(continued from page 6)

is a notorious union-busting racist slumlord, the third-largest landowner in New York City, now pushing yet another expansion plan that would drive even greater numbers of blacks and Latinos out of the areas surrounding the campus. We demand the nationalization of the university system under student-teacher-worker control. Abolish the administration! Tear down the Columbia gates and let Harlem in!

In the U.S., black oppression, the bedrock of capitalism, is based on the legacy of chattel slavery. Opposition to anti-immigrant racism must be intertwined with the struggle against black oppression. The fight for black freedom and immigrant rights will go forward together or fall back separately. A model, both of joint struggle of blacks and immigrants, and how to fight against fascists, was the November 1982 labor/black mobilization in Washington, D.C., initiated by the Spartacist League, which stopped the race-terrorist KKK from marching against a minor amnesty proposal for immigrants. We provided revolutionary leadership, and 5,000 people, mostly black, came out and stopped them. We understand that those who organize for race terror, such as the fascist KKK and Nazis, must be swept off the streets through mass, militant labor/black mobilizations, such as the 23 October 1999 anti-Klan demonstration in New York City that the Spartacus Youth Club helped build. These mobilizations are a microcosm of what a mass revolutionary workers party would do.

As our SYC speaker said at the anti-Minutemen protest outside: "The capitalist rulers, both Republicans and Democrats, see immigrant workers as a source of cheap labor, and deny them citizenship rights in order to better exploit them and keep the working class divided." As Marxists we understand that only socialist revolution internationally can put an end to the growing immiseration of the working class and oppressed—both in dependent countries like Mexico and in the imperialist centers. The fundamental divide in all capitalist countries is between the working class, whose labor makes society run, and the capitalist class that reaps enormous wealth from exploiting that labor. Under capitalist imperialism, a handful of wealthy imperialist powers strive to divide and redivide the rest of the world for their own enhancement, leading to neocolonial exploitation and imperialist wars.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club, the youth auxiliary of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League, fight to link the outrage of students who oppose racism and defend immigrant rights to the social power of the integrated working class, of which immigrant workers form a key component. Through mobilizing against racist anti-immigrant terror, wherever it rears its head, the working class can be made more conscious of its power and historic interests in fighting the racist exploiters on behalf of all the oppressed. We seek to win youth to the side of the working class and to the fight to build a revolutionary internationalist workers party that can lead the workers and oppressed in overturning capitalist rule here and throughout the world.■

"There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!"

PDC at Lynne Stewart Rally

We print below a speech by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein at an October 15 rally in support of Lynne Stewart at Manhattan's Riverside Church. The speech drew repeated applause from the hundreds-strong audience.

The Partisan Defense Committee, along with the Spartacist League, stands in solidarity with Lynne Stewart, as well as her co-defendants, translator Mohamed Yousry and paralegal Ahmed Abdel Sattar. The government prosecuted Lynne for being an ardent, effective courtroom champion of black activists, leftists and others deemed enemies by America's racist rulers. Lynne represents that rare attorney who challenged the government's attempts to dehumanize and demonize her clients. Lynne was falsely convicted of material support to terrorism and "conspiracy to defraud the U.S. government." This from a government that gives new meaning to the quip that you know they are lying because their lips are moving!

But the terrorism to fear and fight is bloody, murderous U.S. imperialism, which is the main enemy of the world's peoples. Indeed, Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda, the Taliban and others of that ilk are the creation of U.S. imperialism in its war against the Soviet Union. From annihilation of the Native population, the enslavement of black Africans, colonial slaughters from the Philippines to Iraq, to the firebombings of Hamburg and Dresden, the atomic bombs directed on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the history of America's rulers is that of blood-soaked barbarity.

The attacks on September 11 provided the pretext for the government's anti-immigrant, anti-terror campaign, creating a false "national unity" in which the U.S. capitalist rulers let loose slaughter in Iraq and stepped up the tools of state repression, first against immigrants, and then to be directed against black people and the whole working class, particularly those who are declared political opponents.

At stake in this fictional "war against terrorism" is the qualitative restriction and reversal of those democratic rights which were won on the battlefield of the U.S. Civil War and in class and social struggle over the past hundred or more years, including during the civil rights movement and with the defeat of the U.S. on the battlefields of Vietnam. Lynne's conviction is intended to further imperial plans to designate any political opponent as an "enemy combatant" with no rights, no voice, no legal redress.

Lynne Stewart's case is an object lesson in the class nature of the capitalist state—the police and military with their adjuncts in the courts and the prisons. The state is an instrumentality for organized violence by one class, the capitalist class, defending the frame-up profit system, against the working people, against minorities. Remember also, Lynne's frame-up trial took place not in Judge Saho's Southern-style Philadelphia courthouse, but in the august halls of the Federal District Court.

Lynne made a statement a year ago at a rally we held on her behalf that her prosecution was also payback for her successful defense of Larry Davis. To have defeated and humiliated the frame-up racist cops so thoroughly put Lynne Stewart in the state's cross hairs, no less than Mumia's advocacy as a Black Panther Party member and supporter of the MOVE organization put him on death row.

Five years after September 11, despite the large numbers in this room, there is no working-class-centered, mass united-front effort in opposition to the "anti-terrorism" campaign, nor in defense of those victimized, such as Lynne Stewart. This is tied to the fact that the left has in the main been cheerleaders and organizers for the "Anybody but Bush" campaign, pushing the capitalist parties—the Dems and/or the Greens—as an answer to the justly hated Bush-Cheney-Rumsfeld group. It cannot be ignored that Clinton and the Democratic Party are responsible for the 1996 anti-terrorist law and the SAMs [Special Administrative Measures] under which Lynne Stewart was prosecuted. The Dems promise to be ***more effective*** in the war on terror. Their complaint about detainees, rendition, secret camps and government torture from Abu Ghraih to Guantánamo is on the grounds that it has undermined America's influence and power in the world. That is why comrades in the Spartacist League have called for a vote to Jeff Mackler for Senator from California, because his campaign draws a crude class line against the capitalist parties of the Dems and the Greens. What is necessary is a real workers party to sweep away this whole racist system of injustice. We say, in the spirit of John Brown, finish the Civil War—for a third American Revolution!

To fight and win in defense of Lynne Stewart, her co-defendants and others, such as Mumia Abu-Jamal, we must begin with the recognition that the bourgeois state will stop at nothing—from lies to terror—on the streets and in the courts. There is no justice in the capitalist courts!

What is needed is united action on a program of class-struggle defense, mobilizing the social power of the international labor movement. The only pressure that will impact on the state and its courts is fear of the consequences of locking up Lynne Stewart. This rally, and tomorrow's at the courthouse, must send the message that the imprisonment of Lynne Stewart is a loss ***we cannot afford***—and one ***we cannot allow***. Freedom for Lynne Stewart!

Lynne Stewart will be speaking at a rally for Mumia on October 28, two weeks from now. She must be there!■

Convictions...

(continued from page 12)

because we understood from the start that with this trial the government was pursuing a frontal assault on ***all our rights*** (see speech at Lynne Stewart defense rally, above). The fact that the convictions have not been overturned is ominous and establishes a dangerous precedent.

In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, then-attorney general John Ashcroft picked Lynne Stewart as his poster girl for the reactionary "war on terror." On 9 April 2002, John Ashcroft himself flew to New York for the theatrical backdrop of Ground Zero to announce indictments against Stewart, Yousry and Abdel Sattar, accusing them of a conspiracy that provided "material support to terrorist activity." "Conspiracy" is a high-voltage charge applied when no evidence exists to support a prosecution for any criminal activity. For years, the government had secretly recorded the supposedly privileged attorney-client discussions between Lynne Stewart, Yousry, Abdel Sattar and Stewart's court-appointed client, Abdel Rahman.

After a seven-month-long trial fraught with prosecutorial misconduct, including outrageous pandering to palpable fear in the post-September 11 climate (even videotapes of Osama bin Laden were introduced as evidence!), the government got its high-profile trophy when, on 10 February 2005, all three defendants were convicted. Ashcroft devoted a chapter of his memoir, *Never Again*, to the Stewart prosecution, crowing:

> "In convicting Lynne Stewart, the jury acknowledged that America is taking the president's definition of 'terrorist' to heart. If someone aids a terrorist, that is the same as being a terrorist."

Though carried out by Bush & Co., this mugging of constitutional rights has the fingerprints of the Democratic Clinton administration all over it. Stewart, Yousry and Abdel Sattar were indicted under a law that predates the September 11 attacks, the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act signed into law by Clinton. Unable to get Stewart for breaking any law, the government nailed her with violation of a prison regulation: defying the Special Administrative Measures implemented by the Clinton administration, which drastically restrict a prisoner's right to communicate with the outside world. When Lynne Stewart told a Reuters journalist that Sheik Abdel Rahman thought the cease-fire between the Islamic Group and the Egyptian government should be reconsidered, the government howled that she had masterminded a "jailbreak" of a "terrorist" whom they thought they had "locked up," and "thrown away the key."

It is not hyperbole to suggest that the government has arrogated to itself the right to charge ***anyone*** with "material support to terrorism," or to declare ***anyone*** an "unlawful enemy combatant" subject to detention and torture. Send a donation to victims of the tsunami in Sri Lanka and you may find yourself accused of collusion with the Tamil Tigers. Support an IRA prisoner and you may find yourself in the next cell. Now the Military Commissions Act has been signed into law by Bush, defining "unlawful enemy combatants" as those who "purposefully and materially supported hostilities against the United States or its co-belligerents." Demonstrate in defense of U.S. imperialism's victims in Iraq and you could find yourself disappeared—locked in a military prison without an attorney or right to a trial. This capitalist ruling class is so demented that they've even classified the recent suicides of three Guantánamo detainees as "asymmetric warfare" and threaten to press charges against an attorney for the detainees!

For Class-Struggle Defense of All Our Rights!

Ahmed Abdel Sattar, an Islamic fundamentalist whose only crime was to rack up large phone bills talking to other fundamentalists, has already been imprisoned for four and a half years. His attorney told the court that since his conviction 20 months ago, Abdel Sattar has been held in solitary in an essentially windowless cell (the window has been painted over) and is denied all visitors. Were it not for our reporter in the courtroom, word of his beastly conditions of imprisonment would likely not get out.

His attorney requested that the court enable Abdel Sattar to meet privately for five or ten minutes with his wife and four children who were in the courtroom before being remanded to prison. Although the judge initially agreed, the U.S. attorney, Andrew Dember, vindictively protested that such a visit would be a violation of the SAMs, and Koeltl backed down. Abdel Sattar was sent down, not to be seen again for a very long time. Speaking on his own behalf before the judge, Abdel Sattar made a courageous statement avowing that he does have strong political beliefs against the governments of Egypt and Israel as well as the policies of the U.S. government. "But I am not a terrorist," he declared, citing that in more than *88,000* wiretapped conversations on his phone over a period of eight years the government came up with no proof linking him to any act of violence.

Mohamed Yousry is a secular humanist and scholar, who, on the advice of his New York University professor, Zachary Lockman, used his access as a court-approved translator for Sheik Abdel Rahman to pursue a PhD thesis on the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Egypt. A well-respected teacher at York College in the City University of New York, Yousry was immediately fired upon his indictment. We applaud Yousry's statement to the *New York Times* (16 October): "I wish to God I can say I'm sorry. But I'm not guilty and I'm not going to say I'm sorry for something that I didn't do." Yousry told a *WV* reporter, "We need to move on to the appeal and try to win some kind of legal victory to stop this from happening to other people." Indeed, the prosecution, conviction and sentencing of Yousry and Abdel Sattar is no less an attack on the Sixth Amendment right to counsel than the persecution of Lynne Stewart.

Yet it is notable that the liberals and self-styled leftists who eventually came around to defend Lynne Stewart (mainly post-conviction) have virtually disappeared the names of Mohamed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar. Outside the courthouse on the day of sentencing, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee carried placards in defense of all three defendants and on the march to the courthouse we initiated a chant: "Lynne Stewart Must Go Free! Free Sattar and Yousry!" The refusal of self-styled leftists to defend anyone but Lynne Stewart was ostentatious and obscene.

Ultimately, what the government can get away with will be determined not in the courtroom but on the battle lines of class struggle in this country. What's crucial is to link up the struggles of all the oppressed with those of the multiracial labor movement, which, when mobilized in its own class interest and independent of the Democratic Party, has enormous social power. When the capitalist system run by America's truly terrorist rulers is swept away in a thoroughgoing socialist revolution, then, and only then, will justice be served.■

Standard

AhmedAbdelSattar.org

Left: Mohamed Yousry, sentenced to 20 months. Above: Ahmed Abdel Sattar, sentenced to 24 years.

Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

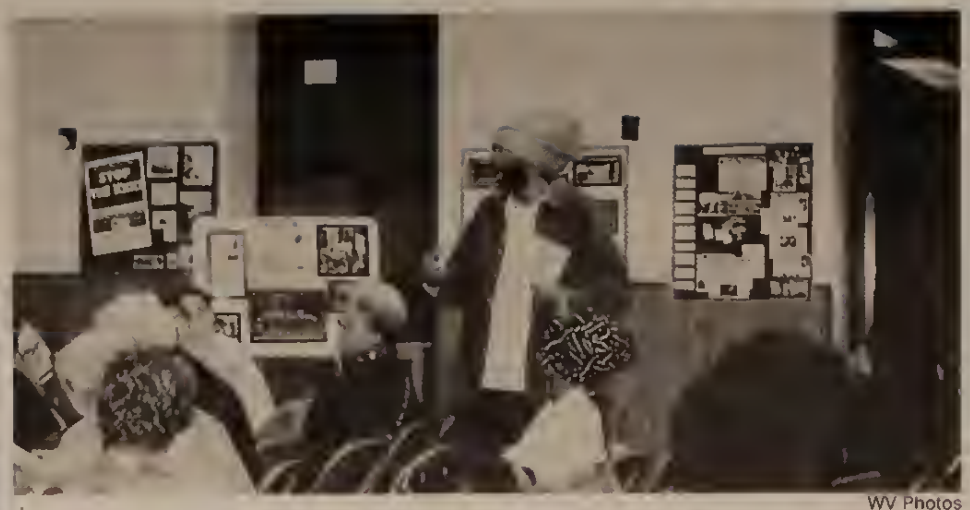
political and racial bias that is spread all over Mumia's case. But what the courts have refused to hear is the overwhelming evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he shot Officer Faulkner and that Mumia had nothing to do with the shooting. None of the courts have allowed Beverly's evidence to be heard because it is too hot to handle. It exposes that Mumia's frame-up is not just some aberration of a rogue cop or a bad judge, but the result of the workings of a whole "justice" system whose real purpose is the repression of workers, minorities and the poor on behalf of the capitalist rulers.

The courts will not hear the Beverly evidence, the evidence of rampant cop coercion of witnesses, the blatant fabrication of a confession, the fact that Mumia was denied the right to represent himself, was saddled with an incompetent and unprepared lawyer and was banished from large portions of his trial. All of these obvious violations have been rubber-stamped by court after court.

If the bourgeois courts will not hear the evidence of Mumia's innocence, it is all the more urgent that we make that evidence known in the streets, in the factories, on the campuses, in all your organizations. We must make it known: Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man!

I want to focus a little on the Beverly evidence because what is becoming clearer and clearer to more and more people is that Beverly's confession fits with all the other evidence of what happened that night, December 9, 1981. It is not just that Beverly passed lie detector tests on his fundamental points, but his account ties all the surrounding evidence into a package, ties up many of the loose ends in the case.

For example, the whole premise of the prosecution case was that there were only three men on the corner where Faulkner was shot: Faulkner, Mumia and Mumia's brother, Billy Cook. But we know there was someone else there, because there were no less than five witnesses, including two cops, who said there was someone on that corner wearing a green army jacket. Several said this person was the shooter. And yet Faulkner obviously was wearing his police uniform, Mumia was wearing a red and blue striped jacket, and Billy Cook was wearing a dark blue Nehru-style jacket. None of those could be mistaken for a green army jacket. This is in the police evidence in plastic bags in boxes. We know what they were wearing. Beverly says that he was wearing a green jacket, and so was the other shooter that was there to hit this cop. From the ballistics evidence to the fact that no prosecution witness could explain how Mumia was shot, Beverly's account corresponds to the medical examiner's report, which says that arriving backup police shot Mumia.



WV Photos

Chicago, October 13: Partisan Defense Committee rally to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. Left: PDC speaker Erica Willlamson.

There is so much more, but I want to turn to the surrounding context, which is that Beverly says he was hired to kill Faulkner because Faulkner was interfering with the police graft in downtown Philadelphia. There are many who assert that the idea of a mob or police hit on Faulkner is "incredible," that it sounds too much like it was made for Hollywood. These same people probably would say it was incredible that for two decades there was a torture chamber where hundreds of black men were being tortured in a Chicago police station. They would probably say it's incredible that the U.S. Army is grabbing Iraqis off the street, flying them to Poland to be tortured. This kind of thing is not some aberration. It happens every day. This is business as usual for the frame-up machinery of the bourgeois state.

Look at here in Chicago. Just last month the prosecutors had to drop over a hundred cases because a set of Special Operations cops were kidnapping people, robbing them and then framing them up. Not long ago in New York, they indicted an FBI agent who was feeding the mob information to help them with their hits.

Back in 1981, there were three ongoing investigations of police corruption in Philadelphia, including an investigation of graft in the Central City red-light district right where Faulkner worked. The cops in the district were up to their ears with the mob, taking graft from prostitutes and from the late-night club owners. Would they go so far as to kill a witness? We know they did. There was another witness in the corruption case that was murdered a few months after he testified. We have an affidavit from an FBI informant who said that he heard in December 1981, when Faulkner was shot, that the cops were paranoid that there was a cop informant and that they were going to kill any they could find [see PDC pamphet *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal*, July 2006]. A federal prosecutor told me that they had an informant in law enforcement, a cop informant whose brother was also a cop, and we know that Faulkner and his brother were both cops. FBI agents who have looked at Faulkner's FBI records say that they look very unusual, that it could well be that he was an informant.

There is more, but let me focus on Alfonzo Giordano, who was the senior cop on the scene after the shooting. Who was Giordano? He was one of the cops under investigation in December 1981, as was the head of homicide, who was ultimately convicted. He was also the senior cop, back under Mayor Frank Rizzo. He was Rizzo's right-hand man in going after the Black Panther Party, and he helped run the police siege of MOVE's Powelton Village commune in 1978. There can be no doubt that Giordano, the ranking officer on the scene, knew exactly who Mumia Abu-Jamal was. He had known him over a decade, had been targeting him for over a decade.

Giordano was also the guy that got the cabdriver, who originally said that the shooter ran away, to go and identify Mumia in the van and change his story. And Giordano claimed that Mumia confessed in the back of the police van, even though the other cop who was there denied this. Yet Giordano was not called as a witness at Mumia's trial, and the day after Mumia was convicted and sentenced to death, Giordano retired from the police force. Four years later, he pled guilty in the corruption cases. Obviously, the prosecutor and cops were tipped off that Giordano was going down, and they didn't want Mumia's case to go down with him. So again, Beverly's account squares with the reality of what happened in this case.

Since taking up the case in 1988, the PDC has consistently argued that every legal remedy must be pursued on Mumia's behalf. For that reason we are asking you to dig deep and we are passing the bucket to raise funds for Mumia's current legal team. We had a fundraiser here in Chicago in June that raised over $1,500 for Mumia's defense.

But we have also consistently warned against any illusions in the justice of the capitalist state and the capitalist courts. The forces of the state, from the cops to the prosecutors to the judges to the prison wardens, have lined up in unison behind this frame-up. We must put all our faith in the fight for Mumia's freedom in the only force that has the interest and power to win it—and that's the power of mass protest centered on the labor movement. The fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is also a fight to establish his innocence, not just in court, but on the political battlefield.

You know there are many people fighting to push the lie of Mumia's guilt. We've got the F.O.P. [Fraternal Order of Police] out there pushing the lies. But let's not forget that there are many bourgeois liberal forces whose only concern with Mumia's case is that it is a stain on their great "justice" system. They want to wipe the stain away. They don't care if Mumia gets a new trial and is sent to prison for the rest of his life. These people are the ones that have tried to suppress the Beverly evidence, and they have many leftist tails who have helped them in that effort.

We need to build more broadly in our unions, on our campuses, in our community groups, ringing the alarm: Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man! Free him now! Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia now! Free Mumia now!■

FREE MUMIA NOW!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

Mumia Abu-Jamal's Life Is in Danger–Mobilize Now!

COC Productions

RALLY!

NEW YORK
Saturday, Oct. 28, 3 p.m.

Salem United Methodist Church
2190 Adam Clayton
Powell Jr. Blvd.
(at 129th St., 2, 3 train to 125th St.
or A, C, D to 125th St.)
More info: (212) 406-4252

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League
e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net
www.partisandefense.org

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

Partisan Defense Committee
e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net • Web site: www.partisandefense.org
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680 • (312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 29574, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029 • (213) 380-8897
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107 • (510) 839-0852

WORKERS VANGUARD

Overturn Terror Show-Trial Convictions of Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar!

Consummating a witchhunting "anti-terror" show trial, on October 16, attorney Lynne Stewart, together with her assistants, Mohamed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar, were sentenced to prison, having been convicted in February 2005 of conspiring to provide material support to terrorism and to defraud the U.S. government. Stewart was hit with a 28-month prison stretch. Her Arabic translator, Yousry, got 20 months, and former postal worker Abdel Sattar, who served as Stewart's paralegal, was ordered locked away for *24 years*. This is an outrage! We demand: Overturn the convictions!

The sentences handed down by Judge John Koeltl, who received some 1,100 letters in support of Stewart, were substantially less than the prosecutors had demanded: 30 years for Stewart; 20 years for Yousry and a life sentence for Abdel Sattar. Lynne Stewart, a well-known leftist attorney, 67-year-old grandmother and cancer patient, and Mohamed Yousry are out on bail pending appeal. But Abdel Sattar is locked down deep in the prison system under restrictive Special Administrative Measures (SAMs) that deny him communication, visitors and most rights.

During the sentencing hearing, Koeltl praised Lynne Stewart for representing "the poor, the disadvantaged and the unpopular," adding, "it is no exaggeration to say that Ms. Stewart performed a public service not only to her clients but to the nation." But he added that there had been "an irreducible core of extraordinarily severe criminal conduct" in her defense of her client, the Islamic fundamentalist Egyptian cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, who is serving a life sentence for an alleged plot to blow up New York City landmarks. Even the government admits that not a single act of violence resulted from the alleged "terror conspiracy" of which the three were convicted. In fact, Stewart's only "crime" was to be a zealous advocate on behalf of her client, providing the legal representation supposedly guaranteed under the Sixth Amendment of the Constitution.

lynnestewart.org

October 16: Lynne Stewart at rally in front of Manhattan federal court building, before receiving sentence of 28 months.

As we warned after the convictions in "Outrage! Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar Convicted" (*WV* No. 842, 18 February 2005): "The verdict gives the government a green light to prosecute lawyers for the alleged crimes of their clients, thereby shooting the basic right to counsel to hell." If attorneys are charged with the alleged crimes of their clients, they'll be far less likely to defend those accused of serious crimes associated with unpopular causes. And if the populace is stripped of the right to adequate defense, then that will certainly chill the exercise of First Amendment rights to speech and association.

It is a measure of the absence of significant class or social struggle—of the lack of any mass movement on behalf of Stewart and her co-defendants, much less one based on the social power of labor—that many of Stewart's defenders are celebrating the lesser prison sentences as victories. Meanwhile, the prosecutors are fuming. U.S. attorney Michael Garcia stormed out of the courtroom without comment, declaring in a statement issued afterward: "We will be exploring our appellate options." And the right-wing talking heads and tabloid rags are screaming over the sentences.

For its part, the *New York Times* (21 October) ran a hatchet job, "Lawyer Convicted in Terror Case Lied on the Stand, a Juror Says," that depicts Stewart as guilty as sin. Devoted to the account of one juror who was "vastly disappointed" with the sentences, the *Times* buries the statement issued by another juror that "the right thing for the judge to have done was to have overturned the jury verdict and thrown the whole case out." Last year, this same juror wrote a letter to the judge stating she had voted to convict "as a result of the fear and intimidation I was made to feel for my life" in the jury room.

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee mobilized in defense of Lynne Stewart and her co-defendants

continued on page 10

Chicago PDC Rally

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

We print below a speech by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Jonathan Piper at an October 13 Chicago rally called by the PDC in support of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man and his life is in grave danger. The state is intent on killing this former Black Panther Party member, MOVE supporter, outspoken journalist, because of his professed revolutionary politics. They see in him the combination of black and red, which they view as a deadly threat to their system. They seek to legally lynch Mumia Abu-Jamal to send a message to all black people, trade unionists, radical youth—anybody who would speak out against their system of racist capitalist oppression.

Mumia's case is on the fast track for what could be the final decision on whether he lives, dies, spends the rest of his life buried in prison, or gets more legal proceedings. A brief is due Monday [October 23], which will be his last brief, and a decision in the case is on a fast track to come in a matter of months. Many people wonder about the maze of legal procedures, so let me just try to break it down quickly. For a state criminal defendant there are three sets of appeals. The first is an appeal directly in the state court. That's what Mumia had in the 1980s. After that you get post-conviction appeals in the state courts. That is what Mumia had in the 1990s. Finally, there is the right of federal *habeas corpus*. That's what Mumia is doing now. But the right to federal *habeas corpus* was gutted in 1996, when Democrat Bill Clinton signed the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, which pretty much took away the right to get a new hearing in federal court. This is a striking example of how the "war on terror" is used to gut all our rights, and how the Democrats, just as much as the Republicans, have been leading the speedup on death row targeting Mumia Abu-Jamal.

In 2001, federal judge William Yohn overturned the death sentence in the case, but upheld every aspect of Mumia's conviction. The state is now appealing to reinstate the death penalty. Mumia is appealing to overturn his conviction. But, outrageously the Court of Appeals is allowing him to raise only three issues: the racist jury-rigging that kept blacks off his

Jennifer Beach

jury; the prosecutor's closing argument that the jury didn't have to worry about reasonable doubt because Mumia would get "appeal after appeal"; and the notorious, obscene prejudice of the judge, Albert Sabo, during the 1995 post-conviction hearings. Sabo was the racist hanging judge who sent more people to death row than anyone else in recent history, who said at the time of Mumia's 1982 trial, "I'm going to help them fry the n----r."

These three issues give a taste of the

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 880 | ® GAU C-701 | 10 November 2006

Reuters

AFP

U.S. Out of Iraq, Afghanistan Now!

Break with the Democrats— For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

Top left: Residents of Baghdad's Sadr City celebrate after U.S. military abandons cordon around area, October 31. Top right: U.S. Marine raid in Iraqi town of Haklanyah, November 2005.

NOVEMBER 6 — Blood has come to define U.S.-occupied Iraq, once one of the more advanced countries of the Near East. And now the Iraq occupation has come to define U.S. politics in the 2006 Congressional elections. With the imperialist butchers and their Iraqi puppet government unable to ensure a modicum of stability even in Baghdad, preponderant sections of the U.S. capitalist ruling class see the occupation as a losing venture and demand a "change in course." The Democratic Party, which gave Bush a blank check to pursue the bloody "war on terror" in Afghanistan following the September 11 attacks and then gave the go-ahead for the Iraq war, now aims to recapture Congress by running candidates as "not Bush."

George W. Bush touted the death sentence meted out to former Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein by a show-trial tribunal —conveniently handed down two days before American voters go the polls—as a "milestone" in Iraqi "democracy." Would anyone expect anything different from a man who, as governor of Texas, oversaw the deadliest machinery of state executions in the U.S., and who more recently signed into law the use of torture in handling "terror" suspects?

Saddam Hussein was indeed a butcher—but he was the *imperialists'* butcher and Washington's bloody bastard as he arrested, tortured and executed thousands of Iraqi Communists, union leaders, Kurds and other ethnic minorities and religious opponents. In 1983, U.S. president Reagan sent an emissary—one Donald Rumsfeld—to meet with Saddam Hussein in the midst of the bloody eight-year war between Iraq and predominantly Shi'ite Iran. It was only after Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990 that he became

continued on page 11

Mexican Trotskyists Say: Defend Teachers, APPO!

Down With Bloody State of Siege in Oaxaca!

No Illusions in the PRD, Party of Capital!

NOVEMBER 6—For more than a week, the city of Oaxaca in Southern Mexico has been under a state of siege. On October 27, gun-toting thugs, some of them believed to be police, shot down four people in an attack on striking teachers and their supporters in the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (APPO). Two days later, some 4,000 Federal Preventive Police (PFP) forces backed by the military attacked the APPO's encampment in the center of Oaxaca City at dawn, killing three more people. Protesters retrenched at Oaxaca's Benito Juárez Autonomous University, where thousands stood off a brutal attack on November 2 by the PFP, which is formally barred from entering the university without permission from the campus administration. Dozens of APPO members, teachers and others remain in jail, and more than 60 people were "disappeared."

Protests continue in the face of the state of siege. Tens of thousands of APPO supporters marched in Oaxaca yesterday, demanding that the PFP get out of the city and that the governor, Ulises Ruiz, be removed. There is an urgent need for solidarity with the Oaxaca protesters—in Mexico and internationally. At Mexico City's UNAM campus, comrades from the Juventud Espartaquista, youth group of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, helped shut down the School of Political Science on October 31 as part of a student strike and

continued on page 6

AP

Using water cannons, federal police backed by heavily armed troops lay siege to Oaxaca encampment, October 29.

On "Age of Consent" Laws

5 October 2006

Just wanted to call your attention to a confusing way of putting things that I found twice in the otherwise very good article reprinted from Spartacist Canada against the repression of youth sexuality.

Spartacist Canada writes: "[W]e do not think intergenerational sex is by definition abusive, nor do we think incest is *a priori* a crime to be punished by the bourgeois state" and, further down, "We do not accord the capitalist state the right to decree the age at which youth may engage in consensual sexual activity."

I don't understand what the words "bourgeois" and "capitalist" are doing qualifying "state" in these two sentences. Naturally, we would be no less intransigently opposed to the criminalization of consensual sex by a (presumably deformed) workers state. I understand that the legal age of consent in Cuba is 16 for Cubans and 18 if the older partner is a foreigner, and that's just for male-female sex—homosexual activity at any age can mean prison.

Elsewhere the article spells out the basic line quite clearly: "As long as those who take part agree to do so at the time, no-one, least of all the state, has the right to tell them they can't do it."

Hands off Mark Foley!

CGs,
Alan H.

***WV* replies:**

Our article "Canada: Anti-Sex Crusade Targets Youth, Gays" (*WV* No. 876, 15 September) was written about the Canadian government's plan to raise the age of consent from 14 to 16. Alan H. asks why we specified our opposition to ***capitalist*** and ***bourgeois*** state interference in private sexual matters between consenting individuals. The state is not an abstraction; the reactionary "age of consent" laws are the work of the capitalist state in all its concreteness. Just to be clear: the other references to the state in this article are also to the capitalist state. Indeed, in opposing the capitalists' laws criminalizing sexuality, we point toward a future socialist society. And as our article states, this is "part of the struggle to lay bare the ways in which the bourgeoisie maintains its grip on the working people."

Alan H. writes that "we would be no less intransigently opposed to the criminalization of consensual sex by a (presumably deformed) workers state." Indeed, we oppose Cuba's "age of consent" laws. A healthy workers state would, as the Bolsheviks did following the 1917 Russian Revolution, move swiftly to eliminate the web of laws that enforce the oppression of women and buttress the repressive institution of the family. But a workers government would have to reckon with the legacy of the capitalist society that went before:

> "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past."
>
> —Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852)

Our reader is quite correct that Marxists oppose state interference in private consensual sexual matters on principle. At the same time, Marxists differentiate between private sexual relations and institutionalized practices that are oppressive to women. Thus, social reality varies greatly from country to country, presenting special problems and tasks for proletarian revolutionaries. In countries that never experienced bourgeois revolutions, where women are held to be little more than the property of their patriarchal masters, women's liberation requires fighting to end such institutions as the bride price and the veil. In Iran, for example, where child marriage is legal and common, a workers government would prohibit child marriage, along with the buying and selling of women.

The heavy burden of the tsarist past confronted the Bolsheviks as they sought to make their liberating program a reality in a terribly backward, overwhelmingly peasant country. We explored this in depth in "The Russian Revolution and the Emancipation of Women" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 59, Spring 2006). We'll cite but one example here. The Bolsheviks' new marriage and divorce laws were very popular, but as we wrote:

> "Given women's traditional responsibilities for children and their greater difficulties in finding and maintaining employment, for them divorce often proved more problematic than for men. For this reason the alimony provision was established for the disabled poor of both sexes, necessary due to the inability of the state at that time to guarantee jobs for all."

As our *Spartacist* article explains, the Stalinist bureaucracy abandoned the communist commitment to fight for women's liberation. The official glorification of family life and the retreat from Bolshevik policies on divorce and abortion were products of the political counterrevolution that usurped political power from the working class. But despite bureaucratic degeneration, the central gains of the Russian Revolution—embodied in the overthrow of capitalist property relations and the establishment of a planned economy—remained until the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, and those gains were reflected in the material position of women.

As for Cuba, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, it is not the case that "homosexual activity at any age can mean prison." For decades, homosexuals were persecuted by the Stalinist Castro bureaucracy, at times viciously. But in 1997 the laws against homosexuality were removed from Cuba's penal code. Today there is greater tolerance for homosexuality, although homophobia remains widespread. The Cuban Stalinists uphold the family, which in turn reinforces *machismo* nationalism, as opposed to the revolutionary Bolsheviks, who deplored the institution of the family and sought to replace it.

As we wrote many years ago in "Women in Castro's Cuba" (*Women and Revolution* No. 6, Summer 1974):

> "The creation of a revolutionary international capable of leading revolutions in the advanced countries as well as in the underdeveloped ones is necessary for the victory of socialism. The Spartacist League therefore works for the rebirth of the Fourth International. Until Cuba is able to industrialize fully, without the pressures of world imperialism and without the betrayals of the bureaucracy, the full emancipation of Cuban women cannot be achieved....
>
> "A genuine socialist society in Cuba, whose construction will require a political revolution in Havana to overthrow the Stalinist Castroite regime, will be profoundly different from the society which we see there today. Workers democracy will take the place of the present cliquist bureaucracy, and the conditions of material abundance will provide the basis for women's emancipation and equality for the first time in modern history."■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For New October Revolutions!

November 7 (October 25 according to the old Russian calendar) marks the 89th anniversary of the Russian Revolution of 1917, the greatest historic victory for the world proletariat. Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky stressed the importance of studying the lessons of the October Revolution, particularly following the failure of the German Communist Party to consummate a proletarian revolution in 1923 despite exceptionally favorable objective circumstances. As Trotsky described, political struggle within the Bolshevik leadership against pressures to accommodate to the bourgeois order played a crucial role in enabling the party to lead the working class to power.

The fundamental controversial question, around which everything else centered, was this: whether or not we should struggle for power; whether or not we should assume power. This alone is ample proof that we were not then dealing with a mere episodic divergence of opinions but with two tendencies of utmost principled significance. The first and principal tendency was proletarian and led to the road of world revolution. The other was "democratic," i.e., petty bourgeois, and led, in the last analysis, to the subordination of proletarian policies to the requirements of bourgeois society in the process of reform. These two tendencies came into hostile conflict over every essential question that arose throughout the year 1917. It is precisely the revolutionary epoch—i.e., the epoch when the accumulated capital of the party is put in direct circulation—that must inevitably broach in action and reveal divergences of such nature. These two tendencies, in greater or lesser degree, with more or less modification, will more than once manifest themselves during the revolutionary period in every country. If by Bolshevism—and we are stressing here its essential aspect—we understand such a training, such a tempering and such an organization of the proletarian vanguard as enables the latter to seize power, arms in hand; and if by Social Democracy we are to understand the acceptance of a reformist opposition activity within the framework of bourgeois society and an adaptation to its legality—i.e., the actual training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state; then, indeed, it is absolutely clear that even within the Communist party itself, which does not emerge full-fledged from the crucible of history, the struggle between social democratic tendencies and Bolshevism is bound to reveal itself in its most clear, open and uncamouflaged form during the immediate revolutionary period when the question of power is posed point-blank.

—Leon Trotsky, *Lessons of October* (1924)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Bonnie Brodie

EDITOR: Ray Bishop

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, Michael Davisson, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alan Wilde

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is November 7

No. 880 **10 November 2006**

21st Annual Holiday Appeal
Fundraiser for Class-War Prisoners

Labor Defender

Bay Area
Sunday, December 10
1 to 4 p.m.
YWCA Tea Room
1515 Webster St., Oakland
(City Center Bart Station)
For more information:
(510) 839-0852
pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net

Chicago
Sunday, December 10
3 to 7 p.m.
United Electrical Hall
37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)
For more information:
(312) 563-0442
chicagopdc@sbcglobal.net

Los Angeles
Saturday, December 2
2 to 6 p.m.
Mount Hollywood
Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Avenue
Hollywood
For more information:
(213) 380-8897
partisandefense-la@sbcglobal.net

New York City
Sunday, December 17
5 to 10 p.m.
Southpaw
125 Fifth Ave.
(at Sterling Pl.)
Brooklyn, NY
For more information:
(212) 406-4252
partisandefense@earthlink.net

Toronto
Friday, December 15
7 to 10 p.m.
Steelworkers Hall
25 Cecil Street
(near Queens Park Sta.)
For more information:
(416) 593-4138
pdctoronto@bellnet.ca

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

Subscription Drive Success

WV Welcomes New Readers!

WV Photo

Comrades and sympathizers of the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Clubs and Labor Black Leagues spent six weeks from late August through early October engaged in the annual *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive campaign, exceeding our national quota of 2,650 with a total of 2,955.5 points. Every local surpassed its own quota. These points represent 1,345 subscriptions to *WV* and 119 subscriptions to *Espartaco*, newspaper of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, with 85 subscriptions to other International Communist League sectional newspapers and placements of *WV* in bookstores.

WV welcomes its new readers and greets those who renewed their subscriptions. A Marxist, working-class biweekly, *WV* seeks to propagate our full revolutionary program and to make this program concrete by addressing the struggles of workers and the oppressed and our interventions into these struggles. The SL is a fighting propaganda group whose aim is to build a revolutionary vanguard party of the kind that V.I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks forged in order to lead the working class to power in the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia. In arguing for the founding of a regular party press in his 1899 article "Our Immediate Task," Lenin wrote:

> "In speaking of the necessity to concentrate *all* Party forces—all literary forces, all organisational abilities, all material resources, etc.—on the foundation and correct conduct of the organ of the whole Party, we do not for a moment think of pushing other forms of activity into the background—e.g., local agitation, demonstrations,...etc., etc. On the contrary, we are convinced that all these forms of activity constitute the *basis* of the Party's activity, but, *without* their unification through an organ of the whole Party, these forms of revolutionary struggle *lose nine-tenths of their significance*; they do not lead to the creation of common Party experience, to the creation of Party traditions and continuity. The Party organ, far from competing with such activity, will exercise tremendous influence on its extension, consolidation and systematisation."

We make a special effort to sell subscriptions to our press because it is our main tool for seeking to influence and lead struggles and for winning workers and youth to our ranks. Our annual subscription drive is crucial to maintaining an ongoing readership and reaching out to new layers and to regions where we do not have branches. The campaign also serves to give us a picture of current political consciousness and moods, from the campuses to the workplaces and union halls.

Racial Oppression and the Fight to Free Mumia

A central part of this year's subscription drive was building the urgent campaign undertaken hy the Partisan Defense Committee to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and later an award-winning journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization. Our efforts included huilding rallies demanding freedom for Mumia that were called by the PDC and LBLs and took place in four cities during October (see page 12). Around the country, SYCs held showings of the PDC video "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal," often at the invitation of other student groups and professors on regional trips. Comrades on subscription drive trips to the South were able to bring the case to trade unionists there, garnering a number of signatures on the PDC's statement of support for Mumia (see page 8). A PDC spokesman addressed hundreds of trade unionists on the fight to free Mumia at the Labor Day picnic in Charleston, South Carolina.

Just as the capitalist state's attempt to execute Mumia, who represents the spectre of black revolution to the ruling class, is emblematic of the special oppression of black people in the U.S., the atrocity around Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans just over a year ago stands as a searing indictment of the racist capitalist system. Our pamphlet *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 19, which features key *WV* articles on New Orleans, was a big draw in the sales of subscriptions across the country. SL comrades undertook two trips to New Orleans during the subscription drive, and despite the overwhelming difficulties for people trying to pick up their lives in a still largely devastated city, we were able to engage politically with workers at the ports and shipyards as well as with students, selling 73.5 points in subscriptions.

Comrades on our trip to North Carolina intersected sanitation workers in Raleigh battling for union recognition in the face of anti-labor "right to work" laws that exist throughout the South (see "Sanitation Workers Battle for Union Rights," *WV* No. 878, 13 October). A student organization at historically black North Carolina Central University in Durham organized a forum for us to speak on New Orleans, at which there was a lively discussion. A common theme in discussions with students in the region, as in other parts of the country, was the search for a "third road" between the horrors of capitalism and the fight for soçialist revolution. Often cited as an example of such a "third road" was the bourgeois-populist regime of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela, which is administering the exploitative, class-divided capitalist system but is hailed as supposedly "socialist" because high oil prices have enabled it to throw some crumbs to the poor.

In this context, it was particularly useful to have our series of articles under the *Young Spartacus* masthead on the history of the Russian Revolution of 1917, as well as the article "The Russian Revolution and the Emancipation of Women" from the current issue of the ICL's international theoretical journal, *Spartacist*. These articles helped comrades explain what a true social revolution looks like and to concretize the revolutionary program that working people need to fight to end capitalist exploitation and oppression. *WV* articles that ran during the subscription drive motivating the Trotskyist program in defense of the deformed workers states of China and North Korea—a program that the ICL uniquely upholds—also helped to illustrate the gains of social revolutions for new readers.

WV Photo

Spartacists at July 29 New York protest against Israeli assault on Lebanon.

U.S. Imperialism and the Elections

Our articles opposing both the U.S.-backed Zionist onslaught against Lebanon—and the ongoing murderous oppression of the Palestinians—as well as the subsequent imperialist intervention into Lebanon by UN "peacekeepers" were of much interest in the early part of our subscription drive. Likewise, our coverage of struggles in Mexico, from the mass protests around the presidential election results to the teachers strike in Oaxaca, drew a lot of interest not only in *WV* but also in *Espartaco*. We sold a number of *Espartaco* subscriptions at immigrant rights protests held around the country in early September, as well as a number of *WV* subs to young activists who had been involved in the massive immigrant rights protests last spring.

WV's staunch opposition to the capitalist Democratic Party of racism and war was a major question discussed with youth and workers in relation to everything from immigrant rights and the racist atrocity around Hurricane Katrina to the U.S imperialist occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan and Washington's threats against Iran and the North Korean deformed workers state. In the lead-up to the midterm elections, "Anybody but Bush" sentiment is running high, given the prospect of an improvement in the Democrats' electoral fortunes, such as they are. In this situation, a number of organizations claiming to be revolutionary Marxist have continued their sordid practice of seeking to channel discontent with racist U.S. imperialism into the dead end of pressuring the capitalists through the bourgeois elections.

Perhaps most energetic in this regard is the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO), which is running its member Todd Chretien as a candidate for U.S. Senate in California on the ticket of the capitalist Green Party. Drawing a crude working-class line against the capitalist candidacies of Todd Chretien and

continued on page 5

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

CHICAGO

Tuesday, November 21, 7 p.m.
The Bolshevik Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power
University of Chicago
Harper, Room 102, 1116 E. 59th St.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

TORONTO

Wednesday, November 15, 6:30 p.m.
Defend the Gains of the Chinese Revolution! Why China Is Not Capitalist
University of Toronto
OISE, Room 4420, 252 Bloor St. West
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

LOS ANGELES

Thursday, November 16, 6:30 p.m.
Introduction to Marxism
UCLA, Ackerman Union
Meeting Room 2410
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

Thursday, November 16, 7:30 p.m.
Trotskyism vs. Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed—Defend China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam!
Columbia University
Kent Hall, Room 522A
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, November 22, 6 p.m.
Anglo Chauvinism and Nationalism Are Poison to Class Struggle! Independence for Québec!
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building
Room 211
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

Vote No on "Sex Dragnet" Prop 83!

California Ballot

The following leaflet was issued by the Bay Area Spartacist League on November 5.

On the ballot this Novemher 7 is Proposition 83, "Jessica's Law" (named for a Florida girl who was raped and murdered in February 2005, allegedly by a released sex offender), a draconian measure ratcheting up yet again the government dragnet against "sex offenders." Publicized under the politically charged name of "Campaign for Child Safety," this proposed law has nothing to do with protecting children and everything to do with legitimizing and augmenting the powers of the bourgeois state, as part of the massive assault on democratic rights and civil liberties in the "war on terrorism." Such measures, putatively aimed at "sex crimes" (as defined by the morality code of this racist, anti-woman, anti-gay bourgeois society), can be used to build the legal justification and climate of hysteria for attacks against the left, militant workers, immigrants, minorities—anyone deemed "deviant" by the capitalist rulers.

If passed, Prop. 83 would impose lifelong GPS (Global Positioning System) monitoring on "sex offenders" (a kind of 21st-century branding); further deny or restrict probation and parole; and increase the ban on their living near a school or park, thus rendering most urban areas off limits. *One conviction* on any "sex offense" could lead to a lifelong electronic jail sentence and lifetime registry on the state "sex offenders" list. The law makes possession of *one piece* of child pornography liable to felony prosecution.

Like most states, California has reams of "sex crimes" legislation, much of it the product of years of witchhunting that has tried to demonize sexuality by grossly conflating vicious serial rape and murder with wholly consensual acts. But even the already stringent laws are not enough for this bipartisan "family values" crusade. On September 20 Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger signed into law SB1128, originated in the state legislature by Democratic Senator Elaine Alquist, which toughens the original "sex predator" law, "Megan's Law," in effect since 1996. The law passed the state legislature unanimously.

The national hysteria over "sex offenders" has grown to such an extent that in at least six states officials slapped down curfews, surveillance and other punitive measures against them for Halloween. These Kafkaesque acts followed the weeklong Operation Falcon III, a U.S. Marshals Services roundup of 10,733 fugitives, including 971 "sex offenders" who had failed to register with their communities. Under the 2006 Adam Walsh Act, this is now a federal offense. "Sex predator" laws are a call for vigilante terror, as in the case of 24-year-old William Elliott in Maine, murdered by a vigilante after he spent time in jail for having a sexual relationship with his girlfriend when she was just days shy of 16 (Maine's age of consent). Such murders can be laid squarely at the feet of the bourgeoisie's anti-sex bigots.

Prop. 83 is so sweeping and arbitrary that even capitalist newspapers like the *Sacramento Bee*, *San Jose Mercury News*, and *San Francisco Chronicle* call for its defeat, as do San Francisco Democrat Mark Leno, the San Francisco Labor Council, and the capitalist Green Party. Of course, most opposition rests solidly on support to the principle of persecution for "sex crimes," while eschewing this particular piece of legislation as "ineffective" or "too expensive."

Government Out of the Bedroom!

The Spartacist League calls for a "no" vote on Prop. 83 because it increases the powers of the bourgeois state and its cops and courts, including the sentencing of "sex offenders" to indefinite involuntary confinement, a stark violation of the U.S. Constitution, and because we oppose the criminalization of consensual sex. As Marxists we seek to build a revolutionary party as "*the tribune of the people*,...able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects," in the words of V. I. Lenin (*What Is To Be Done?* [1902]). We have spoken out in opposition to Prop. 83, including at the October 21 Partisan Defense Committee rally to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and on college campuses.

Prop. 83's actual target is youth, especially gay youth, already subject to harassment and worse. In California, as in many states, the age of consent is a ridiculous 18, making sex with or even "touching" anyone 17 or under a crime. As the *Bay Area Reporter* quoted gay activist Howard Wallace, "Lewd conduct is often charged after high-profile 'bathroom busts' in public parks, many of which are police stings that result in false arrests and convictions." Down with the reactionary "age of consent" laws!

And the ostensible left—what do they say? You'd think it would be a no-brainer. How can any group claiming to stand for socialism or any kind of human liberation ***not*** oppose this manifestly oppressive measure? We looked, but not a word of opposition could be found in the programs of two ostensible leftist candidates running for U.S. Senator from California. Green Party candidate Todd Chretien, a supporter of the International Socialist Organization (ISO), does not mention Prop. 83 on his Web site (www.todd4senate.org) or in any of the campaign material that we have seen, even though the Green Party itself has called for a "no" vote to Prop. 83. Socialist Action (SA) candidate Jeff Mackler is similarly mum on this barbaric proposition, despite his call to "repeal the Patriot Act, the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, and all other legislation restricting democratic rights and civil liberties." Both Mackler and Chretien are running against the longtime incumbent, Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein, a gung-ho supporter of anti-sex witchhunt legislation, but neither one has spoken up on what should be an elementary question for any so-called socialist.

SA's silence is in line with their program of seeking reform, not revolution, through pressuring the capitalists to adopt "progressive" policies. Far from acting as a "tribune of the people," with its silence this group capitulates to bourgeois morality and gross police interference in private life. Nevertheless, Mackler's program demands, "To the reformist credo, 'Anybody But Bush,' we answer, 'No to the twin parties of war and oppression!' And 'Yes to the independent organization and mobilization of working people'" (undated SA campaign supplement). Importantly, Mackler is running explicitly against the capitalist Greens. Because of this crude class line, the Spartacist League has extended critical support to Mackler in the election as a measure to advance the consciousness of the proletariat that it must *organize independently of all capitalist parties*.

For its part, the ISO is gloating over the disgrace of Republican Congressman Mark Foley in the seemingly endless scandal over his approaches to congressional aides in their late teens. In this they join the Democrats, hoping the fall of this reactionary Congressman with a long record of attacks on the rights of gays will motivate much of the Republicans' evangelical Christian base to stay home on election day. The ISO terms Foley's act "a criminal outrage" ("Which Side Are You On? The Democrats' Pathetic Display," *Socialist Worker*, 6 Octoher). Says the ISO, pushing all the same buttons for social hysteria and bigotry, "After all, what sane person doesn't oppose pedophilia?" By supporting the state's right to legislate morality, they also support this decaying social order that produces genuinely horrific crimes against women and children. The ISO willfully conflates consensual sexual activities with vicious abuse. Their embrace of bourgeois "morality" reflects a fundamental loyalty to the current social order.

Boston Globe

Electronic tracking of "sex offenders," similar to program announced by Massachusetts governor Romney in 2004, is among repressive measures contained in California Prop. 83.

As Marxists, we oppose the efforts of the state to regulate the manifold expressions of human sexuality. We oppose the persecution of ***anyone*** who engages in consensual intergenerational sex. The only guideline that should exist is that of effective consent, regardless of age, gender or sexual preference. We oppose all laws against "crimes without victims" such as prostitution, drug use or pornography. We oppose the persecution of Mark Foley on the basis of his sex life, as well as the entire "pedophilia" hysteria. Thus we have defended against state persecution the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), an organization that defends the right of men and boys to engage in consensual sex.

The witchhunters want to equate looking at pornography with violent crimes such as rape, sexual assault and even murder, singling out child pornography as especially pernicious. Like all pornography, it is simply words and images designed for pleasure. But the U.S. imperialists—whose bloody invasion and occupation of Iraq included the *acts* of sadistic torture and sexual violence carried out on prisoners in Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo—would like you to forget Abu Ghraib, and put "child pornographers" away for life.

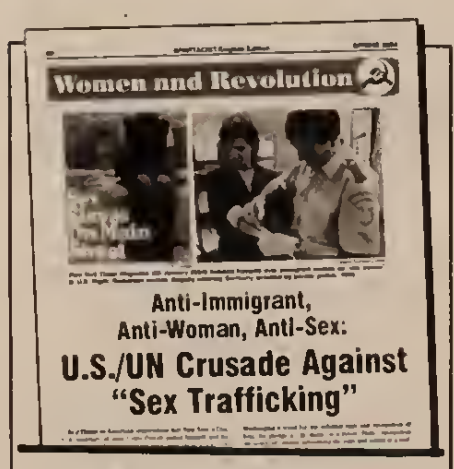
Democratic Rights Are Indivisible

The "sex predator" hysteria is of a piece with the vicious persecution of gays and the wholesale assault on women's basic right to abortion. This November's California ballot includes the anti-abortion "squeal rule" Proposition 85, which would impose parental notification and a 48-hour waiting period on women under 18 before an ahortion. Supporters of Prop. 85 appeal to the "sex predators" hysteria with statements like that from spokesman Albin Rhomberg, who said that minors "need to be protected from their immaturity and vulnerability.... These girls who think these sexual predators on the Internet are Prince Charming" (*Los Angeles Times*, 17 October). Their statement in the official California voter information guide says that "these pregnancies are *evidence* of statutory rape and sexual abuse." No on Prop. 85! For free abortion on demand!

In this capitalist society all repressive measures come down hardest on blacks, gays, women, immigrants—all those deemed outside the bourgeois "mainstream." Under "Jessica's Law," what will lie in store for blacks, who already make up a portion of the prison population vastly out of line with their numbers in the population as a whole? Look at the case of Cary Verse, a black man, who was released from prison in 2004 after having served his full sentence for rape. Barbarically, he was chemically castrated before his release. "Megan's Law" vigilante terror hounded him through three counties before a Catholic priest in Oakland, Father Weeks, had the courage to give him shelter at his abbey. Oakland Democratic Party honcho Ignacio De La Fuente mobilized a nearby school and its staff for a "protest," including elementary schoolchildren, manipulating fears among Latino families against a black ex-con who had never been convicted of molesting children.

The anti-sex witchhunt has also proved a useful tool in the crusade for anti-immigrant bigotry. A worldwide U.S./UN campaign against "human trafficking" attempts to smear all illegal women immigrants as "sex slaves," leading to their deportation (see "U.S./UN Crusade Against 'Sex Trafficking'," *Spartacist* No. 58, Spring 2004). Recently the *San Francisco Chronicle* ran a sensationalist series about "sex slavery" in the city, prompting a crackdown on largely Asian-staffed massage parlors. In July 2005 a federal raid led to arrest of 45 people statewide for running a sex-trafficking ring between South Korea, Los Angeles and San Francisco. Harassment and deportation of immigrants is repackaged as "defending the victims."

At bottom, the anti-sex witchhunt serves to bolster the capitalist order through propping up its three key supports: the state, organized religion, and the institution of the family, the central source of women's oppression. It will take a socialist revolution to sweep away the capitalist system and replace the family with socialized childcare and housework, freeing women to play a full role in social and political life. For women's liberation through socialist revolution!■



Spartacist (English edition)
No. 58, Spring 2004
$1.50 (60 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Papers Filed...

(continued from page 12)

supporter and eloquent spokesman for the oppressed—a threat who must be silenced.

The state's venom is on display in the very first pages of the D.A.'s current brief, in which they sneer at the description of Mumia as a "renowned journalist." In fact, it was Mumia's prominence in his youth as Minister of Information of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party chapter and later as a journalist who exposed the racist Philly cops' vendetta against the MOVE organization that kept him in the state's cross hairs. As Mumia's brief points out, at the time of his conviction he was an award-winning broadcast news reporter known as the "Voice of the Voiceless" and head of the Philadelphia chapter of the National Association of Black Journalists, having been named by *Philadelphia Magazine* as "one of the people to watch in 1981." Mumia has continued to speak out courageously and powerfully from his prison cell.

Giving a flavor of the lynch mob atmosphere at the 1982 trial, Mumia's papers quote the prosecutor as saying that he was willing to allow a black woman on the jury because "she hates" Mumia, to which Sabo commented approvingly, "She'll hang him." Mumia's history with the Black Panther Party and MOVE organization was raised repeatedly by the prosecutor to whip up racist prejudice, not only during sentencing but as early as a pretrial bail hearing. It was in this climate of Jim Crow "justice" that a court stenographer, Terri Maurer-Carter, overheard Sabo obscenely boast, "I'm going to help them fry the n----r."

Significantly, the D.A.'s current brief cites the U.S. Supreme Court's 1987 ruling in *McCleskey v. Kemp*. Presented with an exhaustive study showing that blacks are far more likely than whites to be sentenced to death, the highest court in the land affirmed its commitment to racist lynch law by assuming the validity of the study and then ruling that McCleskey could be executed anyway. The court rejected McCleskey's argument on the grounds that, "taken to its logical conclusion, [it] throws into serious question the principles that underlie the entire criminal justice system." Indeed! The barbaric death penalty, which in the U.S. is rooted in black chattel slavery, is the pinnacle of the whole system of racist capitalist repression. Warren McCleskey—convicted solely on the testimony of a jailhouse informant promised leniency in return for his services—was executed by the State of Georgia on 25 September 1991.

The Third Circuit Court that is now supposed to review the briefs in Mumia's case sent many of its members to testify for the reactionary Samuel Alito during his Supreme Court confirmation hearings in January. Among the members of this court is Marjorie Rendell—wife of Democratic Pennsylvania governor Ed Rendell, who as Philly D.A. oversaw Mumia's frame-up prosecution. In an interview with the French Communist Party newspaper *L'Humanité* earlier this year, Mumia commented that he has "very little hope in a favorable decision" from this court.

Mumia's case graphically demonstrates that there is no justice in the capitalist courts. While all legal proceedings and legal remedies must be pursued on his behalf, what is crucially needed is mass protest, centered on the social power of the labor movement, in the U.S. and internationally to demand Mumia's freedom. In the 1930s, the American Communist Party and International Labor Defense led mass protests calling for freedom for the "Scottsboro Boys"—nine black youths framed up on false charges of raping two white women, with eight of them sentenced to death. It was due to this international protest campaign that the Supreme Court was compelled to recognize that the wholesale exclusion of black jurors violated the constitutional right to a "jury of one's peers."

In 1995, an international protest movement stayed the executioner's hand after a death warrant for Mumia was signed. Today, it is urgently necessary to revitalize mass, labor-centered protest on Mumia's behalf. Mobilize now to free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!■

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

Partisan Defense Committee

e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net • Web site: www.partisandefense.org
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680 • (312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 29574, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029 • (213) 380-8897
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107 • (510) 839-0852

Subscription...

(continued from page 3)

Democrat Dianne Feinstein in the Senate race is Jeff Mackler of Socialist Action, to whom the SL has extended critical support. We call for a vote to Mackler while pointing out that the reformist politics of Socialist Action are an obstacle to the necessary task of forging a workers party that fights for socialist revolution. We had many debates with youth in and around the ISO in the course of our subscription drive over this issue and continued to campaign for a vote to Mackler despite his farcical "rejection" of our critical support at several events we attended and in a letter from Socialist Action (see "Critical Support Is Not a Marriage Proposal," *WV* No. 878, 13 October).

Local and Regional Highlights

Congratulations to comrade Martin of the Bay Area, who with 112 points sold the most subscriptions! Comrades from the Bay Area undertook a number of regional trips, including Colorado (102 points), a Northern Tour covering Washington and Oregon (189 points), Texas (48 points) and UC Santa Cruz (156 points). Comrades sold 49 points between the two major Bay Area campuses, San Francisco State University and UC Berkeley.

In addition to assisting with the Northern Tour and the Texas trip, L.A. comrades undertook regional trips to Arizona (33 points), San Diego (38.5 points) and UC Santa Barbara (21.5 points). Comrades sold 24 points at UCLA and SYCers sold 144.5 points, representing over a third of the local's points. Comrades intersected an Engineers and Architects strike and participated in the repulsion of a Minuteman provocation at the annual Labor Day union gathering in Wilmington.

The Chicago Local made trips to the University of Illinois-Urbana/Champaign, where we also held two successful video showings on Mumia's case. Chicago comrades traveled to Minneapolis, the University of Wisconsin-Madison (62 points) and to Ann Arbor and Detroit (57 points), where comrades intersected a teachers strike. Chicago comrades also assisted with trips to North Carolina, New Orleans and Colorado.

The New York Local covered a large swath of the East and Gulf Coasts, from Boston to New Orleans. Comrades made trips to North Carolina (111 points), Charleston, South Carolina (54 points), Norfolk, Virginia (31.5 points), Western Massachusetts (72 points), Washington, D.C. and Baltimore (28 points). Comrades from New York were greatly assisted by our many sympathizers in Boston in covering a number of campuses there. New York comrades traveled to a number of State University of New York campuses, selling some 81 points, on top of 47 points at various campuses in New York City, including 28 points at Columbia University.

The "at large" points included subscriptions to *WV* sold by our Canadian comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste as part of their annual *WV/Spartacist Canada* subscription drive. Subscriptions mailed in from locations not serviced by a local make up the remainder of that category. Congratulations to all comrades for their very hard work in making this subscription drive a success! We encourage our readers to let us know what they think of our press and to contact us to discuss its contents and get involved in the activities of the SL, SYCs and LBLs.■

WV Photo

Xavier University, September 8. Trips to New Orleans were a highlight of *WV* subscription drive.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
International rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail
❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)
❑ I would like to contribute $_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____
Address _____
_____ Apt. # _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

880

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net
National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Oaxaca...

(continued from page 1)

also organized a speakout denouncing the attacks in Oaxaca. As students throughout the UNAM system joined in protest actions, right-wing thugs called *porros*, who are supported by the UNAM administration, waged an attack on students at the CCH-Naucalpan high school, killing one.

Protests have been held outside Mexican embassies and consulates in Italy, Brazil, Canada, Spain, Britain, Greece and Germany, with several arrests reported. Last week, the Spartacist League/U.S. joined protests in cities throughout the country, while the Spartacus Youth Clubs held rallies at the University of Chicago and the University of California at Los Angeles. After 12 people were arrested outside the Mexican Consulate in New York City on October 30, the Partisan Defense Committee sent a protest letter to the mayor demanding the dropping of all charges and noting that "defenders of civil liberties and rights of working people have every right, indeed, the duty to protest the murderous repression in Oaxaca."

The latest crackdown in Oaxaca began the day after teachers voted to end a strike that had begun in May, when thousands of members of National Educational Workers Union (SNTE) Local 22 walked out demanding higher wages. In June, an attack by hundreds of riot cops ordered by Oaxaca state governor Ulises Ruiz of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) galvanized mass opposition to his regime, and striking teachers and protesters began demanding his resignation. Teachers and their supporters occupying the center of the city set up their own security forces and ran their own radio station.

Mexico's rulers are increasingly fearful that the PRI has lost control in Oaxaca and that outrage over the repression threatens a broader social upheaval in a country that already this year has seen powerful strikes by industrial workers and mass protests, including over the disputed July presidential elections. On October 30, members of the ruling right-wing National Action Party (PAN) and the left bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) voted in the Senate, where the two parties hold a majority, to urge Ruiz to resign. Even sections of the PRI are abandoning Ruiz. The Mexico City paper *La Jornada* (4 November) quoted government sources as saying that despite his resistance, Ruiz is being pressured to resign and accept a government sinecure out of the spotlight.

We reprint below a translation of an October 29 leaflet issued by our comrades of the GEM that has been distributed by the ICL at protests internationally.

* * *

After more than four months of the teachers strike—heroically maintained in the face of continuous, murderous state attacks—and despite the fact that teachers had already voted to end the strike, the brutal capitalist state has unleashed massive repression to smash the struggle of the teachers of Oaxaca and their allies of the APPO (Popular Assembly of the People of Oaxaca). While we write these lines, there are reports that the PFP have already taken the Zócalo [main plaza] of Oaxaca City. There are also reports, after the repression has barely begun, that a 15-year-old youth has been shot to death. Already dozens have been arrested. The bloody repression of October 27 cost four more lives: teacher Emilio Alonso Fabia, the American photographer from Indymedia, Bradley Roland Will, the communal peasant (*comunero*) Esteba Ruiz and a person still unidentified were killed in government and federal police attacks together with PRI paramilitaries.

There are also reports that during this period, 23 people have been injured, 20 people detained, and 50 teachers are missing. Since June, at least 14 teachers and social justice activists have already been killed by police or gunmen, while many others have been either arrested or kidnapped. Every day more police provocations and attacks are reported. ***The teachers and the APPO must not stand alone against the murderous repression of the capitalist state.*** The attack against the teachers is an attack aimed at the entire workers movement, and it is in the interest of the workers movement to defend the teachers in Oaxaca. ***The industrial working class must flex its powerful muscle through strike actions in defense of the Oaxaca teachers and the APPO.***

We Trotskyists in the Grupo Espartaquista de México protest in the most vigorous way possible the attacks by the state and their gangs of gunmen, and we solidarize with the struggle of the teachers and the students and peasants who support them. We say: Free all the arrested now! Drop all the charges! PFP and army out of Oaxaca! For workers strike action against state repression! Defend the teachers and the APPO!

For their support to the struggle in Oaxaca, students at the CCH-Naucalpan were brutally attacked last Thursday by *porros* in the service of the authorities and the state. One of the students was killed and five more required hospitalization. For worker and student action to drive the *porros* from UNAM!

The massive discontent over the rightist attacks carried out by the PAN and sections of the PRI has led to a sharp social polarization and the rise of populism, represented prominently by the bourgeois PRD. Since 2005, there have been massive demonstrations of up to 1.2 million people in defense of democratic rights against Fox's *desafuero* [stripping of political immunity] scam against [PRD presidential candidate Andrés Manuel] López Obrador. The PRD demonstrations in July, August and September of this year drew millions of people onto the streets to protest the dubious [presidential] election victory of Felipe Calderón of the clericalist PAN. Fox responded by putting a large part of Mexico City under a virtual state of siege on September 1, the day of his last state of the union address. The bourgeoisie itself is divided and fearful that the discontent will turn into a social explosion. Thus the brutal capitalist rulers intend the attack against the combative Oaxacan teachers as a warning to the entire population, especially the working class.

Oaxaca is one of the poorest states in the country and one of the most rural, and has the largest numbers of indigenous people. More than a fifth of the population over 15 is illiterate; more than a quarter lack drinking water. The state has the lowest per capita income and the highest poverty rate in the country, forcing many to migrate either to the U.S. or to urban industrial centers in Mexico, desperately searching for a way to survive. Teachers, earning starvation wages, are struggling to give education to students who often have nothing to eat.

AP photos

Oaxaca City: Protesters aid video documentary journalist Brad Will (top), fatally wounded by gunman on October 27. Mourners for teacher Emilio Alonso Fabian (bottom), also shot down that day during attack on protesters.

The current militant struggle reflects the level of anger, which has been contained for a long time, of the Oaxacan masses who are submerged in misery and racist oppression. After the strike had started, initially demanding increased wages, the brutal repression against the teachers' encampment in the center of Oaxaca City on June 14 pushed Local 22 of the SNTE to adopt more radical methods and demand the removal of PRI hangman, state governor Ulises Ruiz. Since then, the teachers and the APPO—formed some days later—have maintained control of the city center, having constructed barricades throughout the city. Their security forces successfully broke up various police provocations and captured some of their perpetrators. Isolated in Oaxaca, and lacking social power, the struggle had arrived at an impasse. The industrial working class must lead all the exploited and oppressed in struggle against this bourgeois state repression, which can only be stopped, once and for all, through the overthrow of the capitalist system through socialist revolution.

Our vigorous defense of the APPO and the teachers against the state does not imply embracing their political perspective that is dominated by illusions in the PRD and limited to the militant petty-bourgeois populism that also characterizes the EZLN [Zapatistas]. On the eve of the July 2 [presidential] elections, the Oaxaca teachers called for a "punishment vote" against the PRI and the PAN—i.e., for the PRD. Today, the main demand by the teachers is the removal of Ulises Ruiz. Of course this thug should be thrown out. But what is important is to understand that capitalism, independently of who administers it, is a system based on the exploitation of labor and the systematic repression of the workers and oppressed by the bourgeois state—the police, army, courts and prisons. Taking up the lessons of Engels against those who argued that the bourgeois state could be reformed, Lenin explained in *The State and Revolution* that the special forces of repression "of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, of millions of working people by handfuls of the rich, must be replaced by a 'special coercive force' for the suppression of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat (the dictatorship of the proletariat). This is precisely what is meant by 'abolition of the state as state.' This is precisely the 'act' of taking possession of the means of production in the name of society."

The PRD is a bourgeois nationalist party. Its differences with the PAN and the PRI simply lie in the manner of administering capitalism. To obtain some more crumbs from the table of their imperialist masters, the PRD needs to prop itself up on the working class, and this is why it tries to pose as a "friend" of the workers and oppressed. Illusions in the nationalist bourgeoisie are truly *suicidal*. As we wrote in *Espartaco* No. 26 (September 2006):

> "The participation of the PRD in continual anti-union attacks in Mexico City —especially against the SUTGDF [municipal workers union] and the Metro [subway] union—and in the breaking of the 1999 UNAM strike by police, the murderous repression in Lázaro Cárdenas and in Atenco, in the killing of Zapatista activists that the EZLN has documented, etc., are not isolated incidents: they are a reflection of its bourgeois, and therefore inherently anti-worker, nature."

The PRD—and the trade-union bureaucracies tied to it, not to mention those tied to the PRI—has carefully kept its distance from the Oaxaca struggle, which has slid out of its direct control. Even though the PRD says that they oppose the repression against the teachers, tomorrow they will attack the struggling masses, as they have done so many times before.

For Permanent Revolution!

The only perspective for fundamental change in the situation of the working class and the mass of impoverished petty-bourgeois is the struggle for socialist revolution. The youth that identify with the combative teachers and social activists in Oaxaca must understand that the working class is the only class with the social power and class interest to destroy the capitalist system through socialist revolution, leading all the exploited and oppressed. Because of its role in setting in motion the means of production, the urban industrial proletariat has the power to paralyze the entire economy. An exam-

Bradley

September 1: Hundreds of thousands marched and rallied in Oaxaca demanding ouster of Oaxaca state governor Ruiz and freedom for political prisoners.

ple of this immense social power was the recent successful strike of the miners and metalworkers in Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán, which brought the bosses to their knees—they finally had to give in to all the union's demands—and dealt a heavy blow to the government itself. Because the workers toil collectively and have nothing but their own labor power to live off, their objective class interest is the abolition of private property and therefore the destruction of the capitalist system.

Fundamental to achieving this is unceasing struggle against all illusions in the bourgeoisie—which are prominently pushed by the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats who run all the unions today—and struggle for the ***political independence of the proletariat*** and for the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party with the purpose of leading the working class to take power. The bourgeoisie, regardless of its political perspective, is unable to resolve even democratic questions like the agrarian problem, which keeps the bulk of the peasantry—in Oaxaca and the entire country—in the most complete misery. As Leon Trotsky, the co-leader of the October 1917 Russian Revolution with Lenin, explained in *The Permanent Revolution*:

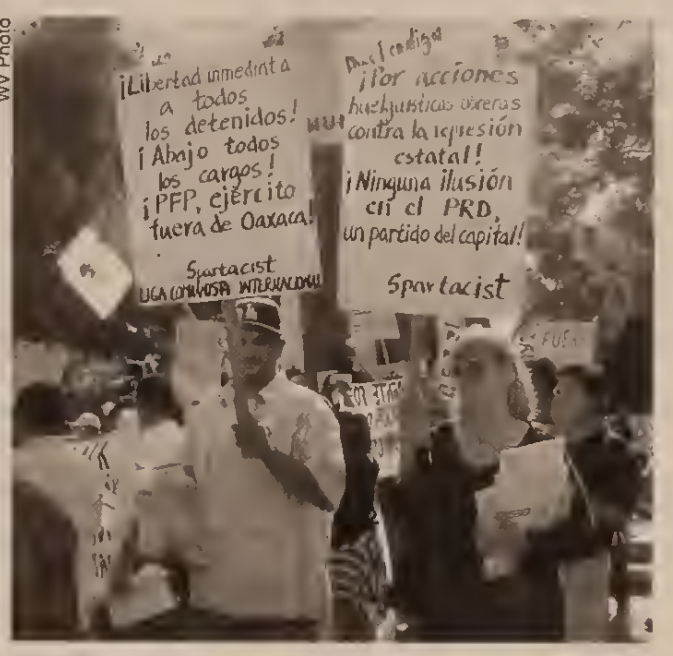
> "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving ***democracy and national emancipation*** is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses."

An essential part of combatting the influence of the bourgeoisie in the working class is struggling against nationalist ideology, which only serves to keep the workers tied to "their own" bosses, lackeys of the imperialists. The working class is an international class with common interests, and a proletarian revolution in Mexico could not survive without the assistance of our class brothers in the United States. Marxists counterpose proletarian internationalism to bourgeois nationalism and fight for new October Revolutions throughout the world.

Espartaco

Steel workers at Mittal steel plant in port of Lázaro Cárdenas after successful strike, April 11.

Spartakist



WV Photo

November 4: Spartacists at protests in Berlin (left) and Los Angeles raise call for workers strikes against repression in Mexico, warn against illusions in bourgeois PRD.

The Left Tail of Populism

The majority of the left has adapted politically to the APPO and the Oaxacan teachers (although some, such as "Militante," a fake-Trotskyist group that is part of the bourgeois PRD, criticize the APPO from the right because a section of the APPO refused to participate in the "National Democratic Convention," whose only purpose was to name AMLO [López Obrador] as the "legitimate president" ["La Insurrección Revolucionaria de Oaxaca," undated pamphlet]). The Stalinists of the Communist Party of Mexico (Marxist-Leninist)[PCM] base their entire strategy on building their "Revolutionary Popular Front" (FPR) with the goal of subordinating the working class to the bourgeoisie through the Menshevik scheme—later plagiarized by Stalin—of "two stage revolution." The first stage consists of a supposed bourgeois democratic revolution; the second stage, supposedly the fight for socialist revolution, has always, in reality, consisted of a massacre of the workers. Thus the PCM calls for "All power to the people" (*Vanguardia Proletaria*, second fortnight of October 2006), which power, according to Florentino López, a spokesman for the APPO and a member of the FPR, will come "through a New Constituent [Assembly], to give form to a democratic and popular government which opens the road to a truly free and sovereign state of Oaxaca." A "democratic and popular" government is a *baurgeois* government. To "justify" his abandonment of the Bolshevik program of struggling for world socialist revolution, Stalin upheld the anti-revolutionary dogma that the USSR could build "socialism in one country." *Vanguardia Proletaria* gives a new twist to this absurdity, fighting now for "popular democracy" in just one state.

Not far from the Stalinists are the politics of the fake Trotskyists of the Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo-ContraCorriente (LTS-CC). In their paper *Estrategia Obrera* No. 54 (2 October), they state: "That there is a dual power is shown by the fact that the media coordinate the struggle, extend solidarity and express the discontent of the oppressed." This statement is absurd.

The classic example of dual power was given by the 1917 Russian Revolution. The workers carried out the February Revolution, which brought down the tsar and led to the formation of a bourgeois republic run by the Provisional Government. But that revolution also created the soviets, or councils, organs of *workers* power counterposed to the capitalists' power. The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries (a populist party based on the peasantry) supported the Provisional Government, and participated in it, and at first led the soviets with a class-collaborationist policy. In contrast, Lenin's Bolsheviks strongly opposed the Provisional Government and called for "All power to the soviets!", polemicizing strongly against the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries and thus preparing the Octoher Revolution. The contradiction between the two powers (the bourgeois Provisional Government and the workers soviets)—a situation that was deeply and necessarily unstable and brief—was resolved by the Bolshevik Revolution which overthrew the bourgeoisie and created the dictatorship of the proletariat based on the soviets.

The LTS-CC calls for a "provisional government of the APPO and other workers, peasants and people's organizations of the state. This government must call a Revolutionary Constituent Assembly [that is, a *baurgeais parliament*] upon the ruins of the current regime, to discuss and push demands of the people on the state, as part of a national struggle against the regime of alternating parties." The call of LTS-CC is reduced to the APPO's administering the capitalist state in Oaxaca, adopting the illusion—which has also made the Zapatistas very popular—of some type of democratic island of "self-management" in the midst of the brutal capitalist regime. In deeds, the LTS-CC also adopts the "revolution by stages" Menshevik scheme. It is not a coincidence that the LTS takes up the name of the *bourgeois and imperialist* Provisional Government in Russia in 1917.

Although the Internationalist Group (IG) tries to use Marxoid phraseology more often than the groups mentioned above, it shares with them an adaptation to the consciousness of the masses in struggle. Unable to respond to our polemics, the IG has resorted to the grossest falsifications and recently launched the vile slander that we Spartacists are "apologists for death squads." The reason for their desperate recourse to such slander is our principled defense of the miners union against the attack by Fox and the PRD, and our denunciation of the pro-PRD and union-busting position of the IG that the corporatist unions in reality represent the "class enemy" (and thus "death squads"), while only those tied to the PRD are genuine workers organizations, as well as their subsequent renunciation of the basic defense of the miners union against state attack (see "IG: Dangerous Lies and Cynical Slanders," *WV* No. 879 [27 October]).

The founding cadre of the IG came out of the ICL a decade ago, despairing before the arduous task of forging Leninist-Trotskyist parties to struggle for socialist revolution. Since then, they have devoted themselves to searching for substitutes for the proletariat as the fundamental agency for proletarian revolution. Their positions on Oaxaca clearly demonstrate this. The IG characterizes the APPO as "an organization with a popular-frontist orientation, although still in the process of formation. That is, it points in the direction of a class-collaborationist coalition that seeks to chain the working class to sections of the bourgeoisie, to derail explosive class struggle and thus avoid a 'revolutionary danger'" (*El Internacionalista/Edición México* No. 2, August 2006).

The popular front is a class-collaborationist coalition in which one or more workers parties is subordinated to the bourgeoisie, generally to administer the capitalist state. The APPO is not a workers organization, but is based on unionized teachers and sectors of the petty-bourgeoisie, such as students and peasants. By its social composition as well as its political perspective—which dilutes the proletariat in the mass of the "people" and is based on illusions in the democratic reform of the capitalist state, looking directly to the PRD to carry this out—the APPO is not a popular-frontist organization but, as we have already seen, simply populist. Although the struggle in Oaxaca could serve as a spark to ignite workers struggle, in itself it does not pose a "revolutionary danger." The IG is incapable of recognizing that the industrial proletariat, in any case tiny in Oaxaca, is not a relevant force in the current struggle, and has found, in the teachers, students and peasants, its substitute.

In any event, the IG's blather about the APPO's "popular frontism" is designed to give a somewhat "leftist" covering to their adaptation. On the ground, when it matters, they prefer to silence any criticism of the struggling masses. Thus, in a student assembly called by the IG at CCH Sur [another UNAM high school] recently, their speakers left out all criticism, all reference to Marxism or even to their own organization, in order not to alienate their fellow travelers in the "movement."

We Spartacists fight to forge a revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist party as the fundamental instrument for socialist revolution—the only solution to the exploitation, oppression and misery inherent to capitalism. The working class must not allow the capitalist repression to pass with impunity. *Defend the teachers and their allies against state attack!* ■

Espartaco

Publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México

No. 26, September 2006
$.50 (24 pages)

Subscription: $2 for 4 issues
(includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

We Demand the Immediate Freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an Innocent Man.

COC Productions

Mumia Abu-Jamal's appeal is now on the "fast track" in the federal appeals court and the state is determined to carry out his execution.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, supporter of the MOVE organization and award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," Mumia was framed up in 1982 on false charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer. Sentenced to death based on his political history and beliefs, Mumia has spent 24 years on death row for a crime he did not commit. The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal shows what the death penalty is all about. It is a legacy of chattel slavery and a barbaric outrage, it is the lynch rope made legal.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal exemplifies the race and class bias of the U.S. justice system against workers, black people, the poor and all the oppressed. The notorious trial judge, Albert Sabo was overheard at the time promising, "I'm going to help them fry the n----r." Racist jury-rigging, false testimony coerced through police threats, and prosecutorial cover-up were the basis for Mumia's conviction. Both the Pennsylvania state courts and the federal courts have refused to consider the reams of documented evidence that prove Mumia's innocence. Foremost is the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed the police officer, and that Mumia had nothing to do with the shooting.

We stand with the millions around the world—workers, students, death penalty abolitionists, fighters for black rights and immigrant rights, socialists—who have taken up the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal now!

An injury to one is an injury to all! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

United States: 1199SEIU United Healthcare Workers East, NY, NY•**JoNina M. Abron**•**Sam Ackerman**, Social Justice Activist, Chicago, IL•**Jeanatta M. Adams**, President, Southern California Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU),* Los Angeles, CA•**Royce Adams**, Former Vice President, International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 1291,* Phila , PA•**AFRAM SEIU Caucus – United Healthcare Workers-West**, Los Angeles, CA•**Pam Africa**, Chairwoman, International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Phila., PA•**Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 308**, Chicago, IL•**Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 610**, Charleston, SC•**Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1560**, New Orleans, LA•**Jose A. Arroyo**, Vice Chair of Section 115, TWU Local 100,* NY, NY•**Nellie Hester Bailey**, Director, Harlem Tenant Council,* NY, NY•**Charles Barron**, member, New York City Council,* NY, NY•**Crispin Booker**, Vice President, Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA) Local 402,* Brooklyn, NY•**Elombe Brath**, Chairman, Patrice Lumumba Coalition, NY, NY•**Bill Apollo Brown**, Composer/Pianist, NY, NY•**Vinie Burrows**, U.N. Representative, Womens International Democratic Federation, NY, NY•**Tanaka Charles**, Exec. Board member, AFSCME Local 199;* Sec'y, Peoples Region 5,* Miami, FL•**Chicago Area UAW Region 4 Woman Committee**, Chicago, IL•**Kathleen Cleaver**, Senior Lecturer, Research Fellow, Emory Law School,* Atlanta, GA•**Coalition of Black Trade Unionists Long Island Chapter**, Garden City, NY•**Coalition of Black Trade Unionists New York City Chapter**, NY, NY•**Colectivo Cannabico de Mexico**, Houston, TX•**Lula E. Correijer**, Chairman, East New York Central Maintenance Facility, TWU Local 100,* NY, NY•**Santos Crespo**, Exec. Vice President, Local 372, AFSCME DC 37,* NY, NY•**Annetta Cruz**, Exec. Board, TA Surface Bus Operators, TWU Local 100,* NY, NY•**Kamau Daáood**, World Stage,* Los Angeles, CA•**Congressman Danny K. Davis**, 7th District Illinois, U.S. House of Representatives,* Chicago, IL•**Loualfa Day-Jetar**, Chapter President, OCSEA/AFSCME Local 11,* Columbus, OH•**Donna S. DeWitt**, President, South Carolina AFL-CIO,* Columbia, SC•**Melvin Dickson**, Editor, *Commemorator*,* Berkeley, CA•**Bernardine Dohrn**, Chicago, IL•**Kim Doss-Patterson**, President, AFSCME Local 1272,* Chicago, IL•**Emory Douglas**, Revolutionary Artist; Minister of Culture, Black Panther Party,* San Francisco, CA•**Angela Doyle**, Vice President, 1199 SEIU, NY, NY•**Grigoriy Dunichav**, Exec. Board member, TWU Local 100,* NY, NY•**Michael Eric Dyson**, Professor, University of Pennsylvania,* Phila., PA•**Educators for Mumia Abu-Jamal**, Princeton, NJ•**Mike Elliott**, Chair, Education Committee, UAW Local 551,* Park Forest, IL•**Yvette Farris**, Chicago and Midwest Region Political Action Committee-UNITE HERE,* Chicago, IL•**Chrie Fisher**, member, former Sec'y-Treas., AFSCME Local 444,* Oakland, CA•**Cyril A. Francis**, Chairman, Pitkin Maintenance Shop, TWU Local 100,* Brooklyn, NY•**Federico Galdones**, President, ILWU Local 142,* Honolulu, HI•**Henry Louis Gates, Jr.**, W.E.B. DuBois Professor of the Humanities, Harvard University,* Cambridge, MA•**Frances Goldin**, NY, NY•**Marty Goodman**, Exec. Board member, TWU Local 100,* NY, NY•**Oliver Gray**, Associate Director, AFSCME DC 37,* NY, NY•**Haiti Support Network**, Brooklyn, NY•**Stuart Hanlon**, Attorney for Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), San Francisco, CA•**Noelle Hanrahan**, Prison Radio,* San Francisco, CA•**Howie Hawkins**, Candidate for U.S. Senate, Green Party,* Syracuse, NY•**Nathan Head**, President, Metro Detroit CBTU;* UAW International Civil Rights Dept.,* Detroit, MI•**Lennox Hinds**, Professor and Lawyer, NY, NY•**Madison Hobley**, Board member, Campaign to End the Death Penalty;* Ex-Death Row Inmate, Chicago, IL•**Marvin Holland**, Exec. Board, TWU Local 100,* NY, NY•**Larry Holmes**, Co-Director, International Action Center,* NY, NY•**Gerald Horne**, Professor, University of Houston,* Houston, TX•**Ray Horne**, Exec. Board member, Trustee, Glaziers Local 718,* San Francisco, CA•**Idris Stelley Foundation**, San Francisco, CA•**International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 5**, Portland, OR•**International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 1422**, Charleston, SC•**International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422-A**, Charleston, SC•**Robert Irminger**, Vice Chair, Inland Boatmen's Union San Francisco Region,* San Francisco, CA•**Aaron Jackson**, Senior Field Representative, Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 616,* Oakland, CA•**Georgette Johnson**, Exec. Board member, AFSCME Local 1276,* Chicago, IL•**William Johnson**, 1199 SEIU Bread and Roses Cultural Project,* NY, NY•**Jamal Joseph**, Professor, Columbia University,* NY, NY•**Clifford Kelley**, Radio host, Midway Broadcasting (WVON 1450),* Chicago, IL•**Labor Action Committee To Free Mumia Abu-Jamal**, Oakland, CA•**Labor Black League for Social Defense**, Los Angeles, CA, NY, NY; Oakland, CA•**Labor Black Struggle League**, Chicago, IL•**Ray LaForest**, member Coordinating Committee, Haiti Support Network; member National Board, Pacifica Foundation,* NY, NY•**La Reza Centro Legal**, San Francisco, CA•**Coraminta Mahr**, Vice President, 1199 SEIU, NY, NY•**Dr. Julianne Malveaux**, Economist, Author, Wash., DC•**Glennis Mason**, President, AFSCME Local 2081,* Chicago Heights, IL•**Erin McKee**, President, Charleston Labor Council;* OPEIU Local 277,* Charleston, SC•**Keith W. Mickens**, International Representative, UAW,* Detroit, MI•**MOVE Organization Family Africa**, Phila., PA•**Salikoko S. Mufwene**, Professor of Linguistics, University of Chicago,* Chicago, IL•**Kiilu Nyeshe**, Revolutionary Journalist, San Francisco, CA•**Selly O'Brien**, Exec. Producer/Host, WBAI Radio Program "Where We Live", NY, NY•**John Paul Patallo**, Chairperson, Jackie Gleason Depot, TWU Local 100,* Brooklyn, NY•**Darryl "Mike D." Payne**, Civil Rights Designee, International Longshoremen's Association AFL-CIO,* Ft. Lauderdale, FL•**John H. Perkins**, President, 1199 SEIU Retired Members Division,* NY, NY•**Togba R. Porte**, Second Vice President, Local 420, AFSCME DC 37,* NY, NY•**Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, NY-Junta**, NY, NY•**Connie Reynolds**, Vice President, AFSCME Local 2302,* Atlantic City, NJ•**Kenneth Riley**, President, ILA Local 1422, Charleston, SC•**Nelson Rivera**, Chairman, 207th St. Overhaul Shop, TWU Local 100,* NY, NY•**Richard Rivera**, Chairman, Coney Island Section 113, TWU Local 100,* Brooklyn, NY•**Merle M. Runyon**, Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal;* Granny Peace Brigade,* NY, NY•**Sonia Sanchez**, Poet•**Sadie Sandera**, Chapter Chair, Social Service Employees Union (SSEU) Local 371,* Brooklyn, NY•**Renée Saucedo**, Organizer, San Francisco Day Labor Program;* La Raza Centro Legal, San Francisco, CA•**Jennifer Scott**, Vice President, AFSCME Local 2534,* Harrisburg, PA•**Mary Selvie**, Chairman, Chicago Area UAW Region 4 Women Committee, Chicago, IL•**Dennis L. Serrette**, Director of Education, Communication Workers of America (CWA),* Wash., DC•**Cindy Sheehen**, Founder/President, Gold Star Families for Peace,* Venice, CA•**Gregg M. Shotwell**, Delegate to 2006 Convention, UAW,* Grand Rapids, MI•**Chris Silvera**, Sec'y-Treas , International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 808,* Long Island City, NY•**Willie Simms**, President, ATU Local 1560, New Orleans, LA•**Jesse Smith**, President, AFRAM SEIU Caucus – United Healthcare Workers-West, Los Angeles, CA•**Spartacist League/U.S.**•**Spartacus Youth Clubs**, Bay Area, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York•**Samuel Staten, Jr.**, President, Laborers Local 332,* Phila., PA•**David Stepp**, President, United Steelworkers Local 216,* Ridgeville, SC•**Lynne Stewart**, NY, NY•**Shirley E. Suddoth-Lewis**, President, AFSCME Local 979,* North Plainfield, NJ•**Brooks Sunkett**, Vice President, CWA,* Wash., DC•**Ryan Takas**, Union Representative, ILWU Local 5, Portland, OR•**Carol Taylor**, President/Founder, Institute 4 "Interracial" Harmony, Inc;* First black flight attendant in the U.S., Brooklyn, NY•**Mark L. Taylor**, Educators for Mumia Abu-Jamal; Princeton Theological Seminary,* Princeton, NJ•**Calvin Tillery, Jr.**, 1st Vice President, ATU Local 308, Chicago, IL•**Derby Tillis**, Friends to Strangers Ministry,* Exonerated Death Row Inmate, Chicago, IL•**Chuck Turner**, City Councilor, District 7,* Boston, MA•**Pamela Veal**, Judge, Circuit Court of Cook County;* Chicago Council of Black Lawyers,* Chicago, IL•**Pedro Villa**, Colectivo Cannabico de Mexico, Houston, TX•**Paul Von Blum**, Professor, UCLA,* Los Angeles, CA•**Henry Welton**, Host, Labor Review Radio Program, KPFK,* Los Angeles, CA•**Michael W. Warren**, Attorney, Brooklyn, NY•**Gene Washington**, President, CBTU Savannah Chapter;* ILA Local 1414,* Savannah, GA•**Kemah Washington**, Chair, Fair Practice Committee, UAW Local 1069,* Aldan, PA•**Walter J. Washington**, President, UAW Local 900,* Wayne, MI•**Alve Watson**, President, CSEA Local 646,* Brooklyn, NY•**Frank Wells**, President, UAW Local 118,* Akron, OH•**Cheryl White**, Chicago Area UAW Region 4 Women Committee, Chicago, IL•**John Widemen**, Writer•**Rob Williams**, Editor, UAW Local 919,* Newport News, VA•**Wenda Williams**, Director of Political Action and Legislation, AFSCME DC 37,* NY, NY•**Standiah E. Willis**, Attorney, National Conference of Black Lawyers,* Chicago, IL•**Women of Color of the New School**, NY, NY•**Womens International Democratic Federation**, NY, NY•**Howard Zinn**•**International:** **Henri Alleg**, Association des combattants de la cause anti-coloniale (ACCA) (Association of Fighters for the Anti-Colonialist Cause),* Palaiseau, France•**Hadi Almes**, Chairman, Navenda Civata Demokratika kurd Berlin-Brandenburg e.V. (Democratic Kurdish Society Center, Berlin-Brandenburg), Berlin, Germany•**Amirul Haque Amin**, General Sec'y, National Garment Workers Federation,* Dhaka, Bangladesh•**Anti-Kriegs-Komitee Neukölln**, Berlin, Germany•**Australia Asia Worker Links**, Melbourne, Australia•**Uri Avnery**, Tel Aviv, Israel•**Cecilia Balcezer**, Poet, Bogota, Colombia•**Hector Banda**, Author, Lusaka, Zambia•**Martí Batres Guadarrama**, President, Mexico City PRD,* Mexico City, Mexico•**Walden Bello**, Exec. Director, Focus on the Global South,* Bangkok, Thailand•**Berlin-Lichtenberg, Gesellschaft zur rechtlichen und humenitären Unterstützung e.V. (Society for Legal and Humanitarian Support)**, Berlin, Germany•**Joël Biard**, President, Institut d'Histoire sociale CGT Ile de France,* Paris, France•**Kevin Bracken**, Victorian Sec'y, Maritime Union of Australia, West Melbourne, Australia•**Claude Cebenes**, *L'Humanité* newspaper,* Paris, France•**Pedro Cerrion**, Campión Mundial, Federeción de Boxeo,* Boxeo Wiking,* Berlin, Germany•**Alfredo Chiv Velazquez**, Coordinetor ol Press and Propaganda, Popular Assembly of the People of Oaxaca (APPO);* Sección 22, SNTE-CNTE,* Oaxace, Mexico•**Cobes PT CUB (Postal Workers Union)**, Milan, Italy•**Comité de Ingeniería por la Otra Campaña**, Del. Coyoacan, Mexico•**Coordinadore Nacional Politécnice**, Mexico City, Mexico•**Jeremy Corbyn**, Member of Parliament,* London, England•**Bob Crow**, General Sec'y; Rail, Maritime & Transport Union,* London, England•**Michael Czech**, DKP (German Communist Party),* Berlin, Germany•**Didier Daeninckx**, Novelist, Aubervilliers, France•**Libby Davies**, MP for Vancouver East, New Democratic Party,* Vancouver, BC, Canada•**Jeremy Dear**, General Sec'y, National Union of Journalists,* London, England•**Mamadou Diop**, Ligue Démocratique/Mouvement pour le perti du traveil (LD/MPT),* Rufisque, Senegal•**Tony Donaghey**, President, Rail, Maritime & Transport Union,* London, England•**Terry Downey**, Exec. Vice President, Ontario Federation of Labour,* Toronto, Ontario, Canada•**Joan V. Doyle**, Branch Sec'y, CEPU Postal and Telecommunicetions Vic,* North Melbourne, Australia•**Jean-Luc Einaudi**, Writer, Garges-les-Gonesse, France•**Ejército Zapatiste de Liberación Nacional**, Mexico•**El Cultrún e.V. (Chilean cultural associetion)**, Germany•**Christiane Ensslin**, Exec. Committee member, Kölner Appell gegen Rassismus e.V. (Cologne Appeal Against Racism), Cologne, Germany•**Michael Evers**, Betriebsrat Eurogate, ver.di,* Buxtehude, Germany•**Federazione del Lavoratori della Conoscenze—CGIL Tuscany**, Florence, Italy•**Detlef Feye**, VK-Leitung (Head of Council of Shop Stewards), IG Metall Still GmbH, Hamburg, Germany•**Dario Fo**, Nobel Prize Winner, Actor, Pleywright, Milan, Italy•**Frente Socieliste**, San Juan, Puerto Rico•**Yasumasa Fujinage**, Associate Professor, Yemaguchi University,* Yamaguchi, Japan•**Janice Gelrey**, Human Rights Director, Ontario Federation of Labour,* Toronto, Ontario, Canada•**Eduardo Galeano**, Writer, Montevideo, Uruguay•**Manuel Gercle Mola**, Artist, Sendiniste, Niceragua•**John Witmer Gilbert**, Presidenl, Regional Directorate, Federezione dei Lavoratori della Conoscenza—CGIL Tuscany, Florence, Italy•**Kurt Goldstein**, Interbrigadist (Fighter in the International Brigades, Spanish Civil War); Ehrenpräsident, Auschwitz Komitee (Honorary President, International Auschwitz Committee),* Berlin, Germany•**Nadine Gordimer**, Nobel Prize Winner, Author, South Africa•**Victor Grossman**, Journalist, Author; member, PDS-Mitte,* Berlin, Germany•**Grupo de Acción Revolucionaria**, Del, Coyoacan, Mexico•**Jirí Gruša**, President, PEN International*•**Ishmael Guadalupe Ortiz**, Freedom Fighter, Vieques, Puerto Rico•**Dr. Gregor Gysi**, Chairman, Parliamentary Fraction DIE LINKE,* Berlin, Germany•**Ilona Hepp**, Anti-Kriegs-Komitee Neukölln, Berlin, Germany•**Gerardo Hernández Estreda**, Secretario de Relaciones y Solidaridad, Sindicato Independiente de Trabajadores de la Universided Autónoma Metropolitane (SITUAM), Mexico City, Mexico•**Evert Hoogere**, National Union Representative, Canadian Union of Postal Workers,* Ottawa, Ontario, Canada•**Hospital Employees Union**, Vancouver, BC, Canade•**Chenjeral Hove**, Poet, Zimbabwe/Norway•**IG Metell VK-Leitung (Shop Stewards Council) Still GmbH**, Hamburg, Germany•**Instancia de Coordinecíon Seccional CNTE, Sección 22, SNTE (National Trade Union of Educetion Workers, Local 22, Coordination of Education Workers)**, Mexico City, Mexico•**The Internetional Movement Against All Forma of Discrimination and Racism (IMADR)**, Tokyo, Japan•**Juetice Action**, Sydney, Australia•**Bernt Kamin-Seggewies**, State Vice Chairmen, Transportetion Department ver.di (Public Service Union),* Hamburg, Germany•**Heinz Keßler**, Berlin, Germany•**Johannes Köbler**, Professor, Berlin, Germany•**Andreas Köhn**, Vice Chairmen, ver.di Berlin-Brandenburg (Public Service Union),* Berlin, Germany•**Kölner Appell gegen Rassismus e.V. (Cologne Appeal Against Racism)**, Cologne, Germany•**Konatanze Köpping**, Mütter gegen den Krieg Berlin/Brandenburg (Mothers Against Wer),* Berlin, Germany•**Dietmer Koschmieder**, Business Manager, Verlag 8. Mai, *junge Welt* (8th of May Publishers *Young World* Newspaper),* Berlin, Germany•**Michael Menefield OC**, Tooks Chambers,* London, England•**Peter March**, Sec'y, Rail, Maritime and Trensport Union Hutl Rail Branch (0746), Hull, England•**Insurgente Mercos**, Subcomandante, Ejército Zapatiste de Liberación Nacional, mountains of southeast Mexico•**Maritime Union of Auetrelia**, West Melbourne, Australia•**Hane Modrow**, Honorary Chairman, Linkspartei.PDS,* Berlin, Germany•**Lother Nätebusch**, Chairman, IG Bau Berlin (Construction Workers Union),* Berlin, Germany•**National Council of Trade Unions**, Johannesburg, South Africa•**Nevenda Civata Demokratika kurd Berlin-Brandenburg e.V. (Democretic Kurdish Society Center, Berlin-Brandenburg)**, Berlin, Germany•**Antonio Negri**, Venice, Italy•**Winnie Ng**, Ontario Regional Director, Canadian Labour Congress,* Toronto, Ontario, Canada•**Bahman Nirumand**, Journalist, Berlin, Germany•**Partisan Detence Committee**, Sydney, Australia•**Partisan Defence Committee**, London, Englend•**Partisan Defenae Committee**, Toronto, Ontario, Canede•**Gereth Peirce**, Lawyer, Birnberg Peirce & Partners,* London, England•**Gilles Perrault**, Author, Sainte-Marie-du-Mont, France•**Rainer Pommrich**, DKP Sachsen-Anhalt (German Communist Party Saxony Anhalt),* Halle, Germany•**Dave Proctor**, National Casework/Negotiator, Community & Youth Workers Union,* Birmingham, England•**Prof. Dr. Siegfried Prokop**, Chairman, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Brandenburg,* Berlin, Germany•**Rokeya Rstique**, Exec. Director, Karmojibi Nari (Working Women),* Dhaka, Bangladesh•**Rail, Maritime and Transport Union 0543 Finsbury Park Branch**, London, England•**Rail, Maritime and Transport Union Hull Rail Branch (0746)**, Hull, England•**Jose M. Ramos**, Treas.-Sec'y, UAW Local 2312,* San Juan, Puerto Rico•**Käthe Reichel**, Actress, Brecht Theater,* Berlin, Germany•**Reprieve**, London, England•**Salvador Rodriguez P.**, Coordinator, Coordinadora Nacional Politécnica, Mexico City, Mexico•**Ashim Roy**, New Trade Union Initialive,* New Delhi, India•**Bernard Saincy**, Confédération générale du travail (CGT),* Paris, France•**Sergio Salto Zamudio**, Regional Coordinator, SNTE—National Union of Education Workers, Patzcuaro, Michoacán, Mexico•**Frank Schäter**, Betriebsrat Eurogate, ver.di,* Hamburg, Germany•**Jinny Sims**, President, British Columbia Teachers Union,* Nanaimo, BC, Canada•**Sindicato Independiente de Trabajadores de la Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana (SITUAM)**, Mexico City, Mexico•**Mahlomola Skhosana**, General Sec'y, National Council of Trade Unions, Johannesburg, South Africa•**Clive Stafford Smith**, Legal Director, Reprieve, London, England•**SNTE—National Union of Education Workers**, Patzcuaro, Michoacán, Mexico•**SNTE-CNTE Sección 10**, Mexico City, Mexico•**Kurt Stankewitz**, Chairman Berlin-Lichtenberg, Gesellschaft zur rechtlichen und humanitären Unterstützung e.V., Berlin, Germany•**Heinz Stehr**, National Chairman, DKP (German Communist Party),* Essen, Germany•**Bernhard Stietz-Leipnitz**, Chairman of Factory Local, ver.di,* Hamburg, Germany•**SUTIN (Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores de la Induatria Nuclear)**, Mexico City, Mexico•**Maria Szyazkowska**, Full Professor, Stowarzyszenie Kultury Europejskiej (SEC) (Society for European Culture),* Warsaw, Poland•**Sylvie Thénault**, Historian, Argenteuil, France•**Bernhard Thiesing**, Journalist, ver.di,* Berlin-Brandenburg, Germany•**Patrick Tort**, Director, Institut Charles Darwin International,* Puycelsi, France•**Lautaro Valdés**, President, El Cultrún e.V. (Chilean cultural association), Germany•**Salim Vally**, Palestinian Solidarity Committee of South Africa,* South Africa•**Rinaldo Walcott**, Professor, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education,* Toronto, Ontario, Canada•**Markus Wolf**, Author, Colonel General (DDR) Retired, Berlin, Germany

*Drganization listed for identification purposes only

This statement was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. Partial list. For full list of signatories, visit www.partisandefense.org.

The time to act is now! Join the campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal now!

Contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, NY, NY 10013
(212) 406-4252 • partisandefense@earthlink.net • www.partisandefense.org

PDC Rally...

(continued from page 12)

campuses. It pointed toward the kind of united-front action that is necessary to mobilize broad social forces, particularly the trade unions. The watchword must be unity in action with full freedom of criticism for participating organizations.

The PDC's Erica Williamson, who chaired the event, opened her remarks by condemning the killing of four protesters in Oaxaca the night before and calling for "international solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Mexico who are being victimized by vicious government repression" (see article, page 1).

Williamson addressed the urgency of the fight for Mumia's freedom, stating, "If Mumia is to be freed, it will take the mobilization of the masses, centrally labor, to champion his cause in outrage and on the basis that this was a case of a political frame-up through and through." Williamson placed Mumia's case in the context of the "increased bipartisan attacks on civil liberties and the frame-up conviction and sentencing of leftist lawyer Lynne Stewart to 28 months and her co-defendants Mohamed Yousry to 20 months and Ahmed Abdel Sattar to an outrageous 24 years," as well as the attacks by the Bush administration on defendants' *habeas corpus* right to challenge evidence. She stressed that "while all legal proceedings and legal remedies should be pursued on Mumia's behalf, we cannot have any illusions or reliance in the capitalist courts." Williamson continued:

> "There is no need for a trial to prove that Mumia is innocent—the facts speak for themselves. The evidence of Mumia's innocence is overwhelming. The PDC has fought to get this evidence out, well before the conclusive piece of evidence that helps tie it all together—the confession of Arnold Beverly—was exposed. Mumia has been in prison or on death row for nearly 25 years. He doesn't need another 'day in court.' He needs his freedom."

Powerfully supporting this appeal, just days before the rally, a full-page statement calling to free Mumia and signed by more than 200 black and labor activists and prominent individuals around the world appeared in the major Harlem-based black newspaper the *Amsterdam News* (26 October). The statement (printed in this issue with an updated list of signatures on page 8) specifically points to the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot the policeman; it is titled: "We Demand the Immediate Freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an Innocent Man."

The rally heard taped greetings from Mumia and a recording of a moving speech by his sister Lydia Barashango at the Oakland rally. A statement was read out from New York's 1199SEIU United Healthcare Workers East union declaring: "We support the demand to free Mumia Now!" Besides speakers from the PDC and LBL, the audience was addressed by Jose A. Arroyo, vice chair of Section 115 of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, Lynne Stewart and Pam Africa of the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Arroyo described the rally as being "united with one common cause, and that is we are in the class struggle" and referred to the TWU strike last December. An immigrant from Mexico, Arroyo described his horror at watching the news of the May 1985 firebombing of MOVE, saying that he "saw how the government was burning an entire block of people, with children inside!" The audience was read a statement from Leonard Riley Jr. of International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422: "Coming from South Carolina and coming out of the 'Charleston Five' experience, I know first hand the full potential and extent to which the government will go to act against those that openly challenge their policies.... It was only through national and International solidarity of the labor movement that the Charleston 5 were eventually freed." Riley's statement concluded: "We Can and We must use the collective forces of the Labor Movement to free this innocent man. Free Mumia Now!"

Addressing the rally less than two weeks after her sentencing, Lynne Stewart expressed her determination to challenge her frame-up conviction and sentencing for the "crime" of being a zealous advocate on behalf of her client, the Islamic fundamentalist cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman. She received a standing ovation. Later in the program, Monique Code read a statement from Mumia's son Jamal Hart, who was framed up and sentenced in 1998 to 15 and a half years on bogus firearms possession charges for speaking out in his father's defense.

Free Mumia: Which Way Forward?

The core debate at the rally tackled the question of why support for Mumia was demobilized over the years, which must be understood in order to build the kind of militant mass protest movement that can win his freedom. As Williamson said in her opening remarks, "The fact that people are not mobilizing and filling the streets now like they once did for Mumia does not go unnoticed by the courts." She continued:

> "Many so-called socialist organizations such as Workers World Party, Socialist Action, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the International Socialist Organization have at one point or another taken up Mumia's case. But it is a question on what basis they take it up. It boils down to a difference between reforming the capitalist state and organizing working people independent of it and to fight it. Many of these leftist groups were fighting on the basis of winning the courts over to Mumia's side and tying the masses to have faith in the courts, instead of fighting on the basis of winning the masses to the fight for the freedom of an innocent man. And now that Mumia stands on his last legal legs in court, with small exceptions you hardly hear a peep from most of these groups."

In fact, the organizations mentioned by Williamson were notable for their absence from this rally.

Speaking for the New York Labor Black League, which was initiated by and is fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, TWU Local 100 member Tom Cowperthwaite declared, "Black liberation cannot succeed apart from united class struggle against the capitalists; working-class emancipation cannot succeed without an implacable fight against anti-black racism. Taking up the fight for Mumia's freedom is part of the fight against racial oppression *and* working-class exploitation."

Cowperthwaite was loudly applauded when he championed the TWU's strike action, saying, "I'm proud that we showed our union power for three days last December. We paralyzed the racist, union-busting MTA and the city itself. That's the same power we need to *free Mumia* and all class-war prisoners." He continued, "In every workplace, the words 'Strike!' and 'Free Mumia!' should ring out in the same breath."

Cowperthwaite illustrated the capitalist state as a machine of class repression by pointing to its role in the transit strike: "The government and courts only intervene into the unions to hogtie and destroy them as fighting organizations. Just look at the recent court injunctions, fines and prison time imposed on TWU Local 100.... The LBL says: 'For complete and unconditional independence from the capitalist state! Cops and security guards out of the unions! No to union-suing! Labor must clean its own house!'" He said:

> "A host of phony socialist groups, liberals and black nationalists derailed the struggle for Mumia in the late '90s by pushing the demand for a 'new trial' and sowing illusions in the same government that framed him up. During every political show trial in this country's history—Sacco and Vanzetti, the Scottsboro Boys, the Rosenbergs—the liberals and reformists have sown false hopes in the supposedly evenhanded scales of justice."

In her remarks, Pam Africa gave credit to the PDC for its many years of work on behalf of Mumia. She has often cited the legal efforts of PDC attorneys on behalf of Mumia, including bringing out the Beverly evidence, which is but one part, although a crucial part, of the massive evidence of Mumia's innocence. As Erica Williamson noted in her address, the PDC first learned of Mumia's case from MOVE member Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the government's firebombing of the MOVE commune on 13 May 1985, in which eleven men, women and children were burned to death. The PDC defended MOVE and for 20 years has included MOVE members in its program of monthly financial stipends to class-war prisoners.

Directly responding to Williamson's and Cowperthwaite's criticism of the role played by the liberal-reformist left in demobilizing support for Mumia, Pam Africa stated: "I want to dispel the myth that people who call for a trial for Mumia is the cause of the movement being splintered." Speaking of those who might support the death penalty and don't know whether Mumia is innocent but see that he "didn't have a fair trial," she said that "you don't run these people off." Her comments were applauded by many, underlining the range of political views of those in attendance.

Pam Africa defended the Workers World Party (WWP) and Jeff Mackler of Socialist Action (SA), saying "they do work" on behalf of Mumia. She continued by saying that "a lot of people aren't here tonight because we do not understand how we offend each other and you cannot pull people in offending them." She pointed to the 24 April 1999 "Millions for Mumia" protests, which the WWP and SA heavily built, as a high point in mobilizing for Mumia and mentioned as well the ILWU stop-work action that shut down West Coast ports that day. She went on, "You know what broke this movement up? It's fear. It's racism. It's classism. And the terrorism that was in the hearts of this government, when they looked out there on April the 24th, 1999, when they saw the people united, moving up against them.... They had to stop that."

She also took issue with the PDC and LBL speakers' assertion of the strategic importance of mobilizing the labor movement in this struggle, asking about the poor and the unemployed: "They stood beside the workers. I'm saying we must give credit to all those people who worked to free Mumia." She spoke of Italian Americans, Mexican Americans and black nationalists who came out for Mumia at that time. She also pointed to "black policemen" who were "there for Mumia."

The PDC's Rachel Wolkenstein, who was on Mumia's legal team from 1995 to 1999 and led the investigation that turned up evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the Beverly confession, responded from the platform: "I want to begin by really genuinely thanking Pam for raising her criticisms here at this meeting.... I'm not offended by that. And neither should anyone who we criticize be offended. It's a question of how best to fight forward for Mumia's freedom as part of the broader struggle for the liberation of us all." "What the capitalist class sees in Mumia," Wolkenstein said, "is the spectre of black revolution. And because of that they will stop at nothing, ***nothing***—lies, coercion, falsifying evidence, disappearing evidence of Mumia's innocence, campaigns of all sorts to create dissension and all of that. I couldn't agree more that our main enemy is the capitalist state. Now the question is, how do you fight it?"

For Class-Struggle Defense!

As Wolkenstein explained, the first step is understanding the nature of the capitalist state as "the instrument of repression for those rulers of this country, the capitalist class," who "will stop at nothing against a possible unity of the working class, against the consciousness...that they must struggle for socialist revolution and not accept the parameters of capitalism." Wolkenstein noted that it was very important that the 1199 union leadership came

continued on page 10

Mumia's Greetings to PDC Rallies

The following recorded greetings from Mumia Abu-Jamal were played at the PDC rallies last month.

Ona MOVE! Long live John Africa!

Dear friends and comrades of the PDC:

Thank yuu for your hard and arduous work in the unions and the streets on behalf of my life and freedom. I, *we* thank you all. This struggle for justice has been long and bitter, yet we struggle on, as we must. The law, Marx said, is but the will of one class made into the law for all. We have seen how the law is made and unmade, huw legal precedents become suggestions, and how the law changes from case to case —all in support of repression. We've seen the racial exclusion of jurors and the racist comments of judges, false confessions and mure. Yet, the struggle continues. I thank you all for the part you play in that struggle.

Ona MOVE! Long live John Africa!

From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

WV Photo

August 1995: Trade unionists join Philadelphia demonstration for Mumia, part of international protest movement that stayed executioner's hand.

PDC Rally...

(continued from page 9)

out in defense of Mumia and that they had signed the statement that appeared in the *Amsterdam News*. "But they would do better," she said, "if they were here today as a first step fighting for Mumia." She won applause for saying that they should have "been prepared to bring out their membership in defending the transit workers when they were out on strike" and "to commit themselves along with every other union here, that labor will *stop* in this city until Mumia is free."

Wolkenstein continued, "That consciousness is the consciousness that *we must win people to*." "Our numbers on a street in a demonstration show our desire to stand for something.... But that is not the same thing as being able to stop this system, *shut it down!* These are very different things. And that is why we talk about the power of the working class. It is not a dismissal of the good will, the heart, the needs and the oppression that otherwise exists in society. It is not a statement that those people who are unemployed are not part of the struggle. But that is the duty of the labor movement: to *organize* the unemployed, to *fight* for jobs for the unemployed, to *unionize* people across the board."

WV Photo

San Francisco, 24 April 1999: "Millions for Mumia" rally mobilized around call for new trial, catering to illusions in racist "justice" system that railroaded Mumia to death row.

UPI

Government-ordered firebombing of Philadelphia MOVE's Osage Avenue home on 13 May 1985 killed eleven people, including five children, and destroyed entire black neighborhood.

Wolkenstein answered Pam Africa on the role of black cops, some of whom, like the Black Guardians, had been welcomed into Mumia protests in the past: "You know what I want those black cops to do? I want those black cops to *tell me what they know* about the frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, because there were tons of black cops involved in the frame-up." Wolkenstein insisted that those cops, precisely "because they're cops" who "defend the capitalist system, and are part of the gunning down of blacks and immigrants and poor and strikers, are just as much the enemy of all of us here as a white cop!"

The PDC's polemics, Wolkenstein said, were directed not at individuals who came out for Mumia protests because of their particular liberal or religious beliefs, or even centrally at bourgeois organizations like Amnesty International, whose views are antithetical to the Marxist understanding of the state. "Who we are addressing our criticisms to," she emphasized, "are those organizations that say they are socialist. That say they are for the workers. That say they're for black revolution and for black freedom. It's those organizations that play the game that has been played for decades and decades and decades, which is to say, to use the excuse: 'People aren't ready for this yet. They haven't gotten there yet. We can't go too far in advance of people yet. We must bide our time'."

Wolkenstein continued, "I want to make a point that the *more* evidence that came out of the frame-up, from 1995 to 1999, the *more* those so-called left organizations decided to hold people *back* from their understanding of the nature of the courts. Because it was clear that there was a frame-up.... The more the evidence came out, the more those organizations said: 'We are *not* going to argue for Free Mumia, that Mumia is innocent. We are *not* going to argue that people need to understand that this is a racist system, that we cannot have any illusions in the court and that we'll need a mass mobilization on the streets, and that's the only way we will get the courts to respond'."

Pointing to a January 1999 "Emergency Leadership Summit Meeting" that included among its 70 participants representatives of the WWP, SA and Refuse & Resist, Wolkenstein stated, "I'll give a criticism of the Partisan Defense Committee. We weren't there at that meeting fighting for what we should have been fighting for." She continued, "What did they decide to do at this leadership meeting? They decided they would consciously make the demand for 'Millions for Mumia' be 'new trial for Mumia.' Not 'Free Mumia.' And not anything that opposed the death penalty. And this was already after there was a worldwide campaign where millions and millions of people...had signed onto statements and demands and rallies and resolutions that said 'End the racist death penalty. Free Mumia'."

"There are going to be liberals who are going to organize on the basis that Mumia is a wonderful man," Wolkenstein continued. "And he is. And he writes beautifully. And he does. And that the trial was unfair. Which it was. And they will mobilize on that basis. But that's not enough. And you know what? ***That will not get Mumia free.***" She emphasized, "There is no way, given the determination of this state to execute Mumia, that he could be freed short of a mobilization that recognizes the depth of the hatred the state has for him."

Holding up the *Amsterdam News* ad, Wolkenstein said, "There are accusations being made that to raise the Beverly evidence, to raise the demand for Mumia's immediate freedom, to raise the demand that he is an innocent man is divisive, that it's sending decent people away. Well, there are plenty of decent people who do not have our politics who signed onto this statement. Because they can when it's presented to them.... They were ready to do this years ago. Who didn't allow them to do that is the so-called left that decided that the only way that you could build a mass movement was by taking people *back*, retarding their consciousness, stopping them from drawing the lessons of Mumia's case."

Wolkenstein also answered charges often raised by liberals that Mumia never told the courts that he was innocent. "Mumia said he was innocent the night he was shot.... He said he was innocent during his trial. He said he was innocent in his 2001 affidavit that accompanied the legal pleadings along with the Beverly evidence." Mumia's statement to the court that he was not guilty of the crime he was charged with "were the words that Sacco and Vanzetti used." She continued, "Mumia knew why he was in court.... He was guilty of being a Black Panther Party member, a MOVE supporter, a black revolutionary. He was guilty of being a journalist who reported the truth. He was guilty of not doing the bidding of the police and the government."

Mobilize Now!

The questions posed in the debate from the podium continued in the floor discussion. A supporter of the Free Mumia Coalition asked the audience to sign a petition to name a Harlem street in honor of Mumia. But as Williamson explained, the PDC regretfully was unable to sign the petition because it called for a "new and fair trial" and did not call for his freedom or say that he is innocent.

A supporter of the PDC described her work with another group supporting Mumia that was going to put out a fund-raising letter. She said she asked them, "Why don't we put in the letter that he's innocent? Well, all hell broke out. 'We can't do that, we'll alienate people. Some people think he's guilty'."

SL spokesman Don Alexander counterposed our revolutionary integrationist program for black liberation to the dead end of black nationalism. Referring to the overthrow of capitalist rule in Russia in 1917, he said, "One of the important components of that revolution was its internationalism. And it was the fight of the Russian Bolsheviks that actually won the early Communist movement to understand the need to fight against black oppression in the U.S. as central to the struggle for working-class revolution, not separate from it." The Black Panthers "represented the best of a generation of black militants that wanted to make a social revolution. But their so-called program of revolutionary nationalism rejected mobilizing the multiracial working class as an ally of the struggle for black freedom. That made them easy pickings. It wasn't just the FBI that smashed them, but it was the fact that they did not have a program that was capable of uprooting black oppression, which is rooted in the capitalist system."

In a brief outburst in the midst of the discussion period, Pam Africa charged that there was "racism" in the room. This attempt to deflect the vigorous debate drew a sharp rebuke from Rachel Wolkenstein: "What we have here is a bunch of demagoguery because there's differences, and we're going to have differences. But I am not going to tolerate an attack on our organization as being racist because you have a disagreement."

Another Spartacist speaker pointed out that the Harlem rally took place in the midst of one of the capitalists' periodic "elephant-and-donkey show" electoral farces, which "serve to perpetuate the myth that this country is democratic or can be fair for working people and the oppressed." She pointed to "the agents of the capitalist class in the labor movement" as well as leftists "who push the lie that this system can be reformed to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed. And I'll give you a stellar example of that. Millions of people protested the racist imperialist war against Iraq.... And where did that go? That got channeled in this country into the dead end of 'Anybody but Bush'." She continued, "The best way that we arm people to fight racism, exploitation and war is by telling the truth about what this system is about and what program it's going to take to fight to get rid of it and organize the working class."

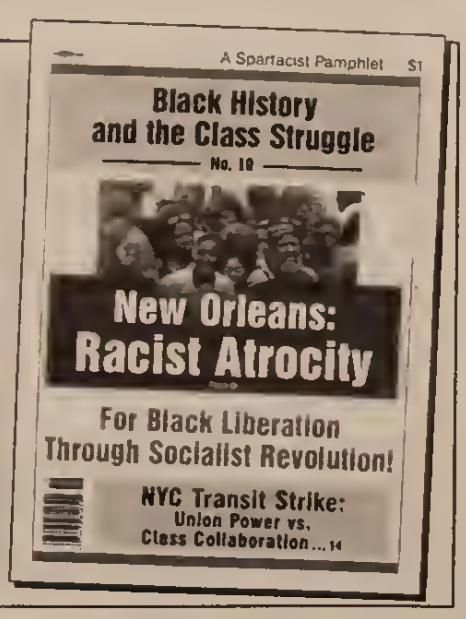
The debate at the rally was a welcome example of the kind of political struggle that must take place to drive the fight to free Mumia forward. As Erica Williamson stated in concluding her opening remarks: "Everyone here must take this case back to their unions, to their campuses, to their community groups." The rally concluded with the chant: "Free Mumia Now!" ■

Black History and the Class Struggle No. 19

Black History is sent to all *Workers Vanguard* subscribers.

$1 (48 pages)

Order from:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



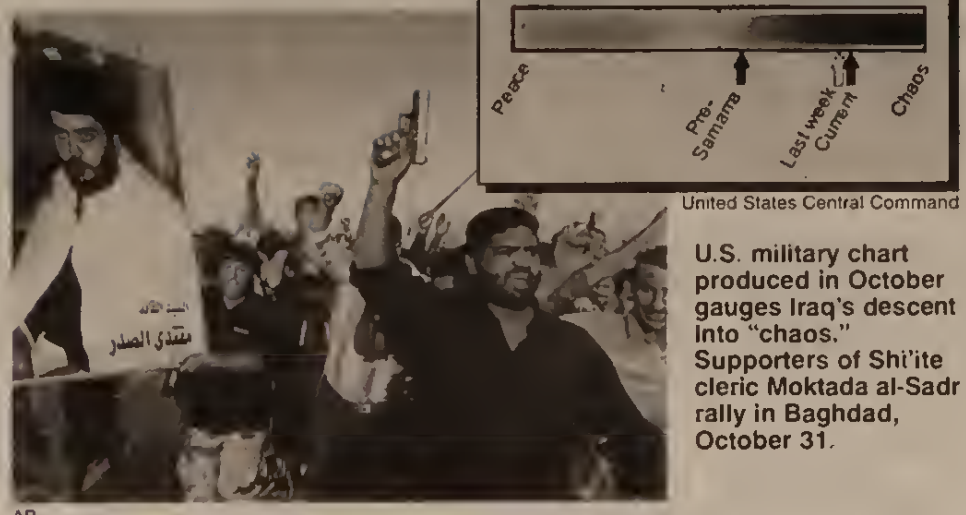
U.S. Out!...

(continued from page 1)

Washington's all-purpose bogeyman.

The main enemy of the world's working people, the U.S. imperialist state—murderer of hundreds of thousands of Japanese in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, butcher of over three million Koreans and three million Vietnamese, enforcer of the UN sanctions that starved 1.5 million Iraqis to death and perpetrator of the Haditha slaughter and other war crimes in Iraq—hails the death sentence handed out by its puppet court. It is the "lesser evil" Democratic Party that has overseen the bulk of the atrocities perpetrated by U.S. imperialism. As we wrote in "Imperialists Gloat over Capture of Former Henchman Saddam Hussein" (*WV* No. 816, 26 December 2003): "When workers tribunals of a victorious socialist revolution in the United States try America's capitalist exploiters for their crimes against the oppressed masses of the world, black America, labor, immigrants and the poor, and when Iraqi Kurds, leftists and workers rip the oil wealth out of the hands of the military occupiers and judge them and their former henchmen, *then* we can start talking about justice."

The faith-based Bush gang is selling the death sentence as a major step toward "stability" in Iraq. But the predictable reaction in Iraq tells a different story: Sunnis protested in fury against the sentence, arms in hand, while Shi'ites and Kurds celebrated, arms in hand. U.S. Central Command planners last month produced an "Index of Civil Conflict" chart, which as reported by the *New York Times* (1 November), shows Iraq "moving steadily toward the far right of the chart," i.e., toward "chaos."



United States Central Command

U.S. military chart produced in October gauges Iraq's descent into "chaos." Supporters of Shi'ite cleric Moktada al-Sadr rally in Baghdad, October 31.

AP

By any measure, Iraq under U.S. subjugation is a devastated country. A recently published study by Johns Hopkins University estimated that *650,000* Iraqis have died as a result of the occupation, including 600,000 in violent deaths. Every week, hundreds of Iraqis are slaughtered in the ethnic and communal warfare that the imperialist occupation has unleashed. Sunnis and Shi'ites have fled once-mixed neighborhoods to escape murderous militias and death squads, many of which work right out of army bases and police stations. The small Christian population is under siege. The United Nations estimates that at least 914,000 Iraqis have fled their homes since the occupation began. Thousands stream into Syria or Jordan each day. One hundred lecturers at Baghdad University have been murdered. In areas under the control of the clerics (Sunni or Shi'ite), women who step outside their homes dare not do so without draping themselves in the veil.

As revolutionary Marxists, the Spartacist League/U.S. stood for the military defense of Iraq against the imperialist invasion without giving any political support to Saddam Hussein's bloody bourgeois regime. We called on the U.S. proletariat to wage *class struggle at home* against the U.S. capitalist rulers. Today we demand the *unconditional, immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq!* Against the trap of Democratic Party lesser-evilism, we fight to forge a workers party that will lead the exploited and oppressed in a socialist revolution that smashes the U.S. imperialist order.

Imperialist Thieves Fall Out

Pre-election polls show that over 70 percent of the U.S. population believes that Iraq is in a state of civil war. More than 2,800 U.S. troops have been killed since the March 2003 invasion and over 20,000 wounded. General William Odom, former head of the National Security Agency, has called the Iraq war and occupation "the greatest strategic disaster in American history." A preview of an upcoming *Vanity Fair* article posted on the Internet speaks of neocons Richard Perle and Kenneth Adelman, among the ideological architects of the war, now blaming the Bush administration's incompetence for the Iraq quagmire. An "Iraq Study Group" approved by the White House and headed by James Baker, a leading policy-maker under Bush Sr., will likely come out following the elections with recommendations for "disengagement" from Iraq.

An editorial that appeared in the *Army Times* (4 November) and related publications of the military branches demands: "Time for Rumsfeld to Go," bluntly expressing the growing opposition to the White House over Iraq among the officer corps as well as ranks. Last month, over 200 active-duty soldiers in Iraq signed a petition calling for the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Iraq.

While the Democrats are seizing on the chance to bash Bush over his lacking an "exit strategy," the Democrats are in fact *not* calling for withdrawal from Iraq, where the U.S. now has military bases. What Hillary Clinton et al. demand is a "redeployment" of forces to surrounding areas, the better to prosecute the "global war on terror." What worries the Democrats and all other bourgeois critics of the administration is that White House policies are harming U.S. imperialism's long-term strategic and military interests.

The *New York Times* (24 October), which in the lead-up to the 2003 invasion promoted the government's lie about WMDs in Iraq, editorialized that the best that can be hoped for is to try to "contain the Iraq disaster." The *Times* declared that the U.S. cannot "win in Iraq. The only question is whether the United States can extricate itself without leaving behind an unending civil war that will spread more chaos and suffering throughout the Middle East, while spawning terrorism across the globe."

Reuters

Gaza, November 3: Palestinian women flee as Israeli tank fires on march, killing two.

For the Democratic Party of U.S. imperialism, Iraq was a "mistake" only because it was not successful. Meanwhile, the murderous U.S./NATO occupation of Afghanistan has led to the resurgence of the Taliban. In a *New York Times* (27 October) op-ed piece, liberal columnist Paul Krugman declared Iraq "a lost cause." He continued:

> "The moral is clear—we need to get out of Iraq, not because we want to cut and run, but because our continuing presence is doing nothing but wasting American lives. And if we do free up our forces (and those of our British allies), we might still be able to save Afghanistan."

The Afghanistan war embraced by Krugman and other liberals as a just and noble response to the September 11 terror attacks means imperialist slaughter and reinforces the barbaric oppression of women. On October 24, air strikes carried out by NATO forces killed up to 85 villagers in Kandahar province. Soon after, Pakistan, with U.S. backing, bombed an Islamic school near the Afghan border, killing 80. Just as we called for the military defense of Afghanistan against the U.S. invasion in 2001 despite our proletarian opposition to the bloody Taliban reactionaries, today we demand: *U.S./NATO out of Afghanistan now!*

Imperialist Occupation Foments Bloody Chaos

As proletarian-internationalist opponents of U.S. imperialism, we recognize that when the insurgents in Iraq carry out strikes against the U.S. occupiers, such acts coincide with the interests of the international proletariat. However, we do not imbue these forces with "anti-imperialist" credentials and we stand in intransigent opposition to the murderous communal violence that is often carried out by the very same forces fighting the occupation armies. Should the Iraqi proletariat raise its head, it would face not only the savagery of the imperialists but also the brutality of the reactionary Islamic fundamentalists and bourgeois nationalists that dominate the "resistance."

In August, as Iraq spiraled ever more quickly into chaos, Washington redeployed troops to Baghdad, aiming to at least control the capital. But the communal bloodshed only increased. Then, after the U.S. accused Moktada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army militia of kidnapping a U.S. Army translator, American and Iraqi troops threw a cordon around Baghdad's Sadr City on October 25, sealing off the massive Shi'ite slum and stronghold of al-Sadr's forces. That same day, U.S. air strikes on the area killed five. As outrage mounted over the siege and checkpoints, Iraqi prime minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki demanded the lifting of the siege, and the U.S. complied.

That Washington's own puppet regime in Iraq is increasingly defying its imperialist paymasters only gives more impetus to Bush's bourgeois opponents to push cutting U.S. losses there. At the same time, the imperialists fear that a withdrawal would only strengthen the growing influence of Shi'ite Iran over the government in Iraq and the now-dominant Shi'ite population. In late October, the U.S. carried out naval exercises in the Persian Gulf as a further provocation against Iran, which is in the imperialists' cross hairs over its development of nuclear technology. In response, Iran began ten days of military exercises. The latest brazen American provocations against Iran, which has not violated any nuclear proliferation agreements, further demonstrate that Iran *needs* nukes as a deterrent to imperialist attack.

Meanwhile, Israel, on the heels of its murderous assault on Lebanon, has again ratcheted up its terror against the Palestinian people, slaughtering more than 50 people in the Gaza Strip in the past week. Over 300 Palestinians have been killed in the four-month Zionist offensive. Both the Democrats and Republicans are fulsome supporters of the bloody Zionist regime, including backing its recent bombardment and invasion of Lebanon. *Defend the Palestinian people! Zionist troops and settlers out of all the Occupied Territories!*

The Democrats have long complained that Bush's Iraq policy has overstretched the military to the extent that the U.S. cannot pursue more important targets, such as capitalist Iran or the North Korean deformed workers state. In fact, since September 11, 2001, U.S. imperialism's military attentions have largely been diverted from its key strategic target of China, the most powerful of the remaining societies where capitalism was overthrown, as well as from North Korea. It is the duty of the international proletariat to defend the Chinese, North Korean, Cuban and Vietnamese deformed workers states against military attack and capitalist counterrevolution. As part of our defense of North Korea, we support Pyongyang's testing and development of nukes as a deterrent against imperialist blackmail. *Down with UN sanctions against North Korea!*

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

When Democratic Congressman and longtime hawk Jack Murtha came out last year with his call for a speedy redeployment out of the Iraq quagmire, we wrote in "Iraq: U.S. Occupiers Out Now!" (*WV* No. 860, 9 December 2005):

> "Ultimately, the solution to the suffering of U.S. imperialism's victims depends on the struggle of the American proletariat to overthrow the capitalist order through socialist revolution. From the onset of the Iraq antiwar protests in 2002, we have stressed the need for class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home. This perspective requires a political fight against the pro-capitalist labor misleaders who chain the proletariat to its capitalist class enemy, not least through supporting U.S. 'national interests'."

True to form, with Bush's Republicans on the ropes, the labor misleaders in the AFL-CIO and Change to Win coalition have poured in tens of millions to support the Democratic Party "lesser evil" in the Congressional elections. Following suit, the U.S. reformist left has worked its own "Anybody but Bush" shell game. Thus, International Socialist Organization (ISO) spokesman Todd Chretien has run on the capitalist Green Party ticket for U.S. Senate in California, while elsewhere the ISO has campaigned for Greens like Senate candidate Howie Hawkins in New York. Workers World Party (WWP) member David Sole is also running for Senate on the Green Party ticket in Michigan. Far from an alternative to the major parties of U.S. imperialism, the Greens provide a way station for disgruntled liberals on the road back into the Democrats' fold.

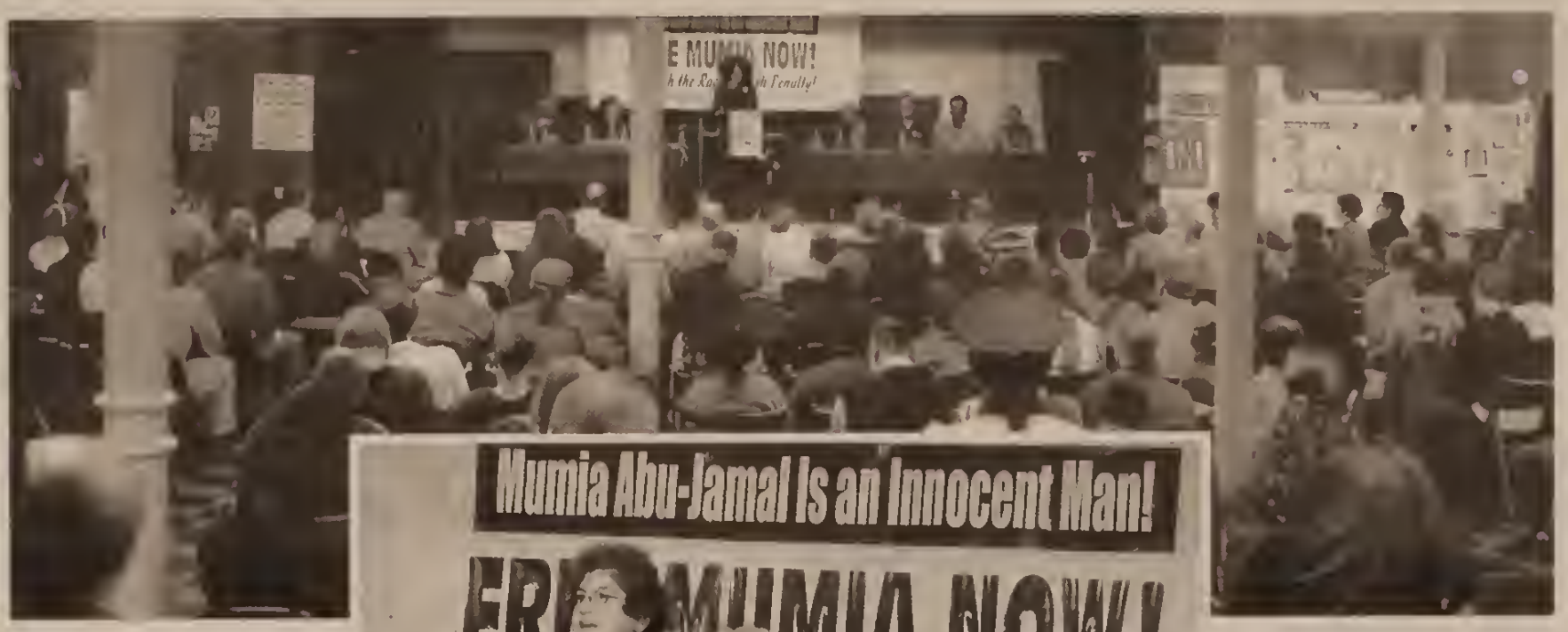
The ISO and WWP are plainly crossing the class line with these bourgeois electoral efforts. But these campaigns are in fact the continuation of their building of a liberal-pacifist Iraq "antiwar movement" that reinforced the illusion that the murderous, profit-driven capitalist system can be reformed to serve human needs. They promote such slogans as money for jobs and health care, not war—as if the task is to convince the capitalist rulers to reorder their priorities. The reformists act to retard the political consciousness of the working class and radical-minded youth, opposing the road of proletarian revolution as the way out of imperialist war, racist oppression and poverty.

The Spartacist League fights intransigently for the political independence of the proletariat from the capitalist class enemy. *Break with the capitalist parties! For a workers party that fights for socialist revolution!* ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Debate at Harlem PDC Rally

For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!



WV Photos

Harlem rally, October 28. Above: PDC's Rachel Wolkenstein (left) shows *Amsterdam News* ad with statement signed by over 200 people demanding Mumia's freedom. Pam Africa (right) of International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

As part of the urgent effort to revitalize mass protest on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal, more than 250 people turned out for an October 28 rally at Harlem's Salem United Methodist Church called by the Partisan Defense Committee and the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense. Framed up on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman on 9 December 1981, Mumia is on death row for having been a leader of the Black Panther Party, a MOVE supporter and an eloquent and effective opponent of racist oppression.

Recognizing that Mumia's case is now at a critical juncture, the PDC and Labor Black Leagues organized the Harlem rally and others in Los Angeles, Chicago and Oakland in October under the slogans: "Free Mumia now! Mumia is an innocent man! Mumia Abu-Jamal's life is in danger—Mobilize now! Abolish the racist death penalty!" The rallies brought together speakers and organizations across a spectrum of political beliefs raising their own views on which way forward in the fight to free Mumia. That crucial debate was the defining feature of the Harlem rally.

The PDC's August 25 rally call (printed in *WV* No. 876, 15 September) laid out our perspective to "win activists to the understanding that Mumia's defense must be based on a class-struggle perspective—organizing independently of the racist capitalist state that has framed him up." The call stated:

> "Worldwide protests, crucially involving trade unions, won a stay of execution for Mumia in August 1995. Millions rallied to Mumia's cause out of revulsion with the injustices inherent in capitalism—poverty, racial and ethnic bias and war.... But they were demobilized by a host of reformist and liberal organizations that appeal to bourgeois forces who see in Mumia's case an isolated 'miscarriage of justice' that could be rectified with a 'new trial.' This meant rejecting the very reasons Mumia's case won such broad international support.
>
> "That worldwide movement must be revived and infused with a new strength and militancy built on the understanding that *there is no justice in the capitalist courts*."

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Harlem Rally: United Struggle for Mumia

The Harlem rally drew a wide range of activists, including members of the New York Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition and Black Panther Party veterans, as well as students from an array of NYC-area

continued on page 9

Mumia's Case at Critical Hour

Defense Papers Filed

Highlighting the urgency of the fight for freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, in a matter of months the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit in Philadelphia is expected to issue what could be the final decision in his case. Last month, Mumia filed a concluding legal brief in the court, following the filing of the prosecution's brief. It is not clear whether the court will hear oral argument on these briefs. The court decision will determine what lies next for Mumia: the reimposition of his death sentence and the threat of a new death warrant, his entombment for life in Pennsylvania's prison system, a new trial or further legal appeals.

The court has agreed to hear only three of the dozens of constitutional violations in Mumia's blatant frame-up on false charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. One is the racist jury-rigging that kept black people off the jury in his 1982 trial. Mumia is also challenging the prosecutor's closing argument that the jury should err on the side of convicting Mumia without worrying about the consequences because Mumia would have "appeal after appeal," vitiating the legal principle of "reasonable doubt." The last issue is the notorious bias of racist hanging judge Albert Sabo during the 1995 post-conviction hearings.

Any one of these aspects of Mumia's frame-up legal proceedings should mandate that the conviction be overturned. But the courts have repeatedly rubberstamped Mumia's false conviction and ignored the mountain of evidence proving his innocence, including by refusing to hear the confession of Arnold Beverly that he shot Faulkner and that Mumia had nothing to do with it. The Court of Appeals will also not hear how the Philadelphia cops coerced individuals into testifying as witnesses against Mumia and, working with the D.A., manufactured a bogus claim that Mumia had confessed to the killing.

In the fight for Mumia's freedom, it is crucial to understand the depth of the state's determination to kill Mumia or to keep him locked up for life. The racist capitalist rulers see in Mumia—a former Black Panther Party member, a MOVE

continued on page 5

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

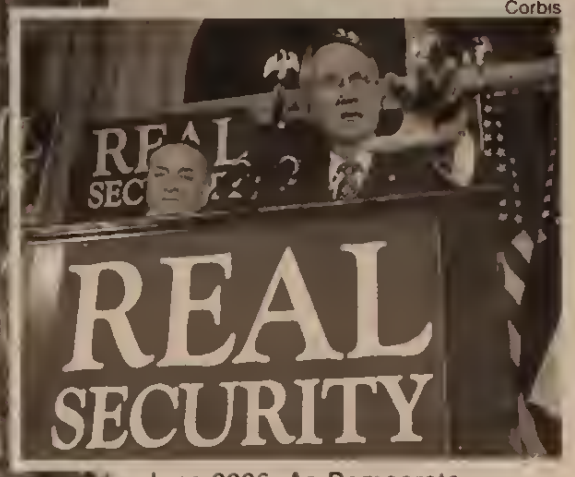
No. 881 | GCU C-701 | 24 November 2006

Corbis

Democratic Congressional leader Nancy Pelosi meeting with Bush following midterm elections. Right: Devastation in Baghdad following November 19 car bombing, emblematic of Iraq's descent into civil war under U.S. occupation.

AP

Corbis



June 2006: As Democrats called for more effective "war on terror," Harry Reid, with fellow Senator Charles Schumer, called for redeploying troops bogged down in Iraq quagmire.

U.S. Elections: Bourgeoisie's Midterm Correction

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

From the cesspool of bourgeois electoral politics, the Democrats emerged this month with a majority in the House of Representatives and a slim win in the Senate. The campaigns were marked by overt racism, anti-gay and anti-abortion bigotry, paeans to the "war on terror" from all quarters, general sleaze and hypocrisy—all of this exemplifying American bourgeois democracy. The midterm elections represented the victory of a section of the U.S. capitalist ruling class that engineered a kind of "market correction" on the political front. Republican candidates suffered from massive public revulsion at the corruption and sheer incompetence of Bush and his cohorts. But the overriding question was U.S. imperialism's occupation of Iraq, under which Iraqis are now being killed at the rate of almost 100 per day. The Iraq quagmire is vastly unpopular in the U.S. and has increasingly become an albatross for the ruling class.

The "Anybody but Bush" left was quick to claim victory in the elections, with the rad-lib *Nation* (4 December) cheering in a front-page headline: "It's Party Time." But the real coup de grace was delivered to the Bushites by major sections of the U.S. military, along with Bush Senior's coterie and elements of the Democratic Party. When the likes of General William Odom, former head of the National Security Agency, declares the Iraq war and occupation "the greatest strategic disaster in American history," it is a safe bet that heads will roll. An editorial published in the *Army Times*, *Air Force Times*, *Navy Times* and *Marine Corps Times*—publications owned by Gannett Co., Inc. that serve and reflect military interests—demanded Defense Secretary Rumsfeld's ouster on the eve of the election. And they got it: immediately after the Republicans' midterm thumping came Rumsfeld's dumping.

Rumsfeld's nominated replacement is one Robert Gates, a former CIA director and veteran of sinister Reaganite ventures such as the Iran-Contra affair, a secret White House operation in the 1980s that sold weapons to Iran to get cash for homicidal reactionaries fighting the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. The U.S. rulers want to retool their war machine, the better to subjugate the peoples of the world in the service of the capitalist profit system. Predicting the problems besetting the military today, former Army chief of staff General Eric Shinseki warned before he was ousted in 2003, "Beware the 12-division foreign policy with a 10-division Army." The bipartisan Iraq Study Group headed by James Baker, a key player in the Reagan and Bush Sr. administrations, is expected to soon deliver a "reality-based" plan for extricating U.S. forces from Iraq.

The "pragmatists" riding to the rescue include many from the upper crust who not only think that the CIA's torture methods are necessary but have themselves overseen plenty of this dirty work. To openly advocate it as the Bush gang does, however, is considered to be very poor PR, further tarnishing the darkened image of "democratic" U.S. imperialism. There is also opposition in the bourgeoisie to Bush's notions of "faith-based" government. While it is just good bourgeois politics to do what's necessary to extract votes from Christian evangelicals (whose votes were split in the midterm elections), it is quite another thing to act as if you actually believe the stuff. As the late muckraking journalist I. F. Stone put it: "All governments lie, but disaster lies in wait for countries whose officials smoke the same hashish they give out."

The bourgeoisie now sees a chance to restore the much-frayed "national unity" that was proclaimed in the aftermath of the September 11 terror attacks and used to package the rulers' assaults on immigrants, black people and the working class as a whole. For this task, the Democrats—the other capitalist party of war and racism—are well-suited. They are widely viewed as a "lesser evil" than the justly loathed Bush administration, thus giving them, at least in the short run, more "credibility" in mobilizing support for further U.S. military adventures and depredations. And while occasionally opposing some of Bush's more egregious power grabs—e.g., voting in the main against the 2006 Military Commissions Act that included a frontal assault on *habeas corpus* legal protections—they are no less committed to maintaining the imperial presidency than the Republicans.

Racism U.S.A.

The labor traitors who head both the AFL-CIO and Change to Win federations celebrated their own role in the Democrats' victory. A record amount of union money was spent for these midterm elections, and thousands upon thousands of union members were mobilized to "get out the vote." Black liberal spokesmen continued to sell the party as the "friend" of the oppressed black masses, while Latino pols helped channel mass anger over draconian anti-immigration legislation proposed by Republicans in Congress earlier this year into votes for the Democrats.

The Democrats benefited from the social tinder at the base of U.S. society, with its widening class divide and murderous racism. But as death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal remarked in a 14 November column:

> "This election was not a vote in favor of Democrats, so much as it was a profoundly anti-Bush vote.
>
> "For days, weeks, perhaps years after this election, schools across Black and poor America will be as wretched, as defunded, and as dysfunctional as they were before. Will a Democratic majority repeal the disastrous No Child Left Behind law? The peoples' rights to be secure in their homes and places (said to be guaranteed in the Constitution) will still be under constant and dangerous threats, not from the 'terrorists'—but from the government."

Neither bourgeois party spoke much about the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina—the man-made racist atrocity against black New Orleans. Small wonder, as each was complicit in that atrocity. Katrina, however, is very alive in the consciousness of the black population and the working class as a whole. Along with general disaffection over a losing war in Iraq, which was prepared by lies from the outset, the racist contempt shown the people of New Orleans by Washington was another nail in the coffin of the incumbent Republicans. But the reality of ongoing devastation along the Gulf Coast is raw, tangible evidence of the racist oppression

continued on page 14

Terrorism: A Marxist Analysis

The "War on Terror" and the Imperialist World Order....10

7 25274 81030 7 47

Monique Code

Jamal Hart (left) and son Jamal Hart, Jr.

21st Annual Holiday Appeal

December 16th Committee

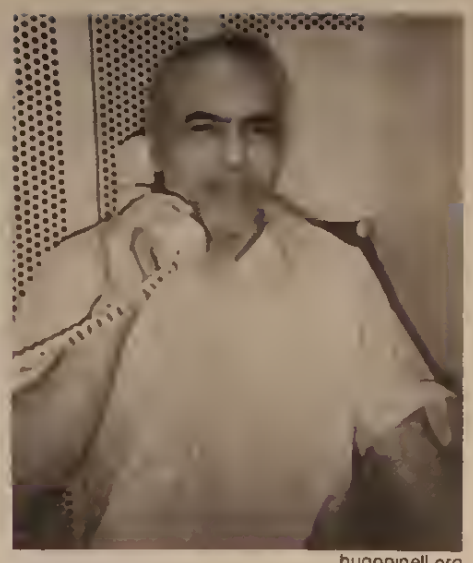
Tom Manning

strugglemag

Jaan Laaman

cainmo.com

Leonard Peltier



hugopinell.org

Hugo Pinell

Free the Class-War Prisoners!

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

This year's Holiday Appeal marks the 21st year of the Partisan Defense Committee's program of sending monthly stipends as an expression of solidarity to those imprisoned for standing up to racist capitalist repression. This program revived a tradition initiated by the International Labor Defense (ILD) under James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the Communist Party and the ILD's first secretary (1925-28). The PDC sends stipends to 16 class-war prisoners.

At this critical time, the Holiday Appeal will focus on the urgent fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, seeking to build on the successful PDC rallies recently held in Chicago, Los Angeles, Oakland and New York. The state has repeatedly demonstrated its unswerving commitment to make Jamal the first political prisoner executed in this country since the Rosenbergs were put to death over 50 years ago.

Writing in August 1927, as the capitalist rulers geared up for the legal lynching of anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti, Cannon warned:

> "The case is again before the black-gowned judges on another appeal by the defense against flagrant errors in the trial. It is, of course, absolutely right to exhaust every legal possibility and technicality in the fight, provided—that the workers have no illusions. We must remember that the case has been before these same judges many times before, and they have again and again put their seal of approval on the criminally false verdict."

He emphasized, "We must appeal at the same time to the laboring masses of America and the whole world who are the highest court of all." This is the pressing task before us today in the fight to free Mumia. Build the Holiday Appeal! Free all class-war prisoners!

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a former Black Panther Party spokesman, a well-known supporter of the MOVE organization and an award-winning journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless." The fight to free America's foremost class-war prisoner has reached a crucial juncture. Mumia's case is on a "fast track" before the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals. A decision could come soon.

December 9, 2006 marks the 25th anniversary of the day Mumia was arrested for a killing that the cops know he did not commit. Mumia was framed up for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner and sentenced to death explicitly for his political views. More than five years ago, Mumia's attorneys submitted to the courts the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner, but to the racists in black robes a court of law is no place for evidence of the innocence of this fighter for the oppressed.

This past July, Mumia filed his legal brief in the federal appeals court—the last stage before the U.S. Supreme Court. The execution of Tookie Williams last December in the face of a massive public outcry was a real signal that the state intends to see Mumia dead. It was because he has always spoken for the oppressed, such as those left to die in New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, that Mumia faces the ultimate in capitalist repression: the racist death penalty. Workers, immigrants, minorities and all opponents of racist oppression must redouble their efforts to free Mumia now!

Leonard Peltier is an internationally revered class-war prisoner. His incarceration for more than three decades because of his activism in the American Indian Movement has come to symbolize this

TROTSKY

On Revolutionary Morality

LENIN

Many radical intellectuals in the late 1930s justified their deporture from the Marxist movement by denouncing Bolshevism as "amoral" and equating Trotskyism, the continuator of the program of the 1917 October Revolution, with the Stolinist perversion of Marxism. In a polemic agoinst such apologists for the bourgeois order, Leon Trotsky upheld Bolshevism's revolutionory morality, which flows from the necessities of the closs struggle.

A means can be justified only by its end. But the end in its turn needs to be justified. From the Marxist point of view, which expresses the historical interests of the proletariat, the end is justified if it leads to increasing the power of humanity over nature and to the abolition of the power of one person over another....

Permissible and obligatory are those and only those means, we answer, which unite the revolutionary proletariat, fill their hearts with irreconcilable hostility to oppression, teach them contempt for official morality and its democratic echoers, imbue them with consciousness of their own historic mission, raise their courage and spirit of self-sacrifice in the struggle. Precisely from this it flows that ***not*** all means are permissible. When we say that the end justifies the means, then for us the conclusion follows that the great revolutionary end spurns those base means and ways which set one part of the working class against other parts, or attempt to make the masses happy without their participation; or lower the faith of the masses in themselves and their organization, replacing it by worship for the "leaders." Primarily and irreconcilably, revolutionary morality rejects servility in relation to the bourgeoisie and haughtiness in relation to the toilers, that is, those characteristics in which petty-bourgeois pedants and moralists are thoroughly steeped.

—Leon Trotsky, *Their Morols ond Ours* (1938)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Bonnie Brodie

EDITOR: Ray Bishop

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Canor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, Michael Davisson, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alan Wilde

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co , 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007 Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 E-mail address: vanguard@iiac.net Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editoriel viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is November 21.

No. 881 **24 November 2006**

21st Annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Los Angeles
Saturday, December 2
2 to 6 p.m.
Mount Hollywood Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Ave., Hollywood
For more information: (213) 380-8897

Bay Area
Sunday, December 10
1 to 4 p.m.
YWCA, Tea Room
1515 Webster Street, Oakland
For more information: (510) 839-0852

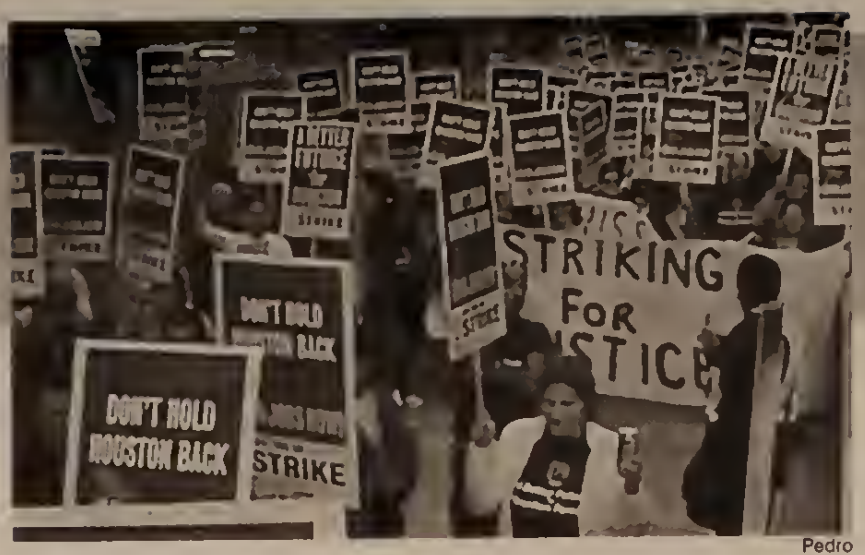
Chicago
Sunday, December 10
3 to 7 p.m.
UE Hall
37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)
For more information: (312) 563-0442

Toronto
Friday, December 15
7 to 10 p.m.
Steelworkers Hall
25 Cecil Street
For more information: (416) 593-4138

New York
Sunday, December 17
5 to 10 p.m.
Southpaw, 125 Fifth Ave. (at Sterling Pl.), Brooklyn, NY
For more information: (212) 406-4252

Sponsored by the **Partisan Defense Committee**
More information:
(212) 406-4252
partisandefense@earthlink.net
www.partisandefense.org
Photo credit: Jennifer Beach

Houston Janitors Win Contract



Pedro

Striking janitors rally in Houston.

NOVEMBER 20—After striking for one month against five national cleaning companies, Houston janitors organized by Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 5 settled today, winning a three-year contract. The strike by the 1,700 overwhelmingly immigrant and women workers, part of the SEIU's national Justice for Janitors campaign, posed key questions for the entire labor movement: the unionization of the racist, open shop South and the defense and organization of immigrant workers, whom the capitalists seek to maintain as a desperate, low-wage source of profits.

By winning a contract, the strike cemented the SEIU's victory last year when it won union recognition for 5,300 janitors in the city. Under the new contract, pay will increase by January 2009 from $5.30 to $7.75 an hour. The janitors, who are now mostly limited to four hours of work each day and allowed no time off, will be guaranteed six hours work as well as paid vacations and six holidays. Health benefits, a central demand of the strike, won't begin until January 2009.

The bosses fought hard to break the new union. Prior to the strike, the companies threatened workers who signed union materials or talked to union officials and ordered workers to sign petitions that they would not honor picket lines. At least 14 workers were fired during the strike. Democratic mayor Bill White's cops arrested 79 unionists and supporters engaged in civil disobedience actions. On November 8, more than 500 janitors protesting the arrest of three strikers gathered outside police headquarters and a police substation, chanting "Up with the protest!" and "Arriba, revolution!" (*Houston Chronicle*, 8 November).

On November 16, cops on horseback violently dispersed a pro-union protest, arresting 46 and severely injuring five. Among the injured was 83-year-old New York janitor Hazel Ingram, one of many from around the country who have traveled to Houston to support the strike. Bond was initially set for almost $1 million per person, and protesters were released only after two days of abuse in jail.

While the SEIU has won victories in Houston and other cities, SEIU president Andy Stern is an ardent proponent of class collaboration, promoting a "cooperative strategy" between the workers and the bosses. Along these lines, the SEIU tops have long pushed civil disobedience actions intended to "shame" the landlords and their corporate tenants. But make no mistake: hard class battles are not won through public sympathy but the exercise of labor's power. Key to the effectiveness of the strike was that the picket lines disrupted business operations in Houston's office buildings. When the SEIU dispatched traveling picket squads to commercial buildings in Chicago, Los Angeles, Jersey City, Sacramento and New York City, janitors honored and joined their lines.

The SEIU picked Houston as a beachhead for organizing service workers throughout the South. This strike victory can give a powerful impetus to organizing other service workers in Houston, which already has a sizable union presence among oil workers and longshoremen, and beyond. Industry has expanded in recent decades in the South, where both foreign and domestic capitalists have taken up shop to evade unions and take advantage of low wages. Organizing the open shop South will require fighting against the entrenched racial oppression of black people as well as the victimization of immigrants, a rapidly growing section of the working class. As the Houston strike and other labor battles have shown, immigrant workers can play a crucial role in revitalizing the labor movement in the U.S.■

Smithfield Walkout Saves Immigrants' Jobs

In an important victory for workers in the open shop South, 75 immigrants at the Smithfield pork processing plant in Tar Heel, North Carolina, won their jobs back on November 18 after a two-day walkout. More than 1,000 workers, mainly Latino immigrants but also including black and white workers, walked out when the company fired the immigrants after their Social Security numbers.were not verified and hundreds more workers were threatened. The walkout crippled production at the plant—the largest pork processing plant in the world—forcing the company to rehire all the workers with no reprisals. And for the first time, the company agreed to meet with a group of elected workers about conditions in the plant. Despite the victory, workers could still lose their jobs. Ever since this spring's mass immigrant rights protests, the Department of Homeland Security has vindictively pushed for employers across the country to re-check workers' Social Security numbers.

Among those Smithfield sought to fire were supporters of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union, which for more than a decade has fought to organize the plant. Conditions for the 6,000 workers are so hellish that, according to the UFCW, annual turnover at the plant is *100 percent!* Pro-union workers have faced violent attacks by armed company goons and county sheriffs, racist harassment and anti-union blacklists. Job titles are segregated by race and ethnicity. It will take the fighting unity of black, Latino and white workers to organize the Smithfield plant. Last week's successful job action could turn the tide in favor of the union, and an organizing victory at Smithfield could spur further organizing efforts in the South.■

country's racist repression of its native peoples, the survivors of centuries of genocidal oppression. Peltier's frame-up trial for the deaths of two marauding FBI agents in what had become a war zone at the South Dakota Pine Ridge Reservation over 30 years ago shows what capitalist "justice" is all about. Although the lead government attorney has admitted: "We can't prove who shot those agents," and the courts have repeatedly acknowledged blatant prosecutorial misconduct, the 62-year-old Peltier is still locked away.

Jamal Hart, Mumia's son, was sentenced in 1998 to 15½ years on bogus firearms possession charges. Hart was targeted for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father. Although Hart was initially charged under Pennsylvania laws, which would have meant a probationary sentence, Clinton's Justice Department intervened to have him thrown into prison under federal laws. He is not eligible for parole. Hart was recently transferred to Minersville, PA. He had been confined in Ray Brook, New York, hundreds of miles from family and supporters, where he was subjected to numerous provocations by abusive prison guards and thrown into solitary.

Eight **MOVE** members, **Chuck Africa**, **Michael Africa**, **Debbie Africa**, **Janet Africa**, **Janine Africa**, **Delbert Africa**, **Eddie Africa** and **Phil Africa**, are in their 29th year of prison. They were sentenced to 30-100 years after the 8 August 1978 siege of their Philadelphia home by over 600 heavily armed cops. They were falsely convicted of killing a police officer who died in the cops' own crossfire. In 1985 they watched in horror from their Pennsylvania prison cells as eleven of their MOVE family members, including five children, were massacred by Philly cops, many of them "veterans" of the 1978 assault.

Jaan Laaman and **Thomas Manning** are the remaining anti-imperialist activists known as the Ohio 7 still in prison. They were convicted for their roles in a radical group that took credit for bank "expropriations" and bombings in the late 1970s and '80s against symbols of U.S. imperialism such as military and corporate offices. Before their arrests in 1984 and 1985, the Ohio 7 were targets of massive manhunts. Their children were kidnapped at gunpoint by the Feds and interrogated.

The politics of the Ohio 7 were once shared by thousands of radicals during the heyday of the Vietnam antiwar movement and by New Leftists who wrote off the possibility of winning the working class to a revolutionary program and saw themselves as an auxiliary of "Third World" liberation movements. But, like the Weathermen before them, the Ohio 7 were spurned by the "respectable" left. From a proletarian standpoint, the actions of these leftist activists against imperialism and racist injustice are not a crime. These courageous fighters should not have served even a day in prison.

Ed Poindexter and **Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa** are former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska, National Committee to Combat Fascism. They were victims of the FBI COINTELPRO operation launched against the Communist Party and then deployed to "neutralize" radical organizations in the 1960s, particularly the Black Panther Party, whose members were framed up and imprisoned by the hundreds while 38 were killed. Poindexter and Mondo, railroaded to prison for a 1970 explosion which killed a cop, were sentenced to life and have now served more than 30 years in jail. They are currently attempting to exhume a crucial piece of evidence in their trial: a 911 audio tape which would prove testimony of the state's key witness to be perjured.

Hugo Pinell is the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. He was a militant anti-racist leader of prison rights organizing along with his comrade and mentor, George Jackson, who was gunned down by prison guards in 1971. Despite hundreds of letters of support, many job offers and no disciplinary write-ups for over 25 years, Pinell has repeatedly been denied parole, most recently in November. Now in his 60s, Pinell continues to serve a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay Security Housing Unit in California.

Contribute now! All proceeds from the Holiday Appeals will go to the Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund. This is not charity but an elementary act of solidarity with those imprisoned for their opposition to racist capitalism and imperialist depredations. Send your contributions to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013; (212) 406-4252.■

A Thank You from *Workers World*

The Partisan Defense Committee received the following October 24 letter from Workers World Party (WWP). Despite our political differences with WWP, we called for their defense against a sinister "defamation" lawsuit by Ira Rennert's union-busting outfit Renco. The lawsuit was in retaliation for a Workers World *article describing attacks on pensions by Renco's subsidiary, WCI Steel (see "Defend Workers World Party Against Robber Baron Lawsuit," WV No. 873, 7 July).*

Our thanks to you and the Partisan Defense Committee for your letter of support in the *Renco vs. Workers World* lawsuit, and for your generous contribution of $100 to the Pension Defense Project.

. My apologies for not having responded earlier. We were doing some renovation of our offices for several months and I unfortunately misplaced some of my papers during that period.

Yes, Ira Rennert is a supreme example of a big capitalist with a right-wing agenda who would love to crush the left with lawsuits. However, we have won a victory in the first round of this struggle. A New York State Supreme Court judge has thrown out Renco's charges against us. (See www.workers.org/2006/us/lawsuit-1019/index.html) We hope this legal decision will give encouragement to others who "speak truth to power" and be of benefit to all progressive and working class organizations.

It is very likely that Renco will appeal the judge's ruling, so we consider the case to be active and are preparing for the next stage of this contest. In the meantime, the fighthack to stop the robbing of workers' pensions and other benefits is as urgent as ever. Being able to call things by their right name is only a first, but important, step in this battle.

Yours in the struggle,
Deirdre Griswold
Editor, *Workers World*

MOVE's Killers Sue Paris for Honoring Mumia

In the midst of a revival of an international campaign to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, Philadelphia city officials are suing the city of Paris and its Saint-Denis suburb for naming a street after Mumia and for designating him an honorary citizen. As reported in the French press, an October 17 letter to the Council of Paris states that Philadelphia officials plan to visit France at the end of November to protest these honors. The French group United National Collective to Support Mumia Abu-Jamal has called a protest against this delegation for November 29.

After news of the lawsuit was leaked, Philadelphia officials disingenuously claimed that the letter was a hoax. But according to the *Philadelphia Tribune* (17 November), Peter J. Wirs, president of the 59th Republican Ward Executive Committee, admitted, "I sent privileged communication between myself and my counsel that if and when a delegation were to be organized these were the members that would be composed thereof." In response to the Philly officials' lawsuit scheme, Mumia himself wrote a letter to the mayor and Council of Paris, as did his attorney, Robert Bryan.

Mumia, a leader of the Philadelphia Black Panthers in his youth, has long been a supporter of the MOVE organization, which has for decades been vilified by the government and terrorized by police. Just two months ago, the Philadelphia police department awarded its "Valor Award" to nine cops who participated in the assault on the MOVE commune in Powelton Village on 8 August 1978 following a 55-day siege by as many as 600 cops. One cop was killed in the police cross fire. But nine MOVE members were framed up and sentenced to 30-100 years in prison for the killing. In May 1985, city police assisted by the Feds firebombed MOVE's Osage Avenue home, incinerating eleven people, five of them children, and burning down an entire black neighborhood in the process.

The latest development in the campaign against Mumia illustrates yet again that given the capitalist rulers' determination to execute Mumia, the mobilization needed to fight for his freedom is one that recognizes the depth of the state's hatred for him and brings the power of the international labor movement to bear.

We print below a translation of a leaflet issued on November 16 by the Comité de Défense Sociale, a non-sectarian legal and social defense organization in political solidarity with the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League.

* * *

The City of Philadelphia has sued Paris and the suburb of Saint-Denis for "apology for crime." "Apology for crime" is a concept introduced into French law in 1893-1894 as part of the infamous "evil laws" that were used to persecute anarchists. In the eyes of the Democratic and Republican Philadelphia city councillors who have launched this action, the "apology for crime" here is that courageous death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal was named an honorary citizen of Paris and Saint-Denis, and that in April, the first Mumia Abu-Jamal Street was inaugurated in Saint-Denis.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, supporter of the MOVE organization and award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," he was framed up in 1982 on false charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. Sentenced to death based on his political activity and beliefs, Mumia has spent 24 years on death row for a crime he did not commit. ***Free Mumia now!***

At the end of this month, Philadelphia is sending a bipartisan delegation, including the city's police commissioner, to protest this support for Mumia, underscoring the extent to which the American bourgeoisie remains mobilized to see him executed. This attack takes place when the international defense campaign for Mumia is once again gaining steam, a campaign that Philadelphia and its police are seeking to crush in the egg. It also comes at a crucial juncture of the legal proceedings. Last month, Mumia submitted the final papers in his appeal of a federal court decision that affirmed his frame-up conviction. The court could decide within months whether to reinstate the death penalty, to condemn him to the living death of life in prison or to grant a new trial.

For years, every court has continued to refuse to take into account the mountain of evidence proving his innocence, including centrally the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot Faulkner. Beverly's confession corroborates a whole set of other evidence and explains that Faulkner was killed by hit men paid by the mob because he was interfering in payoffs to the notoriously corrupt Philadelphia police. Foremost, it demonstrates the collusion of the cops, the prosecution and the courts in Mumia's frame-up. It is an object lesson in the class nature of the capitalist state, an instrument of organized violence for the capitalist class to defend its profit system against the working people and minorities.

This latest offensive by the city of Philadelphia against Mumia underlines that it is a suicidal illusion to believe that he can get a new, fair trial in the very courts that have been trampling on his rights for 25 years. But this is the line peddled by the likes of PCF [Communist Party] head Marie-George Buffet as well as Olivier Besancenot of the LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire] and Arlette Laguiller of LO [Lutte Ouvrière], who signed a call for "a new, fair trial" (*l'Humanité*, 4 February) and so place their faith in the bourgeois injustice system. The courts will not free Mumia without the weight of an international mobilization of the masses, centrally based on the labor movement. It was the power of an international mobilization based on the working class, from South Africa to Europe to the U.S., that helped stay the hand of the executioner when Mumia was days away from execution in 1995. Preaching faith in the capitalist courts has already demobilized workers and the oppressed, undercutting the need to fight now for Mumia's freedom.

Philadelphia is being represented in Paris by one Gilbert Collard, a lawyer who grotesquely compared Mumia with Nazi criminal Klaus Barbie! "Apology for crime" is something Collard knows very well. In 2001 he defended General Aussaresses when he was prosecuted for "apology for war crime" after boasting of his role as a chief torturer during the Algerian War! During the trial, Collard sought to discredit Henri Alleg, a Communist leader, who gave evidence of his own torture at the hands of French paratroopers during that war.

Henri Alleg has signed the Comité de Défense Sociale and Partisan Defense Committee statement demanding Mumia's freedom, as has Gilles Perrault, author of *Le Pull-over Rouge* on the Ranucci affair. [The statement, along with a list of signatories, appears on the PDC's Web site at www.partisandefense.org/campaigns/signers.html.] In 1976, Ranucci was the last man in France to face the guillotine for a crime he always swore he did not commit. And Collard at that time was already a lawyer...participating on the side of the prosecution against Ranucci. The PDC call to free Mumia has been signed by hundreds of trade-union activists, organizations and personalities around the world, including the poet Sonia Sanchez; Nobel Prize-winning authors Dario Fo and Nadine Gordimer; Antonio Negri; Zapatista leader Subcomandante Marcos; the late Markus Wolf; Bob Crow, leader of the British Rail, Maritime and Transport Union; as well as numerous trade-union sections and branches such as the COBAS PT CUB (postal workers union) in Milan, the SNTE-CNTE Section 10 (teachers union) in Mexico City, International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422-A in the U.S. city of Charleston, etc.

So much for the statements by the city of Philadelphia and Collard that they oppose the death penalty and "only" want to keep Mumia behind bars for the rest of his life. Pennsylvania is a death penalty state, with the fourth-largest death row population in the U.S., and the Philadelphia delegation to Paris is taking place in the context of the prosecutors' fight to restore the death sentence against Mumia. Mumia is an innocent man who should never have spent a single day in prison!

Why has Philadelphia City Hall targeted Paris and Saint-Denis in their offensive when Venice and a score of other cities internationally have also made Mumia an honorary citizen? The answer lies in its perceived opportunity to profit from the racist campaign underway here against youth in the *banlieues* [suburban ghettos], carried out by parties of the left and right in the run-up to presidential elections. The first anniversary of last year's *banlieue* revolt following the deaths of Ziad Benna and Bouna Traoré, who were killed while trying to escape a police dragnet, saw a major government offensive to present the police rather than *banlieue* youth as the real victims. The PCF's daily *l'Humanité* [16 October], for example, devoted a full page to "Police Officers Trapped in a Housing Project in Epinay-sur-Seine." Ten days later, *l'Humanité* ran another article headlined, "Police Officers in an Infernal Cycle," promoting their line for a return to the neighborhood cops touted by [former Socialist Party prime minister Lionel] Jospin and Buffet.

continued on page 9

Workers World

April 29: Ceremony in Saint-Denis marking dedication of street named for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Mumia to Paris Officials: Tell Them "No"

Mumia Abu-Jamal sent the following letter, dated October 30, to the mayor of Paris.

My dear Monsieur Le Maire and City Councillors of Paris:

I'm informed that you and your colleagues' received an insulting and somewhat threatening letter assuring you that my trial was fair, and my conviction and death sentence was just.

As for the fairness of the trial I invite you to read the Amnesty International report on my case to determine for yourselves if the trial or subsequent appeals were even remotely fair.

Only in America could a trial judge say (in the presence of a sworn court reporter), "I'll help them fry the n----r," and be considered fair.

Only in America could a state supreme court justice, Ron Castille, serve as chief prosecutor on direct appeal, and also sit as an appellate judge on the same case, and not recuse himself. What a fair appeal!

The trial featured lies, just as the threatening letter to you did.

If the trial was truly fair, why would the Philadelphia letter propose a deal?

That "deal," by the way is but another lie, a devil's bargain that they are powerless to grant under any stretch of American or international law.

The letter-writers are merchants of death who wish to trick you into their campaign to not only kill me, but to wipe my name from the face of the earth.

Why else would they care about a small street in St. Denis? Or an award of Citizen of Honor from the City of Light?

The Empire thinks it is Master of the World and can tell all what to do.

I respectfully request you to tell them, "No."

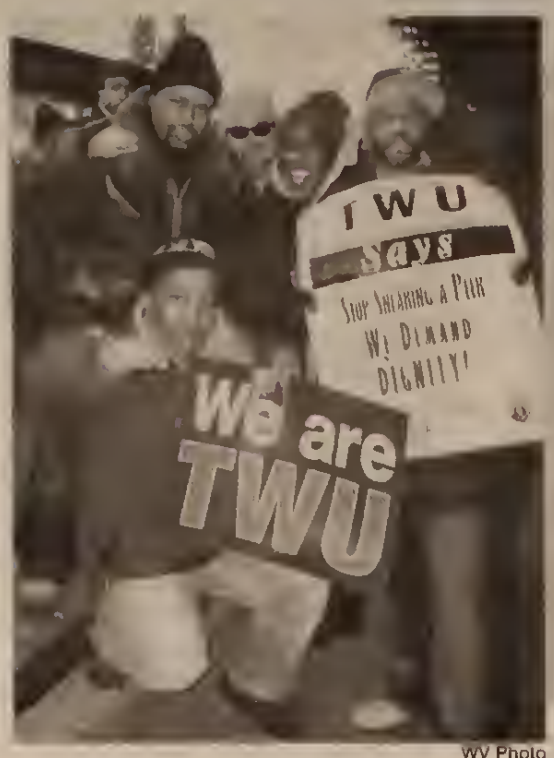
Merci,
Mumia Abu-Jamal

Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

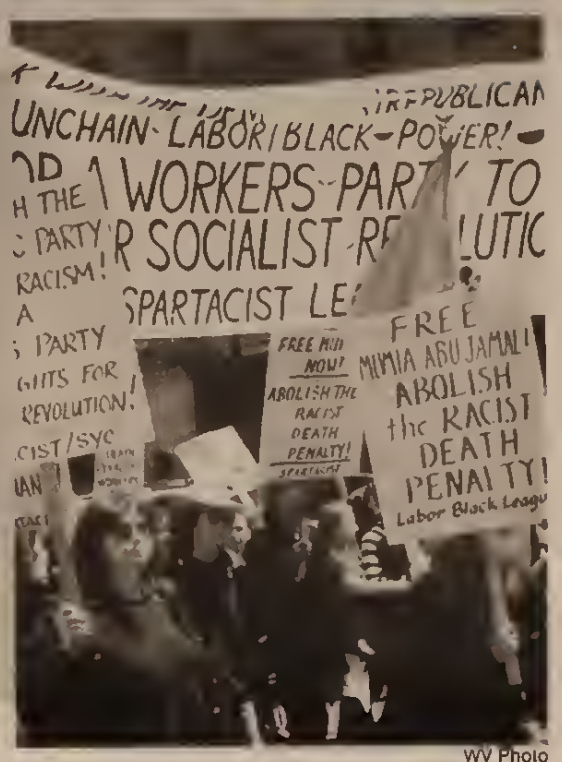
Philadelphia, July 1995: Mob of 300 cops, denouncing union support for Mumia, besieges headquarters of 1199C hospital workers local.

LBL Speaker at Harlem Mumia Rally:

"Strike!" and "Free Mumia!" Should Ring Out in the Same Breath



WV Photo



WV Photo

Left: TWU Local 100 strike last December crippled NYC, showed labor's power. Right: Bay Area Labor Black League marches in Revolutionary Contingent at San Francisco Mumia demonstration, May 2000.

The following speech by New York Labor Black League spokesman Tom Cowperthwaite, who is a member of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, was delivered at the October 28 New York City Partisan Defense Committee rally demanding freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Unbroken and unbowed, Mumia Abu-Jamal is a courageous fighter against racism and injustice who has spent nearly a quarter-century on death row. The unions and the entire working class have a stake in winning freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal! The capitalist system thrives on the profits derived from the exploitation of workers and undermines working-class struggle in this country by dividing the working class along race lines. Racial oppression is a cornerstone of American capitalism, and the bosses and their politicians keep black people on the bottom. Unions, organizations and individuals that struggle and speak out against exploitation and oppression are targeted and attacked. This is why Mumia—a former Black Panther, supporter of MOVE and an eloquent spokesman against racism and injustice—was framed up and faces the death penalty.

The fight for Mumia's freedom is what our class-struggle program for black liberation—revolutionary integrationism—is all about. The integration of black people into American society on the basis of full economic, social and political equality can only be realized through a proletarian revolution that uproots the capitalist system and ushers in an egalitarian socialist society.

Black liberation cannot succeed apart from united class struggle against the capitalists; working-class emancipation cannot succeed without an implacable fight against anti-black racism. Taking up the fight for Mumia's freedom is part of the fight against racial oppression *and* working-class exploitation.

We in the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense are dedicated to the fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty. The way to fight for Mumia's freedom is as part of a deeper social struggle, the class struggle. Mumia fights with the weapons he has—his voice and his pen. We must fight with the weapons we have—and our mightiest weapon is mobilizing the multiracial working class, which by its numbers, organization, discipline and consciousness can deliver blows against the capitalist exploiters and eventually overthrow them. Fraternally allied with the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League, the LBL fights for a class-struggle alternative—a reinvigorated workers movement with a class-struggle leadership that fights to win, all the way to a workers government!

As a transit worker and a member of TWU Local 100, I'm proud that we showed our union power for three days last December. We paralyzed the racist, union-busting MTA and the city itself. That's the same power we need to *free Mumia* and all class-war prisoners. Mumia wrote: "When the New York Transport Workers Union (TWU) went out on strike, their action sent shock waves across the nation and rattled the rulers. Immediately, like a slave driver who claims he was 'betrayed' by 'his' 'people,' New York's mega-billionaire mayor, Michael Bloomberg, unleashed an ugly verbal missile at those who demanded a fair contract under which to work." Bloomberg railed that the leadership of our overwhelmingly black and Latino union was "thuggish," but when we were on the picket lines in East New York, Coney Island, Harlem, Sunset Park and every other corner of this city, working and poor people gathered around us to say, "Right on! It's about time the unions fought back!"

Blacks and Latinos supported our strike in significantly higher proportions than any other section of society. Before, during and after the strike, my friends and I in the LBL were sending out the message that Mumia is one of our own. Quite rightly, *Workers Vanguard* issued a special supplement on the strike that included an article on Mumia. [See "NYC Transit Strike: Union Power vs. Class Collaboration," *WV* Supplement, 6 January.] He is a prisoner of the same capitalist class that slams us with dangerous working conditions, sinking pay and benefits, union-busting injunctions, Taylor Law fines, racist cop brutality and the blood-drenched "war on terror."

In every workplace, the words "Strike!" and "Free Mumia!" should ring out in the same breath. Especially now, we who are outside the prison walls must not forget Mumia, nor our obligation to appeal to labor and the entire working class to act now—stop the executioners! In 1995 when the first death warrant was signed, a worldwide protest by unions, civil rights activists and death penalty abolitionists forced the rulers to grant a stay of execution just days before Mumia was scheduled to die. Today, we need even larger mobilizations of union power. We need to turn those names of unionists on petitions, those motions, those resolutions into labor protest and strike action.

Labor Defender

April 1927: International Labor Defense demonstration in New York City's Union Square calls to free framed-up anarchist immigrant workers Sacco and Vanzetti.

The Death Penalty: "Legal Lynching"

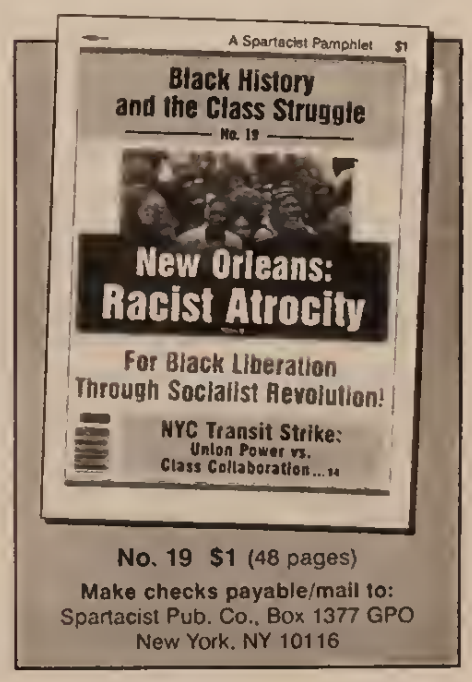
When I ran for delegate to the TWU's international convention, my campaign program and proposed resolutions emphasized that our union must fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal as part of the need for labor to champion every struggle for black rights and black freedom. Marx wrote, "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." Black people are the "last hired and first fired" in this country, a race-color caste segregated at the bottom of society. Of course, the racist rulers continuously and grotesquely blame the oppressed for their own oppression. But black people are not powerless victims. They are integrated into the economy and a strategic component of the American proletariat.

We say: "Finish the Civil War—For black liberation through socialist revolution!" It took the Civil War to emancipate black people from chattel slavery, but the unfinished business of the Civil War is still all around us: the hellish conditions of ghetto life, bipartisan attacks on the remaining gains of the civil rights movement like voting rights and affirmative action, mass unemployment and mass imprisonment of black youth under the racist "war on drugs." Last year we witnessed a man-made racist atrocity in New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina. Democratic and Republican politicians consciously prevented the evacuation and then the rescue of tens of thousands of mostly black residents. The ruling class left black people to die, and they're still brazenly pursuing their goal of so-called "urban renewal" (meaning *black removal*), gutting unions and disappearing entire black neighborhoods like the Ninth Ward.

All this illustrates again and again that racial oppression is inherent in the capitalist system. The LBL fights the poisonous racism that divides the working class, not only because it cripples its immediate struggles, but also because it undermines workers' ability to acquire class consciousness and thereby engage in united struggle and build a workers party that can lead a workers revolution.

We call the death penalty what it is: "legal lynching." It is a legacy of chattel slavery, when for centuries blacks were not considered human beings, but property; when to kill a slave had the stamp of law. It's in the nature of American capitalism that black life is held cheap and black lives are expendable. Democrats and Republicans compete with each other over who can be "tougher on crime," so even the lethal spirit of slavery still exists with Jim Crow lynch law carried out by cops on the streets and carried over into

continued on page 6



No. 19 $1 (48 pages)
Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

LBL Speaker...

(continued from page 5)

the prisons. We know that the death penalty is race-biased, class-biased, arbitrary, barbaric, cruel and unusual punishment. It is the ultimate weapon in the capitalist state's arsenal of repressive power, and we in the LBL oppose it on principle.

The New York LBL was founded in 1986 following a successful campaign to defend a black token booth clerk, James Grimes, who was facing a gun rap after defending himself on the job during an assault by muggers. We said that Brother Grimes had the right to carry a gun and defend himself. We knew that the capitalist state and the capitalist courts would try to railroad a black transit worker. By organizing dozens of TWU brothers and sisters and other unionists in a show of union power and solidarity, our LBL predecessors turned the tide in Grimes' favor and all the charges were dismissed. That show of union strength on a much, much larger scale is what we need for Mumia now.

The LBL helped build the PDC-initiated mass rally that drove the Ku Klux Klan off the streets in New York City on October 23, 1999. Along with many other cases and causes taken up by the PDC, we fought for union action against racist cop terror in the cases of Abner Louima, Amadou Diallo, Alberta Spruill and many others, noting that police brutality can never be "reformed" out of the capitalist system which the cops are hired to enforce.

We fight for class struggle against bloody U.S. imperialism and its invasions and occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq, and fought for military defense of these countries against U.S attack. Imperialist war is not caused by bad policy or bad politicians, but is built into the capitalist system itself. We fought against the mass detention of Muslims and immigrants after 9/11 and completely oppose the bipartisan "war on terror," which is a pretext for rampaging imperialist adventures abroad and to carry out domestic repression at home aimed at immigrants, blacks and unions. Every repressive law and court decision is aimed at bolstering capitalist rule and will eventually be directed at and used against the working class. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and for union action against *la migra* raids and deportations.

We fight for women's liberation, for free abortion on demand and for full democratic rights for gays. The recent killing of Michael Sandy, a young black gay man, on the Belt Parkway in south Brooklyn is a symptom of the vicious anti-gay bigotry pushed daily by the ruling class and their right-wing religious handmaidens.

The LBL condemns the Feds' "war on terror" against attorney Lynne Stewart—the "war on terror" witchhunt against Lynne Stewart and her legal assistants, Mohamed Yousry and Ahmed Abdel Sattar, who were sentenced just days ago [see "Overturn Terror Show-Trial Convictions of Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar!" *WV* No. 879, 27 October]. We brought LBL and union members to court sessions to join in widespread solidarity demonstrations with them. They shouldn't spend a minute in prison for defending the blind Sheik Abdel Rahman, providing the legal representation supposedly guaranteed under the Sixth Amendment. This witchhunt clearly threatens everyone's rights. We say: Throw out the convictions! No jail time for Stewart, Yousry and Sattar!

Build a Workers Party!

The history of the struggles of workers and oppressed against capitalism shows that the bosses' courts are not in the business of providing "fair trials." They're in the business of maintaining capitalist "law and order" and the entire anti-labor, racist frame-up system. Illusions in the neutrality of the capitalist state, which is an instrument of organized violence by one class against another, are fatal to the independent mobilization of the workers and oppressed against their class enemy. As Sister Erica from the PDC described, a host of phony socialist groups, liberals and black nationalists derailed the struggle for Mumia in the late '90s by pushing the demand for a "new trial" and sowing illusions in the same government that framed him up. During every political show trial in this country's history—Sacco and Vanzetti, the Scottsboro Boys, the Rosenbergs—the liberals and reformists have sown false hopes in the supposedly evenhanded scales of justice. In doing this, they demobilize the masses who rally in defense of those who symbolize their own oppression.

WV Photo

February 1986: NYC transit workers rally in support of token booth clerk James Grimes, dragged into court for defending himself with a gun during a mugging. Charges were dropped after union mobilized in his defense.

The government and courts only intervene into the unions to hogtie and destroy them as fighting organizations. Just look at the recent court injunctions, fines and prison time imposed on TWU Local 100. Yet there are many trade-union opportunists who drag their own unions into the bosses' courts and, in the guise of "fighting corruption" and for "union democracy," appeal to the union-busting Labor Department to intervene to "clean up" the unions. This is criminal! In Local 100's current union elections, just about every slate has candidates running for top positions who have been involved in suing the union and their opponents in the same Taylor Law capitalist courts. The LBL says: For complete and unconditional independence from the capitalist state! Cops and security guards out of the unions! No to union-suing! Labor must clean its own house!

The gains working people have made were wrested from the rulers through militant struggle. What's needed is working-class independence from the bosses' state and political parties. The trade-union bureaucracy's program of appealing to, supporting and showering money on the Democrats—that other party of racism and war—is fatal to successful class struggle and even winning strikes. Since the state's top cop, Eliot Spitzer issued the injunctions attacking the TWU, it is grotesque that the Local 100 Executive Board and Toussaint leadership are now zealously campaigning for Spitzer for governor in the upcoming election. During the last *three* contract fights, when Mumia was writing articles from death row defending New York transit workers, pro-death penalty Spitzer was writing *strikebreaking injunctions* against us! Spitzer was the jailer of our local union's president, Roger Toussaint, following the December strike. This program of class collaboration, shared by all wings of the trade-union bureaucracy, explains why the outcome of our strike is still in limbo and why we still have no contract.

Our strike was cut short and our power held back by our own union brass and the heads of all other major New York City unions. Instead of backing us up on the picket lines and boldly defying the slave-labor Taylor Law, they worked around the clock to get us back to work and smother the labor militancy it sparked. The AFL-CIO and Change to Win trade-union bureaucracy are the bosses' loyal "labor lieutenants." They waste *millions* of dues and COPE [Committee on Political Education] money trying to get capitalist politicians elected rather than leading class struggle and defending class-war prisoners like Mumia Abu-Jamal. It will take a political struggle within the unions to transform them into class-struggle organizations. Getting our unions to fight for Mumia Abu-Jamal is part of that struggle, which is international in scope.

The workers' greatest victory and the imperialists' greatest defeat in history was the Russian Revolution of 1917, led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party. The failure of the revolution to spread internationally and relentless pressures from imperialism laid the basis for the rise of a privileged, nationalist bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the working class and repudiated the struggle for international workers revolution. Although a degenerated workers state, the Soviet Union remained a powerful counterweight to U.S. and world imperialism. It proved the superiority of collectivized property and socialist economic planning, guaranteeing jobs, housing, free health care and education to an entire population, most of which is now totally dispossessed and impoverished.

The collapse of the USSR greatly emboldened the U.S. rulers. We were for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. Likewise, today the LBL continues to defend the deformed workers states of Cuba, China, North Korea and Vietnam, while also calling for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies, for workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism. Today, it's the duty of class-conscious workers everywhere to welcome North Korea's testing and possession of nuclear weapons. In the case of Iran, a Third World capitalist country also targeted as part of Washington's "axis of evil," we think that Iran needs nukes too.

What the multiracial American working class desperately needs is its own party—not a pro-capitalist labor party like the one in Britain, not another shill for the Democrats like the Working Families Party, not Green Party eco-capitalists who want "kinder, gentler" imperialism—but a revolutionary party that wages hard class struggle and fights for a planned economy under workers rule. A workers government will take American industry away from its incompetent, corrupt owners and use the productive wealth of this country to build a decent society for all. We built this country, we can run this country!

That's what the LBL stands for. There will be no social revolution in this country without the united struggle of black, white, Latino and Asian workers led by a multiracial vanguard party. So to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, to get rid of racist capitalism, to fight for socialism, check out the Labor Black League's ten-point program. Study with us. Join us! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! For black liberation through socialist revolution!■

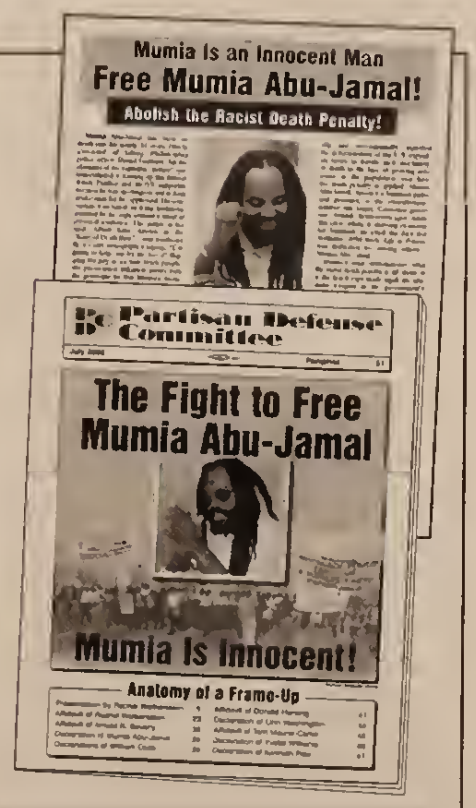
JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

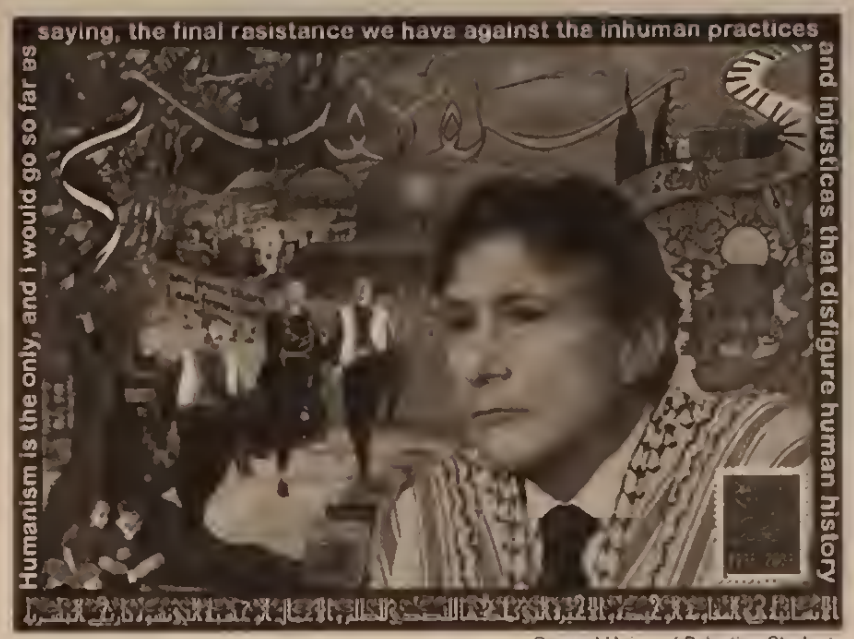


Partisan Defense Committee • e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net • Web site: www.partisandefense.org

P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099 .....(212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867 .....(312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 29574, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029-0574 .....(213) 380-8897
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462 .....(510) 839-0852

Young Spartacus

San Francisco State



Design for mural honoring Edward Said proposed by General Union of Palestine Students.

Down With Ban on Edward Said Mural!

Defend the Palestinian People!

We print below a leaflet issued by the Bay Area Spartacus Youth Club on September 24 protesting the banning of a mural in honor of the late scholar and Palestinian rights activist Edward Said at San Francisco State University. While he was for many years a member of the Palestine National Council, Said personally opposed the reactionary logic of nationalism. The mural, sponsored by the General Union of Palestine Students, depicts a cartoon character holding a key that symbolizes the Palestinian people's right of return to their homes, a right we defend. The College Republicans, emboldened by the administration's actions, held a rally in support of the "war on terror" on October 17, an act of intimidation of pro-Palestinian and Muslim students on campus, many of whom protested against the rally.

We have intervened on campus around this issue, bringing our revolutionary Marxist perspective of the need for working-class struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their Zionist partners, and all the capitalist rulers in the Near East. The SYC addressed a September 12 rally commemorating the Zionist massacre of Sabra and Shatila in Lebanon, stating: "The UN is only a fig leaf for imperialist slaughter.... Remember that it was the UN-brokered disarming of Palestinians in Lebanon that prepared their massacre in Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps twenty-four years ago! We say: No UN intervention!"

The International Socialist Organization (ISO), also active on the campus, has for decades tailed anti-communist Islamic fundamentalists, including the *mujahedin* in Afghanistan, and cheered the "Islamic Revolution" in Iran. They gush over the anti-woman Hezbollah as "potentially opening the way for a secular, left-wing alternative to take root and grow" in the Near East (*Socialist Worker*, 22 September)! During Israel's war on Lebanon, the SYC made clear that we stood for the military defense of Hezbollah against the Zionists, but gave no political support to these reactionary fundamentalists (see "Lebanon: Down With UN Intervention! Israel Out Now!" *WV* No. 875, 1 September).

* * *

As part of U.S. imperialism's bipartisan "war on terror," its justification for imperialist mass murder and colonial-style occupations in Afghanistan and Iraq, the U.S. firmly backed Israel's devastation of Lebanon and strangulation of Gaza. The domestic side of the war has been an attack first and foremost against Muslims and immigrants of Near Eastern descent, but is ultimately aimed at leftists, blacks, labor and all the oppressed. Universities across the country are in the grip of a McCarthyite witchhunt against Arab professors and student groups, and all those critical of U.S. and Israeli wars of depredation. San Francisco State University (SFSU) president Corrigan has imposed a "moratorium" on murals, explicitly intended to ban a mural sponsored by the General Union of Palestine Students (GUPS) honoring the late Edward Said. The ban demonstrates the administration's role not as self-styled partisans of "equity and social justice," but as lieutenants in the bourgeoisie's witchhunt. The planned Native American mural has also been indefinitely postponed by the "moratorium."

Edward Said was a distinguished scholar, eloquent humanist and defender of the Palestinian people who faced harassment and intimidation at the hands of American jingoists and Zionists in life, and continues to be persecuted in death. As we wrote in "Edward Said: Passionate Advocate of Palestinian Freedom, Human Dignity" (*WV* No. 817, 9 January 2004): "Said always insisted that the Hebrew-speaking nation has a right to exist and to self-determination in Palestine. However, it has ***no right*** to a 'Jewish state' through the expulsion and suppression of the indigenous Palestinian nation." While not a Marxist, he dedicated his life to the cause of the Palestinian people. Said opposed the dead-end and reactionary programs of nationalism and religion and advocated a binational and secular solution to the Israel/Palestine conflict. However, without the overturn of capitalist rule in the region, there can be no solution which guarantees the national rights of all the peoples of the Near East, including the right of refugees to return to their homeland.

The university is no "ivory tower." At SFSU particularly, the administration has always inflamed racial and ethnic hostilities on campus. In 1994 President Corrigan ordered that a mural of Malcolm X be painted over and sent a tactical squad of nearly 60 cops to storm the student union. The cops chased off the students who were defending the mural and it was eventually removed. The administration's role as junior officers in the "war on terror" goes back to 2001, when the administration handed information on Near Eastern students to the FBI. In response, the SYC led campus protest. Four years ago, following a counter-protest GUPS held against a pro-Zionist demo, Corrigan retaliated by placing sanctions on GUPS. When GUPS requested that sanctions be lifted, Corrigan responded, "Why, so you guys can start throwing bombs in January?" Today the charges are that the mural is "conflict-centered" and hostile. This is a pathetic facade for censorship and intimidation. The same administration that has been forcing through budget cuts, tuition hikes and gunning for the campus faculty union is attacking the rights of Palestinian students. Campus workers and left-minded students have an interest in fighting this ban, for it will fuel further attacks on those in the administration's cross hairs.

At a GUPS-sponsored rally on September 12, an SYC speaker said: "Our perspective in the Near East means a struggle here in the belly of the imperialist beast against all the ruling-class parties, the Republicans, the Democrats and the Greens! The Green Party is a shill for the racist, pro-Zionist Democratic Party, seeking to pull the Democrats in the right direction. The fake socialists of the ISO are campaigning for U.S. Senate on the ticket of the capitalist Green Party.... We stand for the independent mobilization of the working class, the only force in society with both the social power and objective interest to rid this world of capitalism and imperialism." The SYC is giving critical support to the Socialist Action (SA) candidate, Jeff Mackler, because he draws a crude class line in favor of working-class independence against the capitalist Democrats, Republicans and Greens (see "Critical Support to Socialist Action in Senate Election," *WV* No. 876, 15 September). Unlike the reformist SA, we fight for a workers socialist revolution to end imperialist war for good! *Down with the ban on murals! Defend the Palestinian people! Israel out of the Occupied Territories! UN out of Lebanon! U.S. out of Iraq and Afghanistan! For a socialist federation of the Near East!* ■

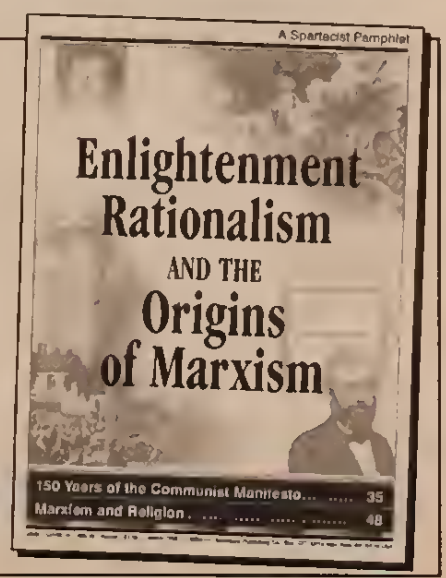
SFSU, 1994: Cops destroy mural honoring Malcolm X.

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

$2 (48 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377
GPO, New York, NY 10116



Spartacus Youth Club Events

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, December 9, 2 p.m.
Imperialism and War
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Vermont/Beverly Red Line station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, November 30, 7 p.m.
Video Showing: *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*
Columbia University, Kent Hall, Room 522A
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

UCLA...

(continued from page 16)

not just for a few more black students at the universities, as do bourgeois liberals, but for ***free, quolity, integrated educotion for oll!***

At the university level, this means a fight for ***open odmissions*** and ***no tuition***, along with government-paid living stipends for all students! Nationalize the elite private universities! Massively expand remedial programs so that students deprived of the right to an education in inner-city holding pens, misnamed public schools, can catch up with those who had the advantage of well-funded suburban and private schooling. This program, along with the fight for black equality, cannot be realized by working within the framework of capitalism, but only through struggle by workers leading the oppressed against this racist, class-divided system.

In joining the protests against the racist purge of the universities, we warn against the losing strategy of promoting the capitalist government, its politicians, the Regents and campus administrations as the agency for providing access to higher education for black and minority youth. They represent the class enemy that must be struggled against tooth and nail. Our allies in the fight against this racist purge are the working class and oppressed masses, not the Regents or the Democrats, who, whatever their rhetoric, stand on the other side.

Liberals in the African Student Union (ASU) and Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary (BAMN) look to the wing of capitalist rulers that wants to retain at least a few "black faces in high places." The ASU has set up voter registration tables at the protests and its leaders worry that the lack of black students will mean that there won't be future black leaders like Maxine Waters (who is now ramming through the plan to downsize King/Drew [Medical Center] while scapegoating hospital workers as "incompetent"). Such liberal Democratic Party politicians' role is to confine class and social struggle within boundaries safe for capitalism. We want to win young black radicals to the cause of workers socialist revolution.

The UC Regents, who banned affirmative action in admissions even prior to Prop. 209, are the capitalist class watchdogs over the university. Most are themselves capitalists or executives of corporations, banks, investment houses and the like: Wachovia Bank, Blum Capital Partners, Paramount Pictures, etc. They represent the capitalist ruling class that daily exploits the working class, that decided not to fix the levees in New Orleans because it wasn't profitable and viciously left black people to die, that wages imperialist war abroad to gain control of foreign markets and resources, such as the brutal occupation of Iraq. We say: Abolish the Board of Regents! As for the campus administrators, who posture as the "concerned" soft cops to the Regents' hard cops, they are no less enforcers of racist, capitalist policy. Abolish the administration! Those who work, study and teach at the universities should run the universities—for worker/student/teacher control!

Michael Zick Doherty/Daily Bruin

November 1: Rally on tenth anniversary of Proposition 209 at UCLA.

With the Democrats winning control of Congress, many student protesters think they now have friends in high places. Don't believe it. The Democrats ran as more effective military strategists for U.S. imperialism and better prosecutors of the "war on terror," which is nothing but a war on blacks, immigrants and labor that has shredded the rights of all of us. The Democratic Party is the other major capitalist party of racism and imperialist war. It alternates with the Republicans in administering the same capitalist state machinery that enforces this system of exploitation and oppression.

Racist reaction didn't just begin with Bush: the attacks on affirmative action started during the Carter administration with the Bakke Decision in 1978 and continued through Prop. 209, enacted during the Clinton years. It was under Clinton that the gap between rich and poor increased massively, as did the wealth gap between blacks and whites. It was Clinton who ended "welfare as we know it" and presided over the gutting of affirmative action and the huge incarceration of black and Latino youth in the 1990s.

Students need to realize that there is only one class in society that has the social power and interest to fight this capitalist system: the multiracial working class. Workers have their hands on the means of production, which also means that they have the power to shut it down and stop the flow of profit! Workers should be the natural allies of this struggle, but only if it challenges the bourgeoisie's maintenance of universities as elite bastions for the privileged few. We seek to mobilize the working class in a fight for ***jobs for all*** and ***free, quality integrated education for all!***

Anti-racist students should ally with black, Latino and immigrant workers on the campus whose children are excluded from attending and who actually have the power along with other campus workers to shut down the universities. And not only black and minority workers, but all workers would have a stake in this fight. To reach out to the masses of unemployed minority youth and women, we call for special union recruitment and training programs. The unions must also ***organize the unorganized***, in particular the masses of immigrant workers. The anti-immigrant Proposition 187 was immediately followed by the anti-black Proposition 209 banning affirmative action: black rights, immigrant rights and union rights will either go forward together or fall back separately. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! This kind of broad fight against capitalism requires class and social struggle outside the framework of liberal pressure politics.

The main obstacle to mobilizing the power of labor is the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, which politically ties the workers to their class enemy through its support to the Democratic Party. Instead of seeking to lead class struggle based on the understanding that the interests of workers and the oppressed are irreconcilably counterposed to those of the capitalists, the trade-union leaders pursue a policy of class collaboration, preaching reliance on their Democrat "friends" in government. This has led over the decades to the precipitous decline of organized labor.

For some former labor bureaucrats, like Antonio Villaraigosa, the labor movement was itself simply a stepping stone to bourgeois politics. Whatever their road to office, the so-called Democratic Party "friends of labor" rule on behalf of capital. Their job is to suppress class struggle, divert social protest into safe electoral channels, and enforce austerity on the union movement and oppressed black and Latino masses. Villaraigosa in office demands concessions from the city workers unions and openly crossed the striking EAA [Engineers and Architects Association] picket lines, while his cops viciously drive the homeless out of downtown L.A. on behalf of the real estate moguls. To unchain the power of labor, it is necessary to break with the Democratic Party and forge a revolutionary workers party, which would have as a crucial task the fight for all the oppressed, not least the liberation of black people.

Black oppression forms the bedrock of American capitalism. The capitalist class today continues to profit from and enforce the subjugation and segregation of the black population as an oppressed race-color caste, overwhelmingly concentrated at the bottom of this society. The social conditions that imprison the impoverished black masses in the ghettos—the lack of decent jobs, education and housing as well as rampant police terror—cannot be solved through capitalist reforms.

Full political, social and economic equality for the black masses requires that the working class rip the economy out of the hands of the racist capitalist rulers and reorganize it on a socialist basis, where production is for human need, not profit. Only in this way will it he possible to eliminate the material roots of black oppression through the full integration of black people into an egalitarian socialist society. It is only through this struggle for integration by revolutionary socialist means that black equality can he achieved.

This government and its courts will never fundamentally "redress" racial injustice. The capitalists consciously pit white against black, native-born against immigrant, men against women in order to divide and weaken the working class and thus ratchet up their rate of exploitation and profit. When school busing to integrate Boston's schools was defeated in 1974, at the hands of howling racist mobs in the streets, it opened the floodgates to a nationwide assault on school integration. While we actively fight for school desegregation, it was liberals and reformists who helped set up busing for the kill, channeling the fight to defend busing into dead-end appeals for federal intervention. With social struggle at an ebb, the Bakke Decision outlawing racial quotas came four years later. It became the leading edge of racist reaction aimed at rolling back every gain made by blacks.

To turn this around will require a class-struggle fight. No decisive victory for black and working people was ever won in Congress or the courts. It took a mass movement of millions on the street, courageously defying southern Democratic "Dixiecrat" governments and their baton-wielding cops and KKK mobs, to put an end to Jim Crow. It took the Civil War to smash the slave system. It will take a third American revolution, a socialist revolution, to finish the unfinished tasks of the Civil War. Complete freedom and equality for black people in this country requires a workers revolution to sweep away the entire capitalist system and wipe away the centuries-old legacy of racial oppression. Our program for black liberation through socialist revolution stands in sharp contrast to the reformist socialists such as Spark, which is utterly indifferent to the fight for black rights, or the Socialist Workers Party and International Socialist Organization, which endorse the liberals' program that views government affirmative action as a solution to racial inequality. The Spartacus Youth Club fights for workers rule, where everyone's labor and talents will be needed to build a socialist world of abundance and equality, and where education for all will he a natural part of this collective labor. Join us in this fight!■

Just Out!

Spartacist

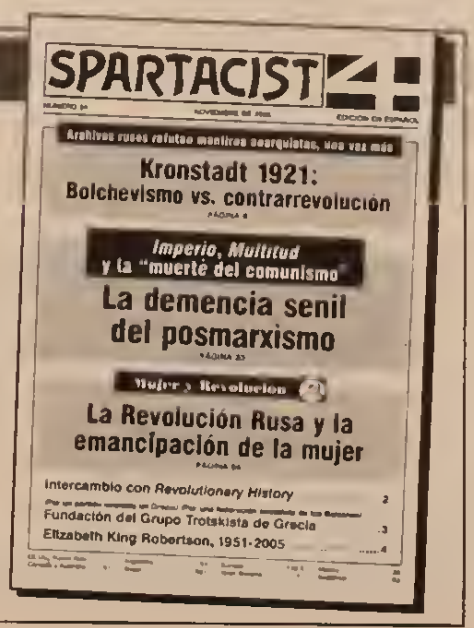
(Spanish-language edition)

No. 34, November 2006

$1 (64 pages)

Order now: $1 for single issue; $2 for subscription to *Espartaco*, publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, including *Spartacist* (Spanish-language edition).

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116


SPARTACIST
Kronstadt 1921:
Bolchevismo vs. contrarrevolución
Imperio, Multitud y la "muerte del comunismo"
La demencia senil del posmarxismo
La Revolución Rusa y la emancipación de la mujer
Intercambio con Revolutionary History
Fundación del Grupo Trotskista de Grecia
Elizabeth King Robertson, 1951-2005

CORRECTIONS

The article "Revolutionaries in World War II" (*WV* No. 865, 3 March), reprinted from *Workers Hammer* No. 193 (Winter 2005-2006), incorrectly referred to Red Army commander Mikhail Tukhachevsky as a general. The Red Army was built on the principle of abolishing the rank of general, along with all other ranks of the tsarist officer caste. Officers' ranks were only restored to the Red Army in 1935 as part of the Stalinist bureaucracy's consolidation of political power (see "On the Abolition of Ranks in the Red Army," *Workers Hammer* No. 196, Autumn 2006).

In part two of "The Russian Revolution of 1917: From the February Revolution to the July Days" (*WV* No. 875, 1 September), the graphic of troops firing on protesters during the July Days was taken from a painting by A.M. Liubimov.

Protest Racist Cop Attack at UCLA!

We print below a leaflet issued by the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club on November 17. UCLA student Mostafa Tabatabainejad was attacked by campus police after he did not show his student I.D. to student "community service officers."

Molina/L.A. Times

Spartacus Youth Club joins hundreds of UCLA students at November 17 protest against racist cop attack on Mostafa Tabatabainejad.

The Spartacus Youth Club protests the vicious, racist cop attack on Mostafa Tabatabainejad Tuesday night in the Powell library. Paralleling U.S. imperialist torture chambers from Abu Ghraib to Guantánamo, the UCPD [University of California Police Department] officers, not content with Tabatabainejad's attempt to leave the library, grabbed him by the arm and began their sadistic Taser attack. Even with handcuffs on, the cops continued to Tase the youth repeatedly in front of 50-60 eyewitnesses, as he dropped to the floor in pain. These racist cops even threatened to Tase witnesses at the scene who asked for the officers' names and badge numbers! ***This is an outrage!*** Drop the charges! Cops off campus!

UCLA students witnessed firsthand what is standard police conduct in the ghettos and barrios across capitalist America. This outrageous assault is a warning to all black and minority students that they are not welcome on campus. It is significant that this racist cop attack on a student of Near Eastern descent took place the night before a scheduled protest against the racist purge of blacks and minorities from UCLA.

As Tabatabainejad dropped to the floor he captured the political meaning of the attack when he shouted: "Here's your Patriot Act, here's your...abuse of power." The *Daily Bruin* consciously omitted this statement. This attack is nothing but the domestic face of the brutal colonial occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan carried out with the Democratic Party's blessing. The xenophobic atmosphere permeating campuses is exactly what the Bush cabal and their right-wing minions on campus try to foment. In the aftermath of 9/11, we Marxists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Clubs warned that the bipartisan "war on terror" is a war on blacks, immigrants and labor.

Like the "war on communism" and "war on drugs," the "war on terror" is a political construct designed to regiment the population and justify government repression. The Democrats no less than the Republicans have been at the forefront of carrying out the "war on terror." You don't have to look far to see what the Democrats are all about. Democratic mayor Antonio Villaraigosa has presided over arrests of youth who walked out in defense of immigrant rights in the past year and is currently overseeing brutal cop sweeps of overwhelmingly black skid row. The leadership of the various student groups on campus appeal to Democrats as allies. This is a dead end! We say break with the racist, capitalist Democrats!

Side by side with the racist purge at UCLA, the Regents facilitate the capitalists' campaign to maintain universities as a bastion of race and class privilege. The fact that a student has to produce identification just to be in the library speaks volumes. We of the Spartacus Youth Club call for free, quality, integrated public education for all! Down with the racist purge of higher education! We call for open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid stipend for all students! Abolish the administration—the universities should be run by those who work and study there!

This outrage must be protested! Begging the administration to be "fair" is no solution. It is necessary to mobilize the power of the organized working class. If students and campus unions walked out together in defense of Tabatabainejad, blacks and minorities would be a lot safer on campus. But racist outrages will happen as long as this rotten capitalist system exists. We in the Spartacus Youth Club have joined the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party that would mobilize in defense of all the oppressed as part of the fight for socialist revolution.■

Mumia...

(continued from page 4)

This, together with the fact that the Socialist and Communist parties both called to restore the order of the Republic at the height of the youth revolt of a year ago, has only served to embolden all proponents of racist terror and those who want to see Mumia dead. Indeed, the letter sent on behalf of Philadelphia asserts that the decision to honor Mumia is disturbing "at an hour when French policemen themselves are exposed daily to an increasing number of attacks and acts of urban violence." (We note with irony that this letter was sent on October 17, marking the 45th anniversary of the killing of 200 Algerian workers by the Parisian police.) And on October 22, the far-right police "union" Action Police issued a statement demanding that [Interior Minister Nicolas] Sarkozy increase his repression of youth by attacking

> "the true cause of these evils: radical Islamism, unemployment and apology for cop-killing which is being made by some councillors, as is the case with the sort of 'canonization' of Mr. Mumia Abu-Jamal, who assassinated a police officer in Philadelphia the night of 9 December 1981."

This same "trade union," counseled by none other than Gilbert Collard, has gone to court to protest the freeing of 70 youth caught in a cop dragnet on October 27 in Seine-et-Marne. The cops are not workers; they are the guard dogs of the racist capitalist system. ***Cops, prisan guards, security guards aut af the unions!***

The cops, emboldened by the campaign against *banlieue* youth, have been increasing their protests and mobilizations to grant themselves even greater liberty to terrorize whomever they choose. One cannot fight seriously today for Mumia if one does not defend *banlieue* youth against police terror and fight for their rights against the capitalist system, which has nothing to offer them except unemployment, racist discrimination and prison.

Sarkozy is now threatening criminal charges against anybody who opposes the forces of capitalist order "as an organized band." Such a measure directly threatens the whole working class: any picket line or trade-union demonstration attacked by the police could lead to such charges. Meanwhile, at Charles de Gaulle airport, the racist witchhunt underway to strip dozens of workers and trade-union militants of security clearance, and with it their jobs, targets first off the thousands of youth from the Paris *banlieues* employed there. More broadly, it targets this entire integrated workforce, and the bosses know full well that these workers can wield enormous social power when they defend their rights by strike actions. ***Down with Vigipirate!*** [Vigipirate is a program that includes racist police/army patrols of public transportation.]

The working class has a vital interest in mobilizing for Mumia's freedom and in defense of the *banlieue* youth. And the current ominous campaign by Collard, Philadelphia and Action Police shows how much the two issues are linked. The CDDS continues to demand amnesty for all youth jailed and charged in the wake of last year's *banlieue* revolt and the mobilization against the CPE [First Employment Contract]. Racism is inherent in capitalism. To eradicate it once and for all, it will be necessary to overthrow this whole system through a workers revolution.

Just as we need to defeat the racist, pro-cop campaign against the *banlieue* youth, it is necessary to defeat Philadelphia City Hall's campaign against Mumia. A victorious mobilization for Mumia must open a breach in the racist consensus against the youth of North African and African origin. We call on the workers and the oppressed to mobilize massively to protest the Philadelphia delegation. Join the contingent of the Comité de Défense Sociale at the November 29 demonstration called by the Collectif National Unitaire de Soutien à Mumia Abu-Jamal in front of Paris City Hall. ***There is na justice in the capitalist caurts—Freedom now for Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty! The workers movement must defend the banlieue youth!***■

Note: Since the publication of the above leaflet, *WV* has been informed that Ranucci, who was guillotined in 1976, was not the last person executed in France. Hamida Djandoubi was guillotined in September 1977.

Join the PDC Contingent in Philadelphia!

For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now!

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

The PDC is mobilizing a contingent for the "Mumia Must Be Free!" rally called by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Saturday, December 9, 11 a.m.
Assemble outside Philadelphia City Hall

For more information and transportation from New York City call: (212) 406-4252

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Teachers' Struggle Shakes Mexico—The Fight for Permanent Revolution

Speaker: Jacob Zorn, Spartacist League

Thursday, December 7, 7 p.m.
Hamilton Hall, Room 516
Columbia University
(116th St. and Broadway, take 1 train to 116th St. stop)

NEW YORK CITY

For more information: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

Terrorism: A Marxist Analysis

The "War on Terror" and the Imperialist World Order

The Bush administration, supported by the Democrats in Congress, seized on the grief, anger and fear over the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon to mobilize popular support for new military adventures abroad and intensified repression domestically. The torture chambers of Guantánamo, Abu Ghraib and Bagram; the rape and massacre of Iraqi villagers by U.S. troops in Haditha—such are the real meaning of the so-called "global war on terror." On the home front, this "war," initially directed mainly against

PART ONE

immigrants from Muslim countries, has brought wholesale attacks against the rights of black people and the population as a whole.

The Democrats gave Bush & Co. a blank check for the invasion of Afghanistan and largely supported the war against Iraq. Now they have recaptured Congress largely by promoting themselves as better able than the beleaguered Republicans to carry out the "war on terror," calling for an "exit strategy" in order to cut U.S. imperialism's losses in Iraq. Extricating military forces from the Iraq quagmire could allow the U.S. and NATO to augment their forces in Afghanistan. It would also give Washington more flexibility in pursuing its threats against both neocolonial Iran and the North Korean deformed workers state, and to pursue as well the imperialists' strategic goal of capitalist counterrevolution in China.

The September 11 attacks gave the U.S. rulers further fuel for their drive to label as "terrorists" all those who oppose their marauding around the globe and their trampling upon immigrants, black people and all working people at home. Former Homeland Security chief Tom Ridge warned West Coast ILWU longshoremen in 2002 that a port strike would be treated as a threat to "national security." And a former U.S. secretary of education in the Bush administration called a major teachers union a "terrorist organization." In Britain and elsewhere around the world, capitalist governments have followed Washington's lead by implementing their own draconian new laws and further clamping down on immigrant populations.

Those who administer the capitalist system, which has long ceased to play any progressive role, perpetrate mass terror and wanton, barbaric and premeditated slaughter on a ghastly scale. The unspeakable crimes against humanity that are synonymous with U.S. imperialism—from the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the Second World War to the carpet bombing of Vietnam in the 1960s and '70s—are intrinsic to the epoch of capitalism in its grotesque death agony. No less so are the brutal workings of capitalist "democracy" at home, from the killing of strikers and the pounding attacks on workers' wages and living standards to the cop terror and mass poverty of the ghettos and barrios.

Jane Therese / Washington Post

U.S. Terror, Inc.: In aftermath of September 11 attacks, New Jersey cops surround passengers dragged off bus as "terrorist suspects" because they spoke "little English" (left). Sadistic prison guard Charles Graner beating Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib (above).

We abhor the organized violence employed by the capitalist rulers in defense of their obscene profits. But Marxists are not pacifists. We understand that force is and has always been the midwife of revolutionary social transformation. All history demonstrates that those who rule class societies do not give up their power without bitter struggle. It will take nothing less than a series of thoroughgoing socialist revolutions to sweep away the capitalist-imperialist world order, the most murderous system of exploitation in human history.

Nearly a century ago, Leon Trotsky, who would go on to become, along with V.I. Lenin, a central leader of the October Revolution of 1917, wrote in a 1911 article for the Austrian Social Democracy's *Der Kampf*, reprinted in English in *Intercontinental Press* (6 August 1973) under the headline, "The Marxist Position on Individual Terrorism":

> "Our class enemies are in the habit of complaining about our terrorism. What they mean by this is rather unclear. They would like to label all the activities of the proletariat directed against the class enemy's interests as terrorism. The strike, in their eyes, is the principal method of terrorism. The threat of a strike, the organization of strike pickets, an economic boycott of a slave-driving boss, a moral boycott of a traitor from our own ranks—all this and much more they call terrorism. If terrorism is understood in this way as any action inspiring fear in, or doing harm to, the enemy, then of course the entire class struggle is nothing but terrorism. And the only question remaining is whether the bourgeois politicians have the right to pour out their floods of moral indignation about proletarian terrorism when their entire state apparatus with its laws, police, and army is nothing but an apparatus for capitalist terror!"

Today, it is urgently necessary for the proletariat internationally to fight against every imperialist military adventure, every attempt to bolster capitalist repression in the name of the "war on terror." This fight must include combatting the bourgeoisie's lying equation of class and social struggle with criminal terrorist acts, for which an examination of terrorism both in its current context and in its historical development is necessary.

September 11 and the Myth of "National Unity"

The attack on the World Trade Center using two hijacked passenger jets was a criminal act in which several thousand people—white, black, Latino and foreign-born working people of many nationalities—were indiscriminately murdered. A third airliner went down in Pennsylvania, killing all aboard, and a fourth hit the Pentagon, killing 125 in addition to the passengers and crew. Unlike the World Trade Center, the Pentagon is the command and administrative center of the U.S. imperialist military, and being a military installation, the possibility of getting hit comes with the territory. That fact does not make the attack an "anti-imperialist" act, nor does it change the fact that terrorism almost always gets innocent people—in this case passengers on the plane as well as maintenance workers, janitors and secretaries at the Pentagon.

The Pentagon, however, directs a military machine that deals out death and terror on a scale worlds beyond what the Islamic fundamentalists of Al Qaeda are capable of. The Pentagon is at the pinnacle of a set of institutions based on armed force—the military, the police, the courts and the prisons—that constitute the core of the U.S. capitalist state. The purpose of the bourgeois state is to defend by means of organized violence the political rule, property and global interests of a small layer of capitalists whose wealth derives from the exploitation of the working class at home and abroad.

We noted in "Bush, the Democrats and the London 'Terror' Scare" (*WV* No. 875, 1 September) that "the terrorist followers of Osama bin Laden—Washington's Frankenstein's monster—and the like are responding in their own distorted way to the ravages of U.S. imperialism." Terrorist acts such as the September 11 attacks represent the weak striking out at the strong. Nonetheless, America's imperialist rulers waved the World Trade Center atrocity as a bloody shirt to further the lie of "national unity"—the notion that the exploited and oppressed have a common cause with their exploiters and oppressors. As a Spartacist League/U.S. Political Bureau statement issued the day after the attack stressed: "Those who perpetrated this horrific attack (and there is no evidence at all as to who that was) *embrace the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors!*" ("The World Trade Center Attack," *WV* No. 764, 14 September 2001).

From the outset, we have sought to mobilize the working class to combat the intensified state repression carried out in the name of the "war on terror." In February 2002, the Partisan Defense Committee and Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense initiated a united-front rally in Oakland, California, supported by a number of unions, notably ILWU longshoremen, in opposition to the USA-Patriot Act, the Maritime Security Act and the anti-immigrant witchhunt. Through this exemplary action, we sought to demonstrate how a workers party would fight to mobilize labor in the defense of all the oppressed.

"Terror" Witchhunts and State Repression

In an *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief on behalf of Jose Padilla—a U.S. citizen who was arrested at Chicago's

WV Photo

9 February 2002: Oakland united-front demonstration initiated by Partisan Defense Committee and Bay Area Labor Black League was first labor-centered protest in U.S. against "war on terror" repression and anti-immigrant crackdown.

O'Hare airport in May 2002, stripped of all rights and thrown into a military dungeon as an "enemy combatant"—the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee noted: "The 'war against terrorism' is a fiction, a political construct, not a military reality.... Like the 'war against communism' and the 'war against drugs,' this 'war' is a pretext to increase the state's police powers and repressive apparatus, constricting the democratic rights of the population" (*Class-Struggle Defense Notes* No. 31, Summer 2003).

Starkly illustrating the broad sweep of "anti-terror" measures were the prison sentences handed down in October to radical attorney Lynne Stewart, her translator, Mohamed Yousry, and legal assistant, Ahmed Abdel Sattar. For the "crime" of Stewart's aggressive defense of her client, Islamic fundamentalist Sheik Abdel Rahman, the three were convicted on charges of conspiring to provide material support to terrorism and to defraud the government, with Abdel Sattar convicted on additional conspiracy charges and sentenced to *24 yeors* in prison. Thus their prosecutions represented a frontal attack on the right to free speech and the right to legal representation. And just this month, the Justice Department declared that an "anti-terrorism" law recently passed by Congress makes any immigrant accused of ties to a terrorist organization subject to indefinite detention as an "enemy combatant," even if arrested inside the U.S.

The U.S. rulers' use of the "terrorist" label to kill or silence their perceived political enemies may have gained new momentum following September 11, but the practice goes way back. In Pennsylvania in the 1870s, the Pinkertons and vigilantes of the murderous coal bosses terrorized miners, while the bosses had leaders of the so-called "Molly Maguires," Irish immigrant labor militants, framed up and hanged on charges of terror and murder. Fabricated charges of a terrorist plot served the political witchhunt against left-wing leaders of the eight-hour day movement, culminating in the execution of the Chicago Haymarket martyrs in 1887.

During the radical turbulence of the 1960s, the FBI's COINTELPRO program of harassment and disruption was used against leftists, Vietnam antiwar activists and black militants. The Black Panther Party was a particular target for bloody destruction under both Democratic and Republican administrations: Some 38 militants were killed outright by the Feds and their local auxiliaries and many more framed up and imprisoned. Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) spent 27 years behind bars and others remain entombed to this day, including former Black Panther Party spokesman and death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The Spartacist League has long understood that the capitalist state's attempts to tar its perceived opponents as terrorists pose a deadly danger for the left and labor movement as a whole. When we learned in 1977 that we had been included on the FBI's ADEX (Administrative Index) hit list, which portrayed the SL as a violent conspiratorial group, we wrote:

> "The attempt to slander Marxism as some kind of violence cult is far more than an abstract anti-communist propaganda campaign. It is the cynical rationale for the ADEX file and the concentration camps which wait in the wings, for the FBI assassination squads that are the ultimate 'disruption.' It is an irony that this secret arm of the ruling class that has perpetrated the most massive organized worldwide violence should mount this attack on the 'dangerous' thought of the Marxist tradition. Not mere irony; it is historical perversity."
>
> —"FBI Targets the Spartacist League," *WV* No. 151, 1 April 1977

Using the same false definition of the SL contained in the (supposedly abolished) ADEX file, the 1983 FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines redefined what had been deemed "subversive" activity as "terrorist," authorizing investigation of left-wing organizations even though no crimes had been committed or even alleged. The SL successfully sued, compelling the FBI to withdraw its threatening "definition" and thereby concede

UPI

Marines in Vietnam fire into smoking rubble of village hut. U.S. defeat in Vietnam War was victory for working people of the world.

that Marxist ideas and activity cannot he equated with violence, terrorism and criminal enterprise. In announcing our lawsuit, we declared:

> "We are compelled to undertake this legal battle, not only to defend ourselves against the new FBI red-hunt but also to fight to preserve the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement. We do not intend to be blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night. As the organization which embodies the continuity of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S. today, our task is too important: the liberation of the workers and oppressed from the chains of this decaying, racist system through victorious socialist revolution. A Workers Party Has a Right to Organize!"
>
> —"Spartacist League Sues FBI," *WV* No. 340, 21 October 1983

We had already successfully sued the state government of California in 1981, winning a retraction of the false and dangerous charges that we were "terrorists" and "criminals." We warned, however, against any illusions that these legal victories meant the end of government terror, snooping, surveillance and dirty tricks against the left and workers movement.

Reformists Promote Lie of "Liberal" Imperialism

Marxists oppose individual terrorism as a political strategy, even that terrorism which is derived from real, if misguided, anti-racist or anti-imperialist impulses and takes as its target genuine institutions or agents of state repression (manifestly *not* the case in the attack on the World Trade Center). Such individual acts, however heroic in particular circumstances, are counterposed to the proletarian class struggle and the consciousness the working class needs if it is to stand at the head of the oppressed in the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist imperialist system. As Trotsky wrote in his 1911 article, in regard to the left-wing populist terrorists in late tsarist Russia: "In our eyes, individual terror is inadmissible precisely because it *belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness*, reconciles them to their powerlessness, and turns their eyes and hopes toward a 'great avenger and liberator who some day will come and accomplish his mission'" (emphasis in original).

Despite our political opposition to the strategy of terrorism, the International Communist League has consistently defended individuals and organizations targeted for bourgeois state repression for carrying out attacks against the class enemy. The SL/U.S., for example, has defended the Ohio 7, leftist activists who were convicted for their role in a radical group that took credit for "bank expropriations" and bombings in the late 1970s and '80s against symbols of U.S. imperialism, such as military and corporate offices. Two of the Ohio 7 remain in prison (see article, page 2). Likewise, our comrades of the Trotskyist Group of Greece call on the workers movement to defend the November 17 group against the Greek bourgeois state.

Ward Churchill, a radical professor at the University of Colorado, argued in his September 2001 essay, "Some People Push Back: On the Justice of Roosting Chickens," that the September 11 attacks were a response in kind to the crimes of U.S. imperialism against the peoples of the Third World. As a consequence, he has been the target of a right-wing campaign to drive him and other critics of government policy off campus. As we have stated, Churchill must be vigorously defended against the McCarthyite witchhunt (see "Hands Off Ward Churchill!" *WV* No. 873, 7 July).

Churchill denies any meaningful distinction hetween the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in what he sees as a counterstrike by oppressed and therefore good Third World peoples against the bad peoples of the First World. According to Churchill, all Americans collectively partake of guilt for U.S. imperialism's crimes insofar as they have not fought to stop them. But far from being a "terrorist sympathizer," as rightists outrageously contend, Churchill aims to shame American imperialism into cleaning up its act. And, as is typical of New Left-style radicals and nationalists the world over, Churchill's outlook divides the world into good peoples and bad peoples rather than into opposing classes.

Churchill does not pretend to be a Marxist and thus is at least consistent in disregarding the explosive class contradictions at the base of American society. Not so the reformist leftists who cover with empty socialist phrases what are in reality nothing but *liberol bourgeois* politics. "Gov't Policy Puts People in Harm's Way," declared *Workers World* (27 September 2001) following September 11. "The military response to terrorism just perpetuates the cycle of terrorism and counterterrorism," wrote radical-liberal professor Howard Zinn, uncritically quoted in the International Socialist Organization's *Socialist Worker* (14 September 2001). These groups promote the illusion that imperialist militarism is a bad policy that can be eliminated from the capitalist system if sufficient pressure is applied. To this end, they seek to form a "coalition" with the liberal wing of the capitalist class, represented by a section of the Democratic Party.

Contrary to the preachings of the reformist fake socialists, the capitalist state cannot be wielded by the exploited and the oppressed to serve their interests. In order to defend itself, the working class must mobilize independently of all the agencies and parties of its class enemy. In order to sweep away this ruling class and open the road to a world free of class exploitation, war and all forms of oppression, the working class must take control of society in its own hands through a socialist revolution that breaks up and destroys the capitalist state and establishes in its place a workers state based on a planned, collectivized economy.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly

UPI

Left: Chicago Haymarket martyrs were framed up and hanged in 1887 for fighting for workers' rights. Right: Chicago Black Panther Party residence shot up in 1969 FBI/cop raid that killed Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

The political instrument needed to achieve this goal is a revolutionary workers party—a party that fights to win the U.S. working class to the understanding that, as part of the *internotionol* proletariat, it must fight to defend all the victims of U.S. imperialism through struggle against their common enemy, the blood-stained U.S. capitalist rulers. The model for such a party can be found in the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, which led the first and to date only successful workers revolution in history, the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

The October Revolution and Red Terror

The October Revolution overthrew the rule of Russia's landlords and capitalists and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the impoverished peasant masses. Tsarist Russia had been the most backward of the major powers:

continued on page 12

WV Photo

November 1984: Spartacist League, Partisan Defense Committee announce victory in lawsuit against FBI's attempt to slander SL as violent conspiratorial group.

Terrorism...

(continued from page 11)

imperialism had broken at its weakest link amid the carnage and economic devastation of the First World War, an interimperialist conflict for markets and spheres of exploitation. Acutely conscious that the Russian Revolution was a beacon of liberation for their own deeply exploited, war-weary and enraged workers and soldiers, the imperialists rushed to support the White counterrevolutionary armies of Russia's old ruling classes with money and direct military intervention, including expeditionary forces from the U.S. and 13 other capitalist countries.

The insurrection that had placed power in the hands of the soviets (councils) of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies had been relatively bloodless, but the Civil War that ensued was bloody, indeed. The Revolution fought back, organizing the workers and their peasant allies into a disciplined fighting force: the Red Army built and commanded by Trotsky. A necessary auxiliary weapon in defense of the workers revolution against bourgeois and imperialist reaction was the Red Terror, including such means as the taking of hostages and the suppression of parties allied with the counterrevolution.

The White counterrevolutionaries engaged in torture, mass rape and indiscriminate slaughter, putting entire (especially Jewish) villages to the torch. In contrast, even as it ruthlessly defended the proletarian state power, the Red Terror forbade the use of torture. The Cheka (Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage) proclaimed: "The proletariat is merciless in its struggle. At the same time it is unshakable and strong. Not a single curse at our most wicked enemies. No tortures and torments!" (see "U.S. Torture Machine," *WV* Nos. 862 and 863, 20 January and 3 February).

The Second International had collapsed at the outbreak of the world war as the leaders of the major West European social-democratic parties served as drummer boys and recruiting agents for their respective bourgeoisies. On the foundation of the Bolshevik Revolution, the Communist (Third) International was established in 1919, its aim being to lead the proletariat to power on a world scale. The main obstacles to winning revolutionary-minded workers to the Third International were not the openly chauvinist, right-wing leaders of the Second International but centrists such as the German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, who prior to the war had been generally regarded as the main theoretical spokesman for "orthodox" Marxism.

In a 1919 book titled *Terrorism and Communism*, Kautsky denounced the beleaguered Soviet workers state for the measures it was compelled to take to defend itself. Instead, he insisted, the workers should obey the rules of bourgeois "democracy." Counterattacking Kautsky in a 1920 book also titled *Terrorism and Communism*, Trotsky drew on the history of the classic bourgeois revolutions in England and France in the 17th and 18th centuries, the abortive European revolutions of 1848, the American Civil War and the short-lived Paris Commune of 1871 to demonstrate the necessity of revolutionary force in every significant advance in a class-dominated society. Referring not just to Russia but also to the revolutionary ferment that then convulsed Europe, especially the strategically key German working class, Trotsky wrote:

> "It is only possible to safeguard the supremacy of the working class by forcing the bourgeoisie accustomed to rule, to realize that it is too dangerous an undertaking for it to revolt against the dictatorship of the proletariat, to undermine it by conspiracies, sabotage, insurrections, or the calling in of foreign troops....
>
> "The man who repudiates terrorism in principle—*i.e.*, repudiates measures of suppression and intimidation towards determined and armed counter-revolution, must reject all idea of the political supremacy of the working class and its revolutionary dictatorship. The man who repudiates the dictatorship of the proletariat repudiates the socialist revolution, and digs the grave of socialism."

Faced with the spectre of proletarian revolution, the "democratic" bourgeoisies unleashed an arsenal of brutal repression against the workers. In Germany, Italy and elsewhere in Europe, the rulers discarded the facade of "parliamentary democracy" and turned to the forces of military and fascist reaction. As Trotsky wrote against Kautsky, the fate of the revolution was determined by "an open measuring of forces between the capitalist clique, openly or secretly supreme and disposing of hundreds of thousands of mobilized and hardened officers, devoid of all scruple, and the revolting, revolutionary proletariat; while the intermediate classes were living in a state of terror, confusion, and prostration. Under such conditions, what pitiful nonsense are speeches about the peaceful conquest of power by the proletariat, by means of democratic parliamentarism!"

Both the Bolshevik leaders and the Russian workers considered the October Revolution to be the first major victory in an unfolding world revolution. However, in no other country did the working class seize and consolidate state power. The main reason for this failure was the sabotage and treachery of the social-democratic misleaders and the absence of pre-existing, authoritative revolutionary vanguard parties such as Lenin had built in tsarist Russia.

Erected amid a mass of peasant backwardness to begin with, by the early 1920s the young workers state had been bled white by seven years of imperialist war and civil war. The postwar revolutionary wave in Europe had receded, and Soviet Russia remained isolated, surrounded by hostile and more powerful capitalist-imperialist states. Under these conditions, beginning in 1923-24 the Soviet workers state underwent a bureaucratic degeneration, represented by the regime of J.V. Stalin. Decades of Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, aggravated by the pressures of world imperialism, led in 1991-92 to the destruction of the USSR through capitalist counterrevolution. Counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union—a historic defeat for the world proletariat—has brought devastation to the working people of those societies and emboldened the imperialists in their drive for global domination while fueling the resurgence of religious reaction throughout the world.

U.S. Imperialism and Islamic Fundamentalism

As it crowed over what it called the "death of communism," the U.S. ruling class sought to find a surrogate for the "red menace" as a pretext for domestic repression and imperialist militarism. Today, Islamic fundamentalism, exemplified by Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda, is proclaimed to be the main global enemy of America and the American "way of life." It has become common in both right-wing and certain liberal circles to speak of "Islamo-fascism." Yet during the almost half-century-long Cold War against the former Soviet Union, U.S. imperialism allied itself with and actively supported the forces of Islamic traditionalism and those of other major religions of the East (as well as Catholicism, especially in Latin America, Poland and Latin Europe). In 1950, John Foster Dulles, who was later Secretary of State under the Eisenhower presidency, wrote: "The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us, and our task is to find it and develop it" (quoted in Paul Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* [1968]).

Despite its Stalinist degeneration, the Soviet Union—particularly Soviet Central Asia—was a beacon to all those in the backward East fighting for liberation from the twin yokes of imperialism and obscurantism. Hostile to social progress in any form, especially in regard to the position of women in society, the forces of Islamic traditionalism were bitter enemies of Communism (as well as secular democratic and nationalist movements). Moreover, in many countries the rising forces of Islamic fundamentalism, including the early Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, vied directly with the Communists and secular nationalists for a base among the dispossessed and downtrodden plebeian masses.

In Iran, Iraq, Sudan and Indonesia, the Communist parties had a mass, working-class base. Iran in the early 1950s and Iraq in the late '50s witnessed social explosions that could have placed the proletariat in power. But these revolutionary opportunities were betrayed by the Kremlin bureaucracy and its local Stalinist henchmen, who politically chained the masses to the forces of bourgeois nationalism (see "Near East, 1950s: Permanent Revolution vs. Bourgeois Nationalism," *WV* Nos. 740 and 741, 25 August and 8 September 2000). These betrayals, as well as the palpable bankruptcy of "secular" bourgeois nationalism, cleared the ground for the later explosive growth of Islamic fundamentalism, which looks to install a theocratic state based on Islamic religious law (*sharia*) throughout the Muslim East.

During the Cold War, U.S. imperialism was able to utilize the forces of Islamic traditionalism in its drive for complete domination of Near Eastern and other Muslim countries. In Iran in 1953, the Shi'ite clergy played a major role in the CIA-engineered coup that overthrew the bourgeois-nationalist regime of Mohammad Mossadeq, which was supported by the pro-Moscow Tudeh (Masses) party, and installed the Shah in power. In Indonesia in 1965, Muslim generals, encouraged by Washington, overthrew the bourgeois-nationalist regime of Sukarno, which was backed by both Moscow and Beijing. The military, abetted by right-wing mobs led by Islamic clerics, massacred over *a million* workers, peasants, leftists and ethnic Chinese. The Maoist Indonesian Communist Party, then the largest such party in the capitalist world, was effectively wiped out.

The most massive and sustained mobilization by U.S. imperialism of the forces of Islamic traditionalism and fundamentalism was in Afghanistan in the 1980s, directed against the Soviet Army and its modernizing nationalist Afghan allies, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). The CIA organized and armed the Afghan *mujahedin* (holy warriors) who, among other atrocities, threw acid in the faces of unveiled women and shot schoolteachers for teaching young girls

Elias Tcherikower

Yivo Institute

Left: Victims of pogrom by anti-Bolshevik forces during Russian Civil War, February 1919. Right: Jewish workers' self-defense unit in Odessa, April 1918.

Basil Blackwell, Inc.

Verlag Kurt Desch

Leon Trotsky (left), organizer of Red Army, wrote *Terrorism and Communism* against Social Democrat Karl Kautsky (right), who denounced Bolshevik Revolution for violating capitalist "democracy."

to read. In financial terms, this was the biggest CIA operation in the entire history of the Cold War.

Washington recruited Islamist militants throughout the Near East and beyond to fight "godless Communism" in Afghanistan. In 1986, the CIA commissioned Osama bin Laden, son of a construction magnate tied to the Saudi monarchy, to help build a huge tunnel complex in Khost, which became his training camp and headquarters. In 1987, *mujahedin* in Khost used an American Stinger missile to shoot down a civilian airliner filled with Afghan schoolchildren. There was no outcry from Washington against Islamic terror ***then***. It was only after they had served their purpose in the imperialist crusade against the Soviet Union that bin Laden & Co. went from being "freedom fighters" to "terrorists" in the eyes of the U.S. bourgeoisie. (For more detail, see "The 1998 Embassy Bombings, Osama bin Laden and the CIA: The Afghan Connection," *WV* No. 761, 6 July 2001.)

Most professed leftists around the world echoed the Western imperialist line of condemning the Soviet military intervention as a violation of Afghanistan's "national sovereignty" and demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Some left groups, notably the Maoists, enthusiastically supported the CIA-armed *mujahedin*. Uniquely, the international Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) raised the slogans: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!"

Afghanistan Today

Der Spiegel

LexicOrient

***Mujahedin* terrorists used U.S. Stinger missiles (center) to shoot down airliner carrying Afghan schoolchildren (left), March 1987. Right: Osama bin Laden, armed and supported by U.S. imperialists for anti-Soviet crusade.**

What was at stake in Afghanistan, which shared a 1,000-mile border with the USSR, was not only the military defense of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state against imperialism. This was the first war in modern history in which women's emancipation was a central issue. The Soviet Army, whatever the motives and calculations of the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucrats, was fighting for social progress, especially the minimal democratic rights and freedoms of the hideously oppressed Afghan women, in this most wretchedly backward Islamic country. The withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan in 1989 by the liberal Stalinist regime of Mikhail Gorbachev was a ***historic betrayal*** that paved the way to the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union itself.

Paris Match

Planela

Soviet military presence in Afghanistan opened road to social progress for women. Above: students at Kabul University in the 1980s.

Bin Laden Turns on U.S. Sponsors

The U.S.-sponsored "holy war" in Afghanistan served to create a global Islamist network out of formerly disparate groups, while the Stalinists' ignominious withdrawal emboldened the fundamentalists to think that they had defeated one "superpower" and could take on the second. A current of Islamic fundamentalism came to view the United States as intent on reshaping the Near East in its own image and according to its professed ideological precepts. Bin Laden was particularly outraged when the Saudi monarchy allowed U.S. troops to use the country, home to the holiest of Muslim holy sites, as a staging ground for the 1991 war against Iraq. In a 1997 interview with CNN's Peter Arnett, he declaimed:

> "After the collapse of the Soviet Union in which the US has no mentionable role, but rather the credit goes to God, Praise and Glory be to Him, and the Mujahidin in Afghanistan, this collapse made the US more haughty and arrogant and it has started to look at itself as a Master of this world and established what it calls the new world order."
>
> —quoted in Ashraf Tariq, "Osama bin Laden, No. 1 Terrorist in the World?" (2002)

The jihadist groups of the post-Soviet period are in part a response to a perceived, but actually ***nonexistent***, threat of the imperialists effecting the "Westernization" (the democratic rights and freedoms of women, the secularization of social and political life) of the Arab/Islamic world. Certainly, Islamist militants are also driven by intense hostility to the genuine crimes of American imperialism against the peoples of the Near East (support to Israel's oppression of the Palestinians, the deadly effects of the economic sanctions against Iraq in the 1990s). However, it is the centrality of the reactionary religious component, especially the traditional degradation of women, that *differentiates* the Islamists from the various currents of Arab bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism.

There is a certain ideological symmetry between the anti-Western jihadists and the Western liberal advocates of "human rights" imperialism like *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman. The Zionist Friedman supported the U.S. occupation of Iraq in order to supposedly establish a "model" of a "democratic and secular" society and polity in the heart of the Arab/Islamic world. The fact that the Indian-born writer Salman Rushdie, the most prominent liberal intellectual opponent of Islamic fundamentalism from a Muslim background, became an ardent partisan of the Bush/Blair "war on terror" is also indicative of the changed political-ideological contours and divisions of the post-Soviet world. Friedman/Rushdie and bin Laden share the same *illusory* belief that the long-term goal of U.S. policy in the Near East is exporting "democracy." The former support pursuing that supposed goal, including through military means; the latter opposes it, including through terrorist actions.

But the imperialists' aim is *not* to create secular democracies in the Near East or elsewhere in the Third World. At the most fundamental level, the evolution and structure of world capitalism have *arrested the development* of the countries of North Africa, the Near East and South Asia, which remain dependent on the North American, European and Japanese imperialists who dominate the world capitalist market. Imperialism thereby perpetuates the backward social, economic and cultural conditions that sustain Islamic traditionalism, while at the same time the penetration of backward countries by imperialist capital creates elements of a modern infrastructure and a proletariat.

For the people of such societies, religion—especially the belief in an afterlife—is a needed solace for the seemingly unchangeable miseries and horrors of their earthly life. This situation is certainly not unique to the Islamic world: the U.S. has the highest degree of religiosity of any advanced capitalist country. In Marx's famous phrase, religion is the "*opium* of the people": "To abolish religion as the *illusory* happiness of the people is to demand their *real* happiness. The demand to give up illusions about the existing state of affairs is the *demand to give up a state of affairs which needs illusions*" (emphasis in original, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law" [1843-44]). And to eliminate that state of affairs requires a *proletarian socialist revolution* against capitalist imperialism.

The popular appeal of Islamic fundamentalism is not merely ideological. Whether Sunni (like the Palestinian Hamas) or Shi'ite (like Hezbollah in Lebanon), the Islamist groups offer a large range of social services—job placement, health care, education, homes for the homeless, a living stipend for the unemployed, even day care—that the state is either unable or unwilling to provide. Thus these groups gain respect and consolidate support among the populace as the only institutions willing to even attempt to take care of the needs of the dispossessed and to stand up to corrupt and brutal pro-Western regimes. In the plebeian hovels around Cairo, for example, the Muslim Brotherhood is a state within a state.

At the directly political level, a central and longstanding aspect of U.S. policy in the Near East has been to preserve and protect the Saudi monarchy in order to ensure continuing American control of the world's largest oil fields. Over the decades, the Saudi monarchy has handed out vast sums internationally to promote movements based on the extreme Wahabi variant of Sunni orthodoxy as a counterweight to Communists and left-talking nationalists, and to check the spread of Shi'ite influence by the Iranian regime. It is, as they say, no accident that most of those who carried out the September 11 attacks were from Saudi Arabia. Objectively, the Pentagon is the command center of the main military force in the world that ultimately maintains the socio-economic and political conditions nurturing Al Qaeda and other jihadist groups.

In understanding the current generation of militant Islamists, it is useful to look back at the Khomeiniite movement in Iran, which in 1979 overthrew the Shah, a major U.S. client regime in the region. At the time, most leftists around the world hailed Khomeini and the Shi'ite mullahs for leading a mass movement against American imperialist domination. We explained that the Islamic fundamentalist opposition to the Shah had nothing to do with anti-imperialism. Like all such fundamentalist forces, the Khomeiniite movement was committed to maintaining the system of private property. The Islamic opposition was *not* primarily a response to the Tehran regime's close political and military ties to Washington but rather to its *superficial "Westernizing" internal policies*. As we wrote a few years after the so-called "Islamic Revolution":

> "As long as the shah jailed, tortured and murdered Tudeh militants and even [bourgeois nationalist] National Front leaders, the Shi'ite clergy raised not a peep of protest. The Islamic (Khomeiniite) opposition dates from the 1963 'White Revolution' when the shah began to make inroads into the mullahs' endowments and property and its control over law and social mores. Then the mullahs organized huge protests against including mosque land under the agrarian reform laws and extending Majlis [parliamentary] suffrage to women."
>
> —"Iran and Permanent Revolution," *Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 33, Spring 1982

We emphasized: "In Iran as throughout the Islamic East the symbol of the enslavement of women is the veil. And it was in defense of the veil, perhaps above all else, that Khomeini rose up against the shah's cosmetic 'Westernization'."

Today's anti-Western Islamists sometimes claim to speak on behalf of the oppressed and downtrodden masses. But they do so in the interests of a reactionary program to entrench every form of exploitation and oppression, centrally the subjugation of women, on the basis of the same social and economic backwardness that secular nationalist regimes like Nasser's Egypt and Saddam Hussein's Iraq could not overcome. When Islamic fundamentalist regimes or movements come into direct military conflict with imperialist forces, we defend them against the latter. Thus we recognize the need of semicolonial Iran to develop its own nuclear weapons in order to counter imperialist military threats. Likewise, every blow struck against the U.S. and allied occupying forces in Iraq and Afghanistan is a blow in the objective interests of the international working class.

However, as is painfully evident from the intercommunal slaughter in Iraq, Sunni forces are far more likely to carry out criminal attacks against innocent civilians in the Shi'ite community, and vice versa. The Islamic fundamentalists, whether in power or in opposition, are implacable *enemies* of the workers and other toilers of all countries, especially their own. The road to a socialist revolution in the countries of the Islamic East, and with it the liberation of women, will require the political and in all likelihood military destruction of the forces of Islamic fundamentalism by the revolutionary proletariat and its allies.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

U.S. Elections...

(continued from page 1)

embedded in this capitalist profit system.

It took the Civil War, the Second American Revolution, to end black chattel slavery in this country, and it will take a third, socialist revolution to complete the unfinished business of the Civil War. Should there be any doubt, look at Tennessee. A virulently racist campaign was launched against black Democrat Harold Ford Jr., himself a social conservative, who seemed poised to become the first black Senator from the old Confederacy since Reconstruction. Then a TV ad created by a Karl Rove operative showed a scantily clad young white woman saying she'd met "Harold at the Playboy party" and asking him to call. This play to racist hysteria over "miscegenation" worked. Ford, who had been slightly ahead in the polls prior to the ad, ended up losing by a slim margin.

Now, in the aftermath of the elections, Trent Lott, like some zombie sucked out of the Mississippi mud, is again stalking the Senate halls as Republican whip. This is the same man who fell from grace a few years ago after openly yearning for the Dixiecrat days of arch-segregationist Strom Thurmond, saying that if Thurmond had been elected president in 1948, "we wouldn't have had all these problems over all these years."

Malcolm X had it right when he said, "If you stick a knife nine inches into my back and pull it out three inches, that is not progress." Nostalgia for the Clinton years is a sure sign of how bad Bush's America has been for black people. It was Clinton who promised to "end welfare as we know it." And, as corporate profits skyrocketed, Clinton carried out his vow, condemning millions of black, white and immigrant women and children to hunger and homelessness. The Clinton White House presided over a quantum leap in the prison population—now over two million—mainly as a result of the racist "war on drugs." Today, while black people constitute 12 percent of the U.S. population, ***44 percent*** of all prisoners in the U.S. are black.

As Marxists, we understand that bourgeois elections are routinely putrid affairs that amount to determining which party will oversee the affairs of the capitalist class as a whole. Our task in analyzing social discontents, including as revealed through the distorted prism of the elections, is to lay bare the irreconcilable class antagonisms at the base of this society. It is the working class, with its strategic black component, that produces the wealth of society. This is the only social force with the objective interest and potential social power to smash the capitalist system and lay the basis for the construction of an egalitarian socialist society. We stand for the ***complete political independence of the proletariat from all capitalist parties—Democrat, Republican and Green.*** This is an ABC precept of Marxism, but one that has been consciously denigrated by the fake-socialist left and one for which we must all the more consciously fight anew, as part of the struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party.

Rourke/American-Statesman

Mohin/NY Times

Above: New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina starkly illuminated the racial oppression built into U.S. capitalism. Right: Thousands line up for 200 jobs at NYC Times Square candy store, November 2006.

Reformists' Touching Faith in "Democratic" Imperialism

Amid the euphoria that swept over West European social-democratic circles following the U.S. elections, Simon Jenkins wrote in the London *Guardian* (9 November): "Overnight six years of glib European identification of 'American' with rightwing fantasism is over. The gun-toting, pre-Darwinian Bushite, the tomahawk-wielding, Halliburton-loving, Beltway neocon calling abortion murder and torturing Arabs as 'Islamofascists' has been laid to rest, and by a decision of the American people." He went on: "An era of ill-conceived, belligerent interventionism has come to an end—by democratic decision, thank goodness." Sharing in the giddiness is the U.S. reformist left, which is now gearing up to "make the Democrats fight."

V.I. Lenin, co-leader with Leon Trotsky of the Bolshevik Revolution that ripped one-sixth of the globe from the capitalists' grip and established the first workers state in history, polemicized against those who would lull the working class with illusions in the parliamentary road of reforming imperialist capitalism. In *The State and Revolution* (1917), he denounced German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, whose "thoughts go no further than a 'government...willing to meet the proletariat half-way'—a step backward to philistinism compared with 1847, when the *Communist Manifesto* proclaimed 'the organisation of the proletariat as the ruling class'" (ellipses in original).

Lenin excoriated Kautsky for striving for the "shifting of the balance of forces within the state power," and for "winning a majority in parliament":

> "We, however, shall break with the opportunists; and the entire class-conscious proletariat will be with us in the fight—not to 'shift the balance of forces,' but to ***overthrow the bourgeoisie, to destroy*** bourgeois parliamentarism, for a democratic republic after the type of the Commune, or a republic of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

Such a revolutionary outlook could not be further from that of the present-day reformist "socialists," who are imbued with "death of Communism" ideology and shamelessly seek a government "more yielding" to the oppressed and exploited via the Democratic Party. For full-throated hailing of the Democrats' electoral victory, the reformists of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Communist Party USA (CP) cannot be beat. The latter, consistent with their decades of prostration to the Democrats, headlined: "Mission Accomplished: Labor Kicks Ass" (*People's Weekly World*, 9 November). This has the same amount of "truthiness" as that other famous "Mission Accomplished" charade, when Bush announced the end of combat in Iraq.

The ISO and Workers World Party (WWP) openly crossed the class line in the elections, not only calling for votes to but running candidates for the small-time ***capitalist*** Green Party, which functions as a way station for disgruntled liberals on their way back to the Democratic Party fold. Immediately following the elections, the ISO echoed the Democrats' own propaganda. The ISO's *Socialist Worker* (10 November) wrote, "For anyone who cares about peace or justice, the Republicans' meltdown is sweet vindication," even while they conceded that the Democrats' proposals on Iraq "are aimed at repackaging the occupation, not ending" it. The article's bottom line: "Turning back the right-wing agenda will depend on rebuilding political and social movements that can put pressure on all the politicians in Washington."

Besides its bourgeois Green Party campaign, the WWP, through its International Action Center, called for votes for black Democratic Congressional candidate Charles Barron in Brooklyn, declaring that this capitalist politician would "help put one of our own in Congress" (*Workers World*, 27 July). While claiming to oppose the Democratic Party, the WWP's erstwhile comrades in the Party for Socialism and Liberation and its ANSWER coalition offered their own plan to promote the Democrats' electoral fortunes, organizing nationwide rallies on October 28 to "force the issue of the Iraq war onto the U.S. political stage...less than two weeks before the election." ANSWER's demand to "Cut the Pentagon budget! Double the education budget!"—stale fare offered by the entire reformist left—purveys the lie that the rulers of the capitalist-imperialist system can be convinced to adopt a more "humane" foreign policy and meet the needs of the workers they brutally exploit.

The "World Can't Wait" project of the eccentric Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) held its own measly rallies in October, calling for Bush to "step down." The RCP desperately seeks to cozy up to such bourgeois political figures as Al Gore, whom its newspaper *Revolution* (29 January) said "will inevitably be part of the whole swirl and ferment that will go into driving out the Bush regime." In hoary Stalinist fashion, the RCP justifies its groveling before the Democrats by claiming that the Republicans are running a "fascist" regime. No, they're just the right-side profile of the ugly face of bourgeois democracy.

In these elections, we were able to advance one electoral tactic: extending critical support to Socialist Action's Jeff Mackler in his campaign for U.S. Senator from California. Mackler's campaign drew a crude class line, running against not only the Democrats but also the ISO's Green candidate, Todd Chretien. Despite our principled opposition to SA's reformist politics, and despite SA's ludicrous "rejection" of our call for votes to their candidate, the critical support tactic was a means to further the fight for the political independence of the proletariat (see "Critical Support to Socialist Action in Senate Election," *WV* No. 876, 15 September).

Democratic Party of War and Racism

The Democrats wasted no time following the elections to assert their commitment to serving imperialist military interests. Congressional Democrats voted against making John Murtha—a longtime hawk who turned defeatist over Iraq—Nancy Pelosi's second in the House. While some pointed to Murtha's "ethics" problems, the vote was a warning to those within the party who seek early withdrawal. Meanwhile, black Democratic Congressman Charles Rangel is again openly calling to reimpose the draft.

A *New York Times* (19 November) editorial insisted that "the Army's overall authorized strength needs to be increased some 75,000 to 100,000 troops more than Mr. Rumsfeld had in mind for the next few years." It went on: "Rebuilding the Army and Marine Corps is an overdue necessity. But it is only the first step toward repairing the damage done to America's military capacities and credibility over the past six years." It is not lost on the U.S. rulers that the Iraq fiasco doesn't exactly help the military's recruitment efforts. After Republican Senator John McCain called for ***more*** troops to be sent to Iraq, General Abizaid, head of the U.S. Central Command, responded that this might not be possible, given there just aren't many more troops.

News flash to the reformist left: ***no one*** is about to "cut the Pentagon budget"! Iraqi men, women and children will continue to be slaughtered by the U.S.-led occupying force and the intercommunal war unleashed by the occupation. The brutal U.S./NATO war in Afghanistan will continue to further devastate that country. The Democrats are at least as fervent as the Republicans in supporting Zionist Israel's murderous repression of the Palestinian people.

If anything, the Democrats are sounding more belligerent than the White House toward the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state, the largest and most powerful of the remaining societies where capitalist rule has been overthrown. Joined by the chauvinist labor tops, Democrats are calling to get

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.*
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

*NYC Notice: The New York Public Office will be closed Saturday, November 25, and will reopen Saturday, December 2.

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

TWU...

(continued from page 16)

Democracy"), Local 100 vice presidents who are running for president against Toussaint, voted against the strike! The TWU International outrageously opposed the strike and encouraged scabbing. Roberts, an International vice president, co-signed a letter on the second day of the strike urging Toussaint to end it and take the bosses' pre-strike "offer" that included massive attacks on pensions and other givebacks. Stewart has always preferred binding arbitration—the current fate of the union contract. Binding arbitration is a trap that puts the fate of the membership in the hands of a supposedly "neutral" board that is in reality stacked on management's side. *No to binding arbitration!*

Following the strike, a rotten alliance of Toussaint's opponents coalesced around opposition to the giveback contract the Local 100 tops had negotiated. Many in this bloc—ranging from Stewart and his running mates, John Mooney and Bill Pelletier, to a bevy of left-talking union "militants"—had worked together for years as supporters of the New Directions (ND) opposition that propelled the "progressive" Toussaint into office in 2000. Among the fake militants seeking office today is former ND leader Steve Downs, a candidate for chairperson in his section of the train operators division who is supported by the Solidarity group. Marty Goodman, a long-time ND activist who is supported by the reformist group Socialist Action, is running for re-election to the Local 100 Executive Board.

The ND caucus was braintrusted hy the professional union-suers of the Association for Union Democracy. As we warned during the 2000 union elections: "ND's stock in trade is using the courts and other government agencies as a club against its rivals, which serves only to further shackle the power of the union and place it under the thumb of the capitalist state" ("Sellouts, Traitors, Finks: No Choice in TWU Local 100 Elections," *WV* No. 746, 17 November 2000). It was in this tradition that Stewart, Pelletier and Mooney (a supporter of Mayor Mike Bloomberg), along with Roberts, launched a $3.3 million lawsuit against Toussaint in early 2005. The lawsuit was only recently dropped as a ploy to boost their electoral ambitions. The head of the "Fresh Start" slate, Mike Carrube, also was trained in the ND school of dragging the union into the bosses' courts.

The more "militant"-talking candidates are no better when it comes to the courts and capitalist politicians. Downs has openly supported suing the union. Goodman may claim to oppose anti-union lawsuits, but he bemoans the demise of the ND caucus that was a vehicle for this treachery. In Solidarity's *Against the Current* (September/October 2006), Downs mentions the attacks by "Mayor Bloomberg, Governor Pataki, and corporate-owned media" during the strike but disappears the role of Spitzer and his fellow Democrats in trying to break it. Goodman, in a leaflet posted on Indymedia, criticized Spitzer as a "union buster" and "fake progressive" but proceeded to praise another capitalist politician, the Green Party candidate for state Attorney General who claimed she would "never sign an injunction" against the union.

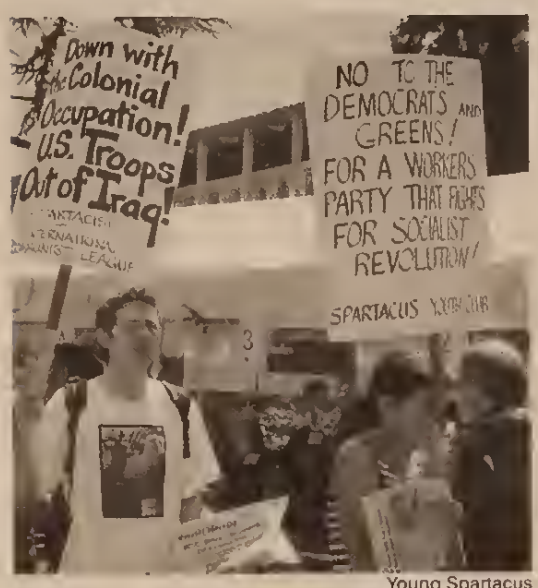
TWU Local 100

September 4: Local 100 president Roger Toussaint (right) with his jailer, Eliot Spitzer, who was backed by TWU in campaign for governor.

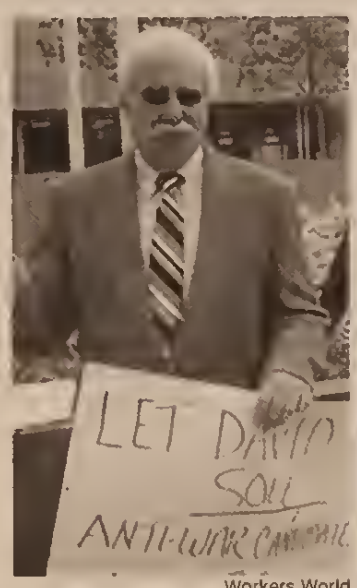
Claiming to offer a militant alternative to this bunch is Eric Josephson, a candidate for Chairman and Executive Board in the Track Division who is backed by the League for the Revolutionary Party and distributes *Revolutionary Transit Worker* (*RTW*). Josephson writes in *RTW* (5 November) that the old ND crowd's "strategy of building a reform group in the union on an a-political program of vague militancy and unprincipled lawsuits against the union is what allowed Toussaint to use them as a vehicle to power." This is rather rich coming from Josephson, who gave Toussaint "critical" support in 2000 and earlier this year tried to bring every union-suing bureaucrat together in the "vote no" movement against Toussaint. Josephson makes a mockery of the principle of class independence by lashing up with those who bring the capitalist state into the union. *No to anti-union lawsuits! Labor must clean its own house!*

Since the various oppositions are at bottom no different from Toussaint's "One Union" lash-up, they're reduced to griping about his bureaucratic methods. The Local 100 tops are certainly heavy-handed. But the lack of democracy within the union flows primarily from the political program of its misleaders. The purpose of union democracy is to hammer out a program and course of action to fight for the workers' interests and select a leadership based on such a program. Real union democracy necessitates complete independence from the bosses, their political parties and their state.

For the racist ruling class, the strike by this predominantly black and immigrant workforce had all the trappings of a slave revolt. The power the union showed then is what is needed to fight racist and anti-immigrant attacks on and off the job. A militant TWU leadership would tackle head-on the draconian discipline known as "plantation justice" meted out by the transit bosses. As a concrete measure in fighting racist injustice, some TWU militants are working to mobilize the union behind the cause of freedom for black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal (see article, page 5). It is through such struggles that a new labor leadership will be forged, one committed to building a workers party that leads all the exploited and oppressed in the fight for a workers government.■



Young Spartacus



Workers World

Josh On

Left: SYC at April 2005 Berkeley anti-ROTC protest fights for working-class independence. WWP's David Sole in Michigan (right) and ISO's Todd Chretien in California (far right, center) ran "antiwar" campaigns for U.S. Senate on ticket of capitalist Green Party.

tough with China over its trade policies. Against this anti-Communist China-bashing, we fight to win workers to the understanding that new gains can never be won if those already made are not defended. For the unconditional military defense of the Chinese, Cuban, North Korean and Vietnamese deformed workers states against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution!

One key to the Democrats' victory was that they ran anti-abortion bigots and other "social conservatives" to win some of the Republicans' Christian evangelical base. This led conservative pundit William Safire to write in the *New York Times* (9 November): "The rightward cast of many Democrats in the freshman class is hardly bad news for conservatism. And the heartening victory of Joe Lieberman over the angry far left in liberal Connecticut augurs a renewal of a brief period of bipartisanship at the water's edge." Safire denigrated such "Old Bulls" as Charles Rangel, John Dingell. Barney Frank and others he fears will "crowd the airwaves with hearings grilling contractors and torturing accused torturers." Not to worry, according to *Business Week* (13 November): "Business may find some unlikely allies in Democrats such as Charles B. Rangel of New York, Barney Frank of Massachusetts and John D. Dingell of Michigan."

The same elections that gave Congress back to the Democrats saw a number of socially reactionary measures go forward. In Michigan, a measure abolishing the remnants of affirmative action passed. Among many anti-immigrant ballot initiatives, a measure in Arizona making English the official language won by a three-to-one margin. We say: No to English-only racism! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! While a South Dakota proposal to ban all abortions failed, bans on same-sex marriage passed there as well as in Wisconsin and five other states. In California, a proposition mandating lifelong monitoring for "sex offenders" passed, although it is now being challenged in the courts. The Spartacist League opposed this reactionary legislation, which is more than can be said for Socialist Action's Jeff Mackler (see "Vote No on 'Sex Dragnet' Prop 83!" *WV* No. 880, 10 November).

Meanwhile, largely black Washington, D.C., *still* doesn't have voting representation in Congress, so those people were disenfranchised, as were those subjected to the usual voter fraud and states' attempts to disenfranchise blacks and the poor with new registration rules. (Not a biggie for the Democrats this year, since they won.) We say: Full citizenship rights for the D.C. population!

Class Against Class!

A break in what has largely been a one-sided class war by the capitalists against the workers and others was seen last December, when for three days the New York City transit workers strike crippled the finance capital of the U.S. The strike by the largely black, multiethnic union, in defiance of the state's Taylor Law ban on strikes by public workers, was overwhelmingly popular among the working people of the city and in the ghettos and barrios. But the pro-Democratic Party bureaucratic misleaders of the city unions refused to support the transit workers. Democrat Eliot Spitzer, then New York State attorney general, slammed the transit union with injunctions and massive fines and jailed Transport Workers Union Local 100 president Roger Toussaint for four days. Democratic Senator Hillary Clinton supported the Taylor Law as well. Nonetheless, the Toussaint bureaucracy pulled out all the stops to mobilize the membership behind Spitzer's election as governor (see article, page 16).

It is the task of revolutionary Marxists to bring to the working class the political program that will transform it from a class in itself to a class *for* itself. A special *WV* supplement titled "NYC Transit Strike: Union Power vs. Class Collaboration" (see *WV* No. 861, 6 January) raised the call to break with the Democrats and stated:

> "Workers must rely only on their own class power. That means forging a multiracial workers party—not a party of electoral reformism but one like the Bolshevik Party of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky that led the workers of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917. Such a party, based on declassed revolutionary intellectuals and class-conscious workers in the unions and among unorganized workers, would lead the workers in struggle. It would promote international proletarian solidarity and seek to mobilize workers against U.S. imperialism's predatory wars—U.S. out of Iraq and Afghanistan! It would lead the fight for black liberation through socialist revolution. It would fight to mobilize labor in defense of the rights of women and gays. It would demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants and fight to unionize immigrant workers. *Forward to a workers government!*"■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
international rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail

❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

❑ I would like to contribute $ _____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

881

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

WORKERS VANGUARD

For Free, Quality Education for All!

Down With Racist Purge at UCLA!

We print below a leaflet issued by the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club on November 14. It was distributed at a pro-affirmative action "Day of Reckoning" protest of about 300 minority and anti-racist students at UCLA, many wearing T-shirts reading "Got black students?" The protest, organized by black and minority student groups in the UCLA Admissions

Young Spartacus

SYC contingent at UCLA "Day of Reckoning" march for affirmative action on November 15.

Young Spartacus

Coalition, called on the University of California (UC) Board of Regents not to comply with anti-affirmative action Proposition 209, and for the Regents to support a campaign to repeal it.

The SYC intervened into this and other protests in solidarity with students' outrage over the racist purge of black and minority youth from the universities. In doing so, the SYC has sought to challenge the liberal illusions fostered by the Admissions Coalition organizers that the Regents are their allies in this struggle. Instead, we pointed to the need for anti-racist students to ally with the power of the multiracial proletariat in a class-struggle fight against the racist, capitalist system for free, quality, integrated education for all. Importantly, campus workers unions endorsed the protest and sent a contingent to attend in solidarity. These included American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 3299, the Coalition of University Employees and the University Professional and Technical Employees Local 2.

Despite attempts by some rally organizers to censor us, we distributed our propaganda, participated in the march and spoke from the platform at the rally. Some students took up SYC-initiated chants during the march such as "Open admissions, free tuition!" and "Racist purge, we say no! Board of Regents gotta go!" The SYC speaker received applause after emphasizing that the Regents are the racist overseers of the UC and that they represent the same capitalist class that is waging the bloody occupation of Iraq and that left blacks to die in New Orleans. He concluded by raising the need to break with the capitalist Democratic Party and build a revolutionary workers party to fight for socialism.

* * *

The racist overturn of affirmative action has led to the admission of only 96 black freshmen out of a class of 5,000 at UCLA this year, the lowest number in over 30 years, while admission of Latinos and Native Americans has also declined. This represents nothing less than a conscious racist purge to exclude blacks and other minorities from getting a higher education. This racist backlash has occurred nationwide, including the Supreme Court ruling in 2003 striking down the University of Michigan point system for minority applicants and now the successful proposition in Michigan banning affirmative action.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club have defended affirmative action programs for university admissions against ruling-class assault because they have meant gains, however limited, against the inherent race and class bias in higher education under capitalism. But even at its peak in the '70s, affirmative action only barely addressed racial inequality. While supportable as minimal reforms, affirmative action programs were set up in response to the civil rights movement and ghetto explosions of the '60s in order to *defuse* social struggle and co-opt a small layer of black middle-class professionals. They never made a dent in the oppression of the black ghetto masses, whose conditions have continued to deteriorate over the past few decades.

Today, ten years after Prop. 209, the situation is so desperate that student activists and anti-racist liberals aren't even fighting for affirmative action, but for some watered-down version where a student's "life challenges" are given consideration in the admissions process, known as the "holistic" method. UC Berkeley, which uses a "holistic" method, has only admitted 44 more black students than UCLA! The SYC holds that education is a ***right*** not a privilege. We fight

continued on page 8

For a Class-Struggle Union Leadership!

TWU Local 100 Elections: No Choice for Members

NEW YORK CITY—The 34,000 members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 have begun to receive ballnts for elections for union president and executive board. The issues in the election center on the three-day strike last Decemher that shut down bus and subway service in defiance of the state's slave-labor Taylor Law. Thousands of transit workers are furious at Local 100 president Roger Toussaint for demobilizing an effective strike and leaving them without a contract. A host of candidates, most of them one-time Toussaint supporters, want to tap into this anger to advance their own careers in the union hierarchy while hiding their own treacherous record. But this rogues' gallery nf phony oppositionists has nothing to offer workers that is fundamentally different from the incumbent leadership. None of them fights to break the union's ties to the capitalist political parties and state agencies. Local 100 members have ***no choice*** in these elections.

The December strike crippled the center of U.S. finance capital and gave workers a shot at winning real gains from the transit bosses. It resonated with New York's working people, and with ghetto and barrio poor across the country who saw a chance to deal a blow to the same capitalist ruling class that fleeces the workers and rides roughshod around the world. But Toussaint, threatened with reprisals by Republican governor George Pataki, called the strike off as his phony Democratic Party "friends" joined in to smash it. NYC's labor officialdom pressured the union to go back out of fear of damaging their cozy relationship with the bourgeois politicians.

In the build-up to the Congressional elections, the TWU tops stumped for Democratic Party strikehreakers, from Hillary Clinton to Eliot Spitzer, who as state Attorney General slammed Local 100 with anti-strike injunctions resulting in massive lines for the union and its members and jail time for Toussaint (see "Toussaint Backs His Jailer," *WV* No. 878, 13 October). *None* of the slates fielding candidates for Local 100's top union posts opposes this support for Spitzer and other capitalist politicians.

What the labor movement needs is a leadership that sets the unions on the path of class struggle against the capitalist exploiters. And that means fighting for the complete independence of the unions from the political parties and courts of the class enemy. This perspective is utterly counterposed to what's on offer from the Local 100 candidates, all of whom have a history of undermining the very purpose of the union, which is to defend workers against the bosses.

Both Barry Roberts ("Rail and Bus United") and Ainsley Stewart ("Union

continued on page 15

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 882 | GCU C-701 | 8 December 2006

Imperialist Occupation: Hell for Iraq

AP

AFP

U.S. Out Now!

Left: U.S. troops brutalize residents of Falluja, November 2004. Right: Shopkeepers dig through rubble after coordinated car bombings killed over 200 in Baghdad's mainly Shi'ite Sadr City district, November 23.

Barely a week before President Bush's meeting in Jordan with Iraq's prime minister, Nuri al-Maliki, the streets of Baghdad ran with the blood of 215 Shi'ites slaughtered in one day, presumably by Sunni militia forces. In the aftermath of the bloodbath, Moktada al-Sadr, who leads the dominant Shi'ite military forces of the Mahdi army, threatened to withdraw the significant political backing he provides for the regime if the meeting took place. Then, on the very eve of the get-together, supposedly called to find a way to end the escalating sectarian violence in Iraq, al-Maliki was characterized as either ignorant, lying or incompetent in a November 8 memo by Bush's national security adviser, Stephen Hadley, that was supposedly "leaked" to the *New York Times*.

Understandably, al-Maliki was less than eager to rendezvous with Bush and was a no-show for the first meeting on November 29. After being herded into a breakfast tea with Bush the next day, the beleaguered prime minister was slathered with compliments by the American president, who lauded him as a "strong leader" and the "right guy" for the job. This recalls similar accolades accorded to "Brownie" in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. Thirty members of the Iraqi parliament and six cabinet members loyal to Moktada al-Sadr have suspended support to the government.

Evidently driven to delirium by his efforts to assuage the competing pressures he faces, al-Maliki announced in a TV interview following his appearance with Bush that Iraqi security forces would be able to take control from U.S. troops by

continued on page 10

50 Rounds: NYPD Killers

For Labor Protest Against Racist Cop Terror!

DECEMBER 2—The Jamaica, Queens neighborhood where 23-year-old Sean Bell died in a fusillade of police bullets in the early morning of November 25 is seething. On December 1, 600 mourners attended his funeral in the church where he was to be married one week earlier. Hundreds more massed outside, some carrying signs reading "Justice for Sean Bell." The next day, comrades of the Spartacist League and Labor Black League joined some 200 angry protesters who gathered near the site where he was killed and where his two friends were gravely injured. Protesters chanting "50 shots from the New York cops!" marched to the 103rd precinct as the crowd, having swelled to close to 500 people, was confronted by a phalanx of cops. There, after a speaker announced that Bell's friend Joseph Guzman had been hit by 19 bullets—not the eleven that had first been reported—the crowd marched to the hospital where Guzman and Trent Benefield still lie.

Meanwhile, the NYPD continues its frenzied attempt to intimidate witnesses and blame the killing on the victims. In the guise of hunting for an illusory fourth man with a gun, the cops have smashed into homes in Queens and the Bronx, arresting several young black people. One of the arrested men told the New York *Daily News* (2 December) that the cops busted his nose and were "screaming, 'Where's the f-----g gun!'"

We print below an edited leaflet issued by the New York Spartacist League on November 30, which has been distributed at protests this week.

* * *

Sean Bell, a 23-year-old black man, was gunned down in a storm of 50 bullets by plainclothes vice squad cops on his wedding day as he left his bachelor party in the early morning hours of November 25. Bell's fiancée Nicole Paultre, who is attending his funeral instead of their wedding, told the truth: "They barricaded him in and they executed him." Sean Bell's companions—Joseph Guzman, shot at least 11 times, and Trent Benefield, shot three times—were seriously wounded and then handcuffed to their hospital beds.

After the killing came the mudslide of lies, the first being that the men had a gun. While the killer cops were put on paid vacation, the police department unleashed every gun-sniffing dog and investigator with a metal detector to find something to justify this heinous crime. But there was nothing but the innocent victims' blood to be found. Now a theory of "contagious shooting" has been concocted by the *New York Times* and other

continued on page 11

Family photo

Sean Bell, killed by NYPD on wedding day, with fiancée Nicole Paultre and one of their daughters.

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Journalist Josh Wolf!

Video journalist Josh Wolf has been held in prison since September 22, charged with contempt of court for refusing to turn over to the state the unedited version of videotape footage he took of an anti-G8 summit protest on 8 July 2005 called by Anarchist Action in San Francisco. He was first detained in August of this year and released on bail on September 1 before heing imprisoned again. Now Wolf is on his way to becoming the longest incarcerated journalist on charges of civil contempt in American history. In order to circumvent California law, which says that a reporter cannot be "adjudged in contempt...for refusing to disclose any unpublished information," Wolf's case has been declared to be under federal jurisdiction. The pretext for this is that the San Francisco Police Department, whose vehicle was allegedly damaged during the protest, receives federal funding!

Wolf justly fears that if he hands over his footage he will become part of a McCarthyite witchhunt in which he will have to identify leftist and anarchist protesters on the tape. Wolf stated: "I don't want to be an investigator for the state, I'm a journalist, not an FBI agent." Under the "war on terror," in which the government brazenly declares to the populace that every phone may be tapped and all Internet traffic searched, the state wants you to know that its eyes are everywhere. An edited version of the video is available on his Web site, www.joshwolf.net.

On November 21 the Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle, nonsectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League—sent a letter to Attorney General Alberto Gonzales protesting Wolf's detention demanding that the charges be dropped and that Wolf be immediately released. As the letter states, Wolf's jailing

> "is an attack on the First Amendment right to free speech and freedom of the press. The state claims that the unpublished tape might be useful in prosecuting protesters who allegedly tried to burn a cop car. Yet the *police* report has no mention of burns, and only describes damage to the car's tail light. This is a pretext used to chill dissent and send a message to those who might seek to film police atrocities in action. Clearly, the police, FBI and Joint Terrorism Task Force are pushing to gather hroad intelligence on those who protest government policies and on those who consider themselves anarchists....
>
> "As Bay Area ABC7 News stated, this is 'a battle of principle over a reporter's ability to bring you the news.' If a reporter's unpublished footage can be subpoenaed any time so the cops can scan it for faces of those accused of a crime, then every video journalist will he considered a surveillance camera. As Wolf himself declared: 'That's not a world I want to live in'."

Donations to the Josh Wolf Legal Defense Fund can be made from his Web site or to his mother: Liz Wolf Spada, P.O. Box 2235, Wrightwood, CA 92397.■

Indymedia

Josh Wolf at press conference outside federal court in San Francisco, September 1.

Letter

Clarification on "Age of Consent"

21 November 2006

To the editor:

It's important that *Workers Vanguard* has come out in defense of Mark Foley, the Republican bigot run out of Congress for sending naughty notes to teenage male pages. His persecution is bad news. This is the case particularly for youth, and especially for gay youth, who already face anti-sex persecution and harassment. The witchhunting of Foley only puts more weapons in the hands of the bigots.

In that light, *Workers Vanguard* uses an inappropriate term when it refers to "intergenerational" sex (*WV* No. 878, "U.S. Torture Elections" and *WV* No. 880, "Vote No on 'Sex Dragnet' Prop 83!"). "Age of consent" laws make it a crime for a 19-year-old to have sex with a 15-year-old in all states except Hawaii and South Carolina, where the age of consent is 14 and 15, respectively (it is 16, 17 or 18 everywhere else). This is hardly "intergenerational." Preaching abstinence and chastity for teens, the sex witchhunters aim to trample on the lives of youth and smear all "age of consent" violations as acts of "sex predators." If it goes into effect, California's Proposition 83, recently approved by 70 percent of the voters, will ramp up yet more the arsenal of harsh laws against those the state deems "deviant." At this time, a federal court has blocked enforcement of the law as possibly unconstitutional because it may apply retroactively to "sex offenders" convicted years ago.

After spearheading the drive for the Child Protection and Safety Act of 2006, ex-Congressman Foley is now caught in his own web: the state of Florida and the FBI have opened criminal investigations into his "sexually explicit Internet messages." As *WV* No. 878 correctly stated, "We defend Foley as we would any victim of sex witchhunts."

The Spartacist League opposes all laws criminalizing by definition a "type" of sex, be it pedophilia, homosexuality, incest or adultery. The only guideline that should exist is that of effective consent—the mutual consent of the parties involved at the time. What goes on in people's sex lives is manifestly not the business of the state.

Comradely,
Amy Rath

TROTSKY

On the Historical Materialist View of Society

LENIN

The works of Georgi Plekhanov, founder of Russian Marxism, were crucial in educating Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin and others of his generation. In polemicizing against both philosophical idealism and revisionist conceptions of Marxism, Plekhanov expounded the materialist view of class society, which is the core of the Marxist worldview.

Man makes history in striving to satisfy his needs. These needs, of course, are originally imposed by nature; but they are later considerably modified quantitatively and qualitatively by the character of the artificial environment. The productive forces at man's disposal determine all his social relations. First of all, the state of the productive forces determines the relations in which men stand towards each other in the social process of production, that is, their ***economic relatians***. These relations naturally give rise to definite interests, which are expressed in ***law***.... The development of productive forces divides society into classes, whose interests are not only different, but in many—and, moreover, essential—aspects are diametrically antagonistic. This antagonism of interests gives rise to conflicts, to a struggle among the social classes. The struggle results in the replacement of the *tribal* organization by the *state* organization, the purpose of which is to protect the dominant interests. Lastly, social relations, determined by the given state of productive forces, give rise to common *morality*, the morality, that is, that guides people in their common, everyday life.

Thus the law, the state system and the morality of any given people are determined *directly* and *immediately* by its characteristic economic relations. These economic relations also determine—but *indirectly* and *mediately*—all the creations of the mind and imagination: art, science, etc.

—Georgi Plekhanov, *The Materialist Conception of History* (1897)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Bonnie Brodie

EDITOR: Ray Bishop

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Rosemary Palenque

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Barry James

EDITORIAL BOARD: Helene Brosius (managing editor), Kathleen Harris (letters editor), Linda Jarreau (production manager), Bruce André, Jon Brule, Helen Cantor, Ed Clarkson, Paul Cone, Michael Davisson, George Foster, Walter Jennings, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alan Wilde

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and skipping the last issue in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 318, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. E-mail address: vanguard@tlac.net. Domestic subscriptions: $10.00/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is December 5.

No. 882 · **8 December 2006**

21st Annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Sponsored by the **Partisan Defense Committee**

More information:
(212) 406-4252
partisandefense@earthlink.net
www.partisandefense.org

Photo credit: Jennifer Beach

Bay Area
Sunday, December 10
1 to 4 p.m.
YWCA, Tea Room
1515 Webster Street, Oakland
For more information:
(510) 839-0852

Chicago
Sunday, December 10
3 to 7 p.m.
UE Hall
37 S. Ashland (at Monroe)
For more information:
(312) 563-0442

Toronto
Friday, December 15
7 to 10 p.m.
Steelworkers Hall
25 Cecil Street
For more information:
(416) 593-4138

New York
Sunday, December 17
5 to 10 p.m.
Southpaw, 125 Fifth Ave.
(at Sterling Pl.), Brooklyn, NY
For more information:
(212) 406-4252

Ruling Threatens Nurses, All Labor

Fight NLRB Union Busting!

Nurses unions and the entire labor movement are faced with a fight against a union-busting ruling by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) on October 3. The landmark 3-2 decision opened the door for employers to reclassify millions of workers as supervisors, which would bar them from union membership under federal labor law. It enables management in any industry to claim that workers are supervisors if they have the authority to assign or direct another worker and use "independent judgment" on the job, such as charge nurses (who run hospital shifts) or lead workers in the skilled trades. Already in the past few years, the NLRB had barred union representation for graduate students at private universities, temporary workers and newspaper carriers, among others.

The NLRB ruling takes direct aim at nurses unions. The day after the decision was announced, the head of the Massachusetts Nurses Association (MNA) announced at a panel discussion with the NLRB chairman that its members were prepared to strike in defense of the union. On November 13, the most overwhelming strike authorization vote in the MNA's history took place at Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston. A week later, hospital officials agreed to a new contract with provisions protecting the union status of MNA members. Meanwhile, more than 30,000 members of the California Nurses Association/National Nurses Organizing Committee have signed pledges to strike if their employers attempt to use the ruling against them.

Houston/Newark Star-Ledger

Nurses walk picket line during strike in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in August.

Even before the ruling, a nearly month-long strike by 1,300 nurses at Robert Wood Johnson University Hospital in New Brunswick, New Jersey, this past summer won an agreement from management not to contest any current nurse's union membership, whatever the NLRB decided. The nurses also won improvements in their health care as a result of the strike, one of a number of recent nurses strikes across the country.

The very existence of unions came about through bitter class struggle, often in defiance of anti-labor laws. Today there is an evident appetite for labor action to defend the nurses unions. But instead, the main response of the top labor officials to the NLRB ruling was to use it to mobilize union members behind the Democrats' midterm election campaigns, exemplifying the union bureaucracy's reliance on phony "pro-labor" capitalist politicians. Fresh off the Democrats' success, these labor lieutenants of capital are now intent on helping install a Democrat in the White House in 2008, hoping a more "labor friendly" NLRB will be appointed. The labor misleaders preach that the NLRB, given the right composition, would protect workers and discipline companies for interfering in organizing drives. The fact is that under the guise of "neutrality," the labor boards are agencies of the capitalist government and are invariably stacked on the side of the bosses, despite their occasional slaps on the wrist administered to management.

The NLRB decision was prepared by a 2001 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that rejected the board's earlier, more restrictive definition of workers exercising "independent judgment." The latest ruling —resolving one of three cases collectively known as the "Kentucky River" cases—was a direct blow against the United Auto Workers, which had been attempting to organize nurses at Oakwood Heritage Hospital in Taylor, Michigan. Health care bosses nationally had eagerly anticipated this ruling. At least 120 other cases in which the employer was contesting certification election results were deferred until after the "Kentucky River" decisions. Earlier this year, Virginia Mason Medical Center in Seattle announced it would dispute the union membership of all 600 of its registered nurses. A further effect of categorizing many registered nurses as supervisors is to aid hospital bosses in driving a wedge between the better-paid and highly skilled RNs and vocational nurses, nurses' aides and other hospital workers.

The health care industry is easily the fastest growing sector of the U.S.

continued on page 12

Defend APPO! All Military Forces Out of Oaxaca!

Protest Bloody Crackdown in Mexico!

On Saturday, November 25, Federal Preventive Police (PFP), which have occupied Oaxaca since October 27, and local cops brutally cracked down on protesters in the city. Four days later, police removed the final barricades that had been set up by the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (APPO). APPO had been occupying much of Oaxaca City in southern Mexico for some six months after the Oaxacan governor, Ulises Ruiz Ortiz of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), sent police to attack striking teachers in June. The government continues to round up activists and has already jailed some 220. Most have been moved by helicopter to the Pacific state of Nayarit, some 24 hours away from Oaxaca by car. Police have sexually abused activists. Dozens of people have been "disappeared" or killed. In Mexico City on December 4, federal police arrested four leaders of APPO—the brothers Flavio and Horacio Sosa Villavicencio, Ignacio García Maldonado and Marcelino Coache Verano. Free all the arrested!

On December 1 in Mexico City, some 200,000 people protested the inauguration of Felipe Calderón of the right-wing National Action Party (PAN), while inside the Congress, members of the bourgeois-populist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) jeered Calderón as he sneaked in through the back door to take the oath of office. Mexico has been gripped by multi-sided social turmoil, from the peasant protests in the village of Atenco, outside Mexico City, and the Sicartsa steel workers strikes in Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán, to the mass protests against the outcome of the July presidential elections. Calderón has promised more repression, threatening those who "challenge the authority of the state." His newly appointed secretary of the interior (who controls the secret police and other repressive forces), Francisco Ramírez Acuña, was infamous as governor of the state of Jalisco for the brutal treatment he meted out to "anti-globalization" protesters outside an international summit in Guadalajara in 2004.

AFP

November 25: Federal police attack APPO protest in Oaxaca City's Santo Domingo Square.

We print below a translation of a November 26 leaflet issued by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, the day after the government's attack in Oaxaca.

* * *

Yesterday, once again the brutal capitalist rulers unleashed massive repression against the APPO (Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca). At the end of the peaceful mass demonstration in Oaxaca City—which demanded the resignation of the Oaxacan governor-executioner Ulises Ruiz Ortiz, freedom for jailed activists and the withdrawal of the Federal Preventive Police—the marchers planned to peacefully "surround" the PFP agents in [Oaxaca's] downtown historical district for 48 hours. The PFP was already waiting for the marchers: plainclothes agents opened fire against the marchers, while the police launched tear gas bombs against them. *La Jornada* (26 November) reports that at least three people were killed by gunfire, although the figure is still not confirmed, and more than 140 were injured—at least 20 of them by gunshot—and 100 arrested. On Friday night, two members of the APPO had been kidnapped, César Mateos Benítez and Luis Sosa Campos. Ulises Ruiz now threatens massive arrests against those who defended themselves from the police attack yesterday, without "distinguishing between the acts of vandalism and those who participate in some way at the negotiating tables." Since last May, when the teachers strike began, there have been 300 people arrested—57 of whom remain in prison—63 people disappeared and 17 dead.

This sinister attack must not pass with impunity! The Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, stands in solidarity with the struggle of the Oaxacan masses and calls for the entire workers movement to protest against this new and brutal attack. As we wrote in an October 29 leaflet, "***The teachers and the APPO must not stand alone against the murderous repression of the capitalist state.*** The attack against teachers is an attack aimed at the entire workers movement, and it is in the interests of the workers movement to defend the teachers in Oaxaca. ***The industrial working class must flex its***

continued an page 12

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips an issue in December. Our next issue will be dated January 5.**

WV Photo

PDC Rallies: Mobilize Labor! Free Mumia!

October 21 rally for Mumia in Oakland, California.

The Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black Leagues sponsored rallies in Chicago, Los Angeles, Oakland and New York City in October in an ongoing effort to revitalize the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Beginning in Chicago on October 13, the rallies drew student and political activists, fighters for black rights and militant trade unionists around the slogans: "Free Mumia Now! Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man! Mumia Abu-Jamal's Life Is in Danger—Mobilize Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

The racist capitalist rulers of this society have long wanted to see Mumia dead because they see in him the spectre of black revolution. A former Black Panther spokesman, later a MOVE supporter and award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," Mumia was framed up on false charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981. The U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia is expected within months to determine what lies next for Mumia: reimposition of his death sentence, entombment in prison for life, or further legal appeals. This underscores the urgency of the mobilizing efforts of the PDC, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, and the LBLs, which are fraternally allied with the SL.

The events were capped by an October 28 rally in Harlem that drew more than 250 people and featured an important debate on what way forward in this struggle (see "For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!" *WV* No. 880, 10 November). The PDC's Erica Williamson, who chaired the rallies, stressed, "If Mumia is to be freed, it will take the mobilization of the masses, centrally labor, to champion his cause in outrage and on the basis that this was a case of a political frame-up through and through." This class-struggle perspective is counterposed to the efforts of liberals and reformist "socialists" who based their protests on calls for a new trial for Mumia, appealing for "justice" from the same capitalist courts that railroaded Mumia to death row and have reconfirmed his frame-up conviction at every step. As Don Cane put it in his speech for the Labor Black League at the October 19 Los Angeles rally:

> "The mobilization of the masses of workers here and internationally is what is needed to stay the hand of the executioner and unlock the prison cell. In 1995 the first death warrant was issued for Mumia's execution. It was the mobilization worldwide of millions, centrally workers along with death penalty abolitionists and civil libertarians, that stayed the executioner's hand. Today we need the same type, if not more massive mobilizations, not just to save Mumia's life, but to free Mumia. We are building these rallies today as a crucial step toward labor-centered, mass united-front mobilizations that can bring that pressure to bear."

Key to revitalizing the fight for Mumia's freedom is understanding that support for his cause has been demobilized over the years by those who preached reliance on the courts and capitalist politicians. At the October 21 Oakland rally, a Spartacist League comrade explained that behind the call for a new trial for Mumia and the call to free him stood "two different strategies, one based on sowing illusions in the very courts that railroaded an innocent man to death and the other based on mobilizing the only social power that can stand up in defiance of that system, the social power of the multiracial working class."

Addressing both West Coast rallies was the PDC's Valerie West, who for years had worked alongside Stuart Hanlon and others in defense of framed-up former Black Panther Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). In Oakland, Hanlon refuted those who appeal for a new trial for Mumia and not his immediate freedom. He began by conveying Geronimo's appreciation for the PDC's efforts on his behalf prior to his finally being released in 1997 after 27 years in prison. Hanlon said that Geronimo's message to the rally was: "Free Mumia," not "Get a new trial" and "Trust the courts." Hanlon emphasized that "we never said, 'a new trial for Geronimo.'... He didn't get a fair trial the first time; he wasn't going to get one the second time." He continued: "Do you ask for a new trial or do you ask for freedom? That's the stupid debate that lawyers engage in. The reality is, you ask to free Mumia now."

A number of Black Panther veterans attended the rallies. Students from area campuses, and some who came from long distances, made plans to hold events back at their campuses featuring the PDC video, "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal." The rallies collected over $2,300 for Mumia's legal defense.

Mumia sent taped greetings to the rallies, and a statement was read from Mumia's son, Jamal Hart, who is himself imprisoned as a result of a police vendetta stemming from his efforts on his father's behalf. Addressing the audience in Oakland, Lydia Barashango, Mumia's sister, remarked, "I believe if it were not for you, Mumia would be dead. The courts, the lawyers, they do their work and they do a monumental job of trying to work with the tools that they have to work within the system. But we know the system doesn't always work, it's not always fair.... The fight is in the street."

The rallies stressed the importance of mobilizing on the basis of the overwhelming evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot Faulkner. As the PDC's Jon Piper put it in his speech in Chicago (see "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an

continued on page 12

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

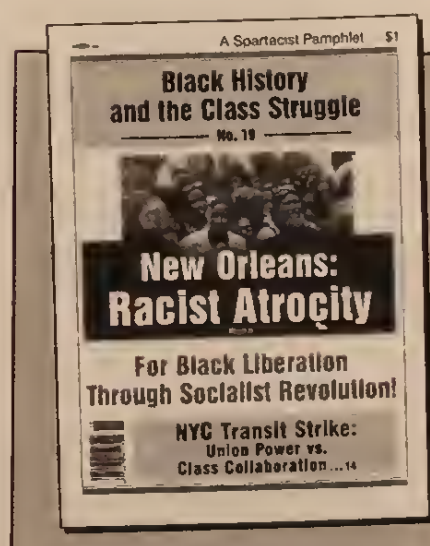
Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

Partisan Defense Committee

e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net • Web site: www.partisandefense.org
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680 • (312) 563-0442
P.O. Box 29574, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029 • (213) 380-8897
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107 • (510) 839-0852



No. 19 $1 (48 pages)
Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now!

The following leaflet was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on November 27.

On December 9, 2006, Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man, will have spent 25 years in prison and on Pennsylvania's death row. Shot and arrested on December 9, 1981, Mumia Abu-Jamal—a talented journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," a former Black Panther, a supporter of the MOVE organization and an outspoken opponent of racist oppression—was framed and falsely convicted for the murder of Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. The next few months will be crucial in the fight to win his freedom. Mumia's battle has reached a critical juncture. Last December, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Pennsylvania put Mumia's case on a "fast track" for decision. This October Mumia submitted the final papers in his appeal against this racist frame-up and sentence of death. [More papers by the defense have since been filed.] A ruling by this court could come early next year after the courts have heard oral arguments from Mumia's attorneys and the prosecution. Any decision by the court will likely be appealed to the reactionary, racist U.S. Supreme Court, which is the end of the legal line.

Mumia is the victim of the forces of racist, capitalist "law and order," who see in him a voice of defiant opposition to the oppression of black people that is a cornerstone of American capitalism. Their determination to carry out his execution is a warning to all who challenge cop repression, to workers who stand up for their rights on picket lines, to those who protest U.S. imperialist depredations in Iraq and elsewhere around the world.

Millions in the unions, on the streets and campuses must be mobilized now behind Mumia's fight! The kind of pressure that will have an impact on the courts is the social power of the multiracial labor movement demanding that this innocent man be freed now. It is with this understanding that we are mobilizing a Partisan Defense Committee contingent at the "Mumia Must Be Free!" rally called by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal on December 9 in Philadelphia. Join the PDC's contingent under the slogans: "For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now! There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

Join the PDC Contingent
Philadelphia
December 9th!

WV Photo

Spartacist/PDC contingent at Harlem demonstration for Mumia, April 2005.

"Mumia Must Be Free" Rally
11:30 a.m. Saturday
Assemble outside Philadelphia City Hall
(Located at Broad and Market Streets)
For more information and transportation from NYC call: (212) 406-4252

Mumia's case lays bare the workings of the capitalist state. His frame-up conviction was not the act of one "rogue" cop or prosecutor or judge, but that of an entire system that cannot be reformed. Mumia's innocence has been attested to by mountains of evidence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, killed Faulkner. Arnold Beverly stated that he was hired to kill Faulkner, whose interference with prostitution, gambling and payoffs made him a problem for the mob and corrupt cops. More than five years ago, Mumia's attorney submitted this confession to the courts, but to the racists in black robes, a court of law is no place for evidence of the innocence of this fighter for the oppressed. Today, Philadelphia officials are suing the city of Paris and its Saint-Denis suburb for naming a street after Mumia and making him an honorary citizen, once again revealing the depth of hatred the bourgeois state has for Mumia.

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal symbolizes what the racist death penalty in the U.S. is all about: a legacy of chattel slavery, the lynch rope made legal. We oppose the death penalty on principle—we do not accord the state the right to say who lives and who dies. With the execution in December 2005 of Stanley Tookie Williams, over substantial popular opposition, the ruling class sent a signal that they are deadly serious that Mumia will soon be another victim of the barbaric death penalty.

In the international fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti, James P. Cannon of the International Labor Defense pointed out, as the rulers geared up in 1927 for the legal lynching of the two anarchist workers: "It is, of course, absolutely right to exhaust every legal possibility and technicality in the fight, provided—that the workers have no illusions." He emphasized: "We must appeal at the same time to the laboring masses of America and the whole world who are the highest court of all." Like the International Labor Defense, the Partisan Defense Committee advocates pursuing all possible legal proceedings, while placing no faith whatsoever in the justice of the courts.

In August of 1995, Mumia won a stay of execution based on worldwide protests, crucially involving the labor movement. From 1995 through 1999, new evidence was revealed in his case that furthered in blowing the state's frame-up to bits. All of this evidence that pointed to another man being responsible for the death of officer Faulkner, including the testimony of William Singletary and Veronica Jones, was rejected by the courts. Around this same time a number of reformist socialist organizations and their front groups, such as Workers World Party, Socialist Action, the International Socialist Organization and the Revolutionary Communist Party, raised the call for a "new trial" for Mumia. Instead of mobilizing to free Mumia as an innocent man and victim of a political and racist frame-up, these groups mobilized on the basis that Mumia could get a new and fair hearing in federal court, leading to a new and fair trial in the same Philadelphia courts that sent him to death row. Many of these so-called socialist organizations now raise "freedom for Mumia" in conjunction with calls for a "new trial." However, their politics remain in the framework of reliance on the bourgeois state. Behind the attempts to limit the struggle for Mumia to a call for a "new trial" is a ***political program*** premised on reliance on the capitalist state—a program directly counterposed to a mobilization of working-class power for his freedom. This political program of tying the masses to their class enemies and pushing faith in the capitalist state demobilized millions who once filled the streets in support of Mumia.

That worldwide movement must be revived, based on the premise that Mumia must be freed now, that this case is a racist, political frame-up of an innocent man and that there is no justice in the capitalist courts. The capitalist state and its courts are not neutral institutions but organs of repression against the working class and the oppressed. Mumia's freedom will not be won through reliance on the rigged "justice" system or on capitalist politicians, whether Democratic, Republican or Green. The PDC, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Marxist Spartacist League, fights to mobilize the social power of the multiracial labor movement—those who create the wealth of this society and who can shut it down. That is why our contingent in Philadelphia December 9 is based on the need for ***class-struggle defense*** to free Mumia and the understanding that the capitalist state serves the interests of the racist ruling class. Labor must be mobilized independently of the very forces of the capitalist state that framed up this innocent man! The road to victory in Mumia's case begins with the understanding that the class enemy is determined to carry out his execution. The multiracial working class has every interest in fighting against that outcome, which would further bolster the machinery of capitalist state violence whose ultimate target is the working class.

We are building this contingent in Philadelphia as a step toward the labor-centered, mass united-front mobilizations needed to free Mumia. Such mobilizations must send the court the message: We will not let Mumia die or rot another day in prison! Free Mumia Now!■

Le Bolchévik

Paris, November 29: PDC/Comité de Défense Sociale banner at Mumia rally reads, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now! There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!"

The "War on Terror" and the Imperialist World Order

This part concludes this article, Part One of which appeared in WV *No. 881 (24 November).*

PART TWO

The concept of revolutionary terrorism entered the political vocabulary during the French Revolution of 1789-93, the most radical of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions that ushered in the modern capitalist world. The Jacobin regime of Maximilien Robespierre employed effective state repression, called "the Terror," against domestic counterrevolutionaries backed by an international coalition of bourgeois-monarchical Britain and the absolutist (late feudal) monarchies of continental Europe.

The Englishman Edmund Burke became a leading ideological spokesman for the counterrevolutionary alliance against the embattled French Republic. In his 1790 *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Burke denigrated this profound social and political upheaval as "frauds; impostures, violences, rapines, burnings, murders, confiscations, compulsory paper currencies, and every description of tyranny and cruelty employed to bring about and to uphold this revolution." In the later epoch of capitalist imperialism, similar descriptions of the French Revolution, especially of its radical Jacobin phase, became a standard theme in bourgeois political culture.

During the Cold War, the vilification and falsification of the Jacobin Terror was incorporated into anti-Communist propaganda. Robespierre's regime was portrayed as seeking to impose totalitarian thought control on the French people through massive police-state repression. In reality, the Jacobin Terror had nothing to do with the suppression of ideas and opinions. It was basically a *military* measure. Almost all of those killed during the Terror were concentrated in the two regions of France that experienced full-scale civil war: the lower Rhone valley around Lyon and the Vendée (an area in western France on the Atlantic coast). They were counterrevolutionary combatants who were captured arms in hand in a merciless civil war in which neither side gave quarter.

While repudiating its own revolutionary past, which included the beheading of kings in clearing away the old feudal order, the latter-day bourgeoisie has engaged in indiscriminate mass terror against the working class at home and the peoples of colonial and semicolonial countries. Following the defeat of the short-lived Paris Commune of 1871, which Marx called the first expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the French bourgeoisie massacred over 20,000 unarmed and defenseless men and women in the city's working-class districts. In the foreign colonies of Western imperialism—such as British India, French Indochina and the U.S.-ruled Philippines—all popular national resistance was labeled "terrorism" and was met with mass murder and torture. If the U.S. ruling class were ideologically consistent, it would now condemn the American War of Independence against Britain, which relied heavily on guerrilla warfare, as a "terrorist enterprise."

Today, it is we revolutionary Marxists who recognize the historically progressive character of the classic bourgeois-democratic revolutions as we struggle for a communist world in which the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity proclaimed by the French Revolution will become a reality. During the Russian Civil War following the October Revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks cited the historical examples of the French Revolution and also the American Civil War to explain and justify the Red Terror directed at the White counterrevolutionary armies and the Western and Japanese imperialist expeditionary forces. Leon Trotsky, commanding the Red Army, wrote at the time that "the iron dictatorship of the Jacobins was evoked by the monstrously difficult position of revolutionary France" and that the "severity of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia, let us point out here, was conditioned by no less difficult circumstances" (*Terrorism and Communism* [1920]). As a historical generalization, he concluded:

> "The degree of ferocity of the struggle depends on a series of internal and international circumstances. The more ferocious and dangerous is the resistance of the class enemy who have been overthrown, the more inevitably does the system of repression take the form of a system of terror."

Bulloz

Mary Evans Picture Library

Top: Parisian women march on royal palace at Versailles in early months of French Revolution, October 1789. Bottom: Louis XVI executed by guillotine, 21 January 1793.

Tsarist Russia: Revolutionary Marxism vs. Populist Terrorism

The October Revolution and the resulting Soviet workers state and Red Army were led by a political tendency that originated and developed in political combat against Russian populism and its strategy of individual terrorism. The founding leader of Russian Marxism, Georgi Plekhanov, and his co-thinkers split from the main body of populist militants when the latter launched a campaign of assassinations of tsarist officials in the late 1870s in a futile effort to spark the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy.

As a political-ideological current, Russian populism had originated two decades earlier under the theoretical guidance of Alexander Herzen. Its core program was the advocacy of a peasant-based socialism supposedly expressing the traditional collectivist practices and values of Russia's agrarian toilers. Following Russia's defeat in the Crimean War of 1853-56 by Britain and France, the tsarist regime tolerated a certain degree of political openness amid expectations of far-reaching reforms. Taking advantage of this situation, Herzen and his circle aimed to pressure the autocracy into redistributing the land owned by the nobility and the state in a way beneficial to the peasant masses.

However, the legal abolition of serfdom in 1861 was devised such that it financially benefited the nobility while perpetuating and in some ways intensifying the exploitation and impoverishment of the rural toilers. Bitterly disillusioned with the tsarist "emancipation," the populist intelligentsia moved leftward toward a revolutionary outlook. Over the next decade or so, populism gained a large following among Russia's student youth, in competition with both Western-style liberalism and anti-Western Slavophile nationalism.

By the mid 1870s, the populist circles believed themselves strong enough to frontally challenge the tsarist regime and launched a campaign of mass agitation—the "To the People" movement—primarily directed at the peasantry. A few thousand young leftist intellectuals flocked to rural villages under the banner of "Land and Liberty." However, their efforts were met with indifference and even hostility by the peasants, who continued to believe in the personal benevolence of the tsar. A few populist militants, prominent among them Plekhanov, remained in the cities, agitating and seeking to organize among urban workers. In this endeavor they achieved a certain measure of success, especially compared to their comrades who went to the countryside.

Frustrated by the failure of the "To the People" movement and enraged by the savage repression meted out against them by the tsarist regime, the main body of populist militants turned to terrorism, assassinating a number of government officials. Organized as the People's Will, in 1881 they sent to his maker Alexander II, Tsar of All the Russias. This spectacular regicide did not, as they had expected, spark a popular uprising. Alexander III, an even more reactionary figure, ascended the throne and ushered in a wave of repression that destroyed the People's Will and discouraged leftist political activism in general.

Plekhanov and a small number of cothinkers refused to participate in the People's Will, arguing for a continuation of mass agitational activity as opposed to individual terrorism. The other principal members of Plekhanov's circle were Paul Axelrod and Vera Zasulich, who earlier had shot the tsarist General Trepov in 1878 in retaliation for his brutal treatment of political prisoners. Over the next few years, the circle, which functioned in exile, evolved toward Marxism, a development culminating in the formation of the Emancipation of Labor Group in 1883. These early Russian Marxists fought to win leftist opponents of the autocracy to a revolutionary program based on a *materialist* understanding that a social revolution requires a social class—i.e., the proletariat—with the interest and power to reorganize society on a new, more advanced economic foundation.

Beginning in the 1890s, Russia's rapid industrialization, largely financed by West European capital, generated a powerful and combative proletariat in the midst of a backward, overwhelmingly peasant country with a weak and dependent bourgeoisie. The Marxist movement was able to transform itself from small propaganda circles of leftist intellectuals into a revolutionary workers party with a mass following, the Bolshevik Party led by V. I. Lenin. The forging of the Bolshevik Party was the product of many factors, including propaganda and agitation among the proletariat and other exploited and oppressed strata, the experience of both the revolutionary upsurge of 1905 and the subsequent period of deep reaction, and factional conflict inside the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, particularly the 1903 split between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. In this period, Plekhanov moved to the right. Following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, Plekhanov de-

nounced the December Moscow insurrection as an adventure and, in 1917, opposed the seizure of power by the Bolshevik-led workers. Importantly, however, he never joined hands with those Mensheviks and others who tried to mobilize against the revolution.

SRs: Liberals with Bombs

Given Russia's predominantly peasant character, populism continued to be an important current in the left opposition to the autocracy. Organized in 1901 as the Socialist Revolutionary Party (SRs), populist militants competed with the Marxists for the allegiance of young leftist intellectuals and for influence among the urban laboring classes. The question of individual terrorism remained an important line of demarcation and source of political conflict between the two tendencies.

In 1902, when an SR militant assassinated the hated head of the political police, Dmitry Sipyagin, who was then replaced by the equally repressive Vyacheslav von Plehve, Lenin contrasted the assassination with a strike that had aroused the political consciousness of the railway workers in the port city of Rostov-on-Don:

> "We believe that even a hundred regicides can never produce so stimulating and educational an effect as this participation of tens of thousands of working people in meetings where their vital interests and the links between politics and these interests are discussed, and as this participation in a struggle, which really *rouses* ever new and 'untapped' sections of the proletariat to greater political consciousness, to a broader revolutionary struggle."
>
> —"New Events and Old Questions" (December 1902)

Lenin's point was not simply that workers were engaging in struggle, but that the class struggle of the workers has ***revolutionary potential***, which can be realized only through the forging of a revolutionary leadership. He went on to describe how the government is "truly disorganized when, and only when" mass workers struggles "plunge the government into a state of confusion...when military action against tens of thousands of the people is preceded by wavering among the authorities, who have no way of really knowing what this military action will lead to." Lenin noted: "Here it is no longer some scoundrel, but the existing system as a whole that comes out as the enemy of the people, against whom are arrayed the local and the St. Petersburg authorities, the police, the Cossacks, and the troops, to say nothing of the gendarmes and the courts which, as ever, supplement and complete the picture in every popular uprising."

A decade later, particularly in light of the experience of the failed 1905 Revolution and its aftermath, Lenin noted in "The Career of a Russian Terrorist" (January 1911) that the SRs included "an enormous proportion of ***liberals with bombs***" (emphasis in original). He concluded:

> "Those who want to learn from the great lessons of the Russian revolution must realize that only the development of the class-consciousness of the proletariat, only the organization of *this* class and the exclusion of petty-bourgeois 'fellow-travellers' from its party, and the elimination of the vacillation, weakness, and lack of principle, characteristic of them, *can* again lead, and surely will lead, to new victories of the people over the monarchy of the Romanovs."

Bookwright Press

British troops in India slaughtered almost 400 protesters in Amritsar in 1919.

From the same revolutionary standpoint, Marxists solidarized with the desire of populist terrorists to avenge the crimes of the tsarist regime and defended them against state repression. In discussions with his U.S. supporters in the late 1930s, Trotsky recalled in this regard: "We rejected the method of the SRs; but every time a terrorist act was committed we declared that we sympathized with the SRs, we explained the reasons, and mobilized the feeling against the czar" ("Discussions with Trotsky: III—The Russian Question," *Writings [1937-38]*).

Not long after Trotsky made these comments, a Polish Jew, Herschel Grynszpan, walked into the German embassy in Paris and shot to death a Nazi diplomat. In opposition to the Stalinists, who refused to defend Grynszpan and vilely depicted him as an agent of the Nazis, Trotsky wrote:

> "We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror inexpedient in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as oppressed nationalities. A single isolated hero cannot replace the masses. But we understand only too clearly the inevitability of such convulsive acts of despair and vengeance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing avengers even though they have been unable to discover the correct road.....To tear Grynszpan out of the hands of capitalist justice, which is capable of chopping off his head to further serve capitalist diplomacy, is the elementary, immediate task of the international working class!"
>
> —"For Grynszpan" (*Writings [1938-39]*)

Decades later, a London *Guardian* (31 October 2001) article reported that the killing was likely the result of a homosexual lovers' quarrel.

New Left Radicalism and Its Terrorist Fringe

Prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, left-wing terrorists such as the Russian populists and some anarchists professed as their ultimate goal an egalitarian, harmonious and stateless society. This outlook found an echo in the 1970s in certain terrorist groups derived from the broader current of New Left student-youth radicalism—the Weather Underground in the United States, the Red Army Faction (RAF) in West Germany and Workers Autonomy and the Red Brigades in Italy. It's a sign of the times that today terrorist acts are mainly carried out by religious and other retrograde forces and not by those seeking progressive social transformation.

New Left radicalism was in large measure a response to the parliamentary reformism and especially the pro-imperialist policies of the bureaucratized leadership of the mass working-class organizations—the AFL-CIO labor tops in the U.S., the social-democratic and Communist (Moscow-line Stalinist) parties and affiliated trade unions in West Europe. Many young leftist intellectuals believed that the working class in the advanced capitalist countries had been "bought off" by the spoils of imperialist plunder of the "Third World." A small number of New Left activists, frustrated by the ineffectuality of student-based protest politics, turned to individual terrorism, reinventing the classic anarchist "propaganda of the deed."

Swen Publications

Marxists Internet Archive

Alexander Herzen (above) inspired Russian populist movement. Georgi Plekhanov, founder of Russian Marxism.

The Weather Underground was the least politically significant and most technically incompetent of the New Left-derived terrorist groups. Their actions were often self-defeating and more dangerous to themselves than to the bourgeoisie. An accidental bomb detonation killed three Weathermen in New York City in 1970. Nonetheless, the state repression and "anti-terrorist" witchhunt directed at the Weathermen posed an important challenge to the U.S. left as a whole. It should have been clear that when the heavy hammer of the bourgeois state came crashing down on the Weathermen, this was just a warm-up to go after the rest of the left and workers movement.

But most of the left, including self-styled "revolutionary Marxists," refused to defend the Weathermen and indeed joined the witchhunting chorus against them. The pro-Moscow Stalinist Communist Party, in its eternal pursuit of a "People's Front" with the Democratic Party, ranted that "Terror and Armed Battle Play into Nixon's Hands" (*Daily World*, 15 April 1970). The Maoist-Stalinist Progressive Labor Party vilely denounced the Weathermen as "police agents." The left social-democratic International Socialists (the predecessor of today's International Socialist Organization) called on the left to "dissociate itself" from the Weathermen and compared them to fascists. And the reformist, once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), ripping quotes from Trotsky out of context, denounced "terrorism" as "petty-bourgeois liberalism temporarily gone berserk" (*International Socialist Review*, June 1970).

The SWP's cowardly refusal to defend the Weathermen against state repression was prefigured by its cringing response to the 1963 assassination of Democratic president John F. Kennedy, which SWP leader Farrell Dobbs condemned as "an inhuman, anti-social and criminal act" (quoted in *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 1, February-March 1964). This line was characteristic of the SWP's centrist degeneration at the time, against which the Spartacist League's precursor, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), had fought.

The first issue of *Spartacist*, published after the RT's expulsion from the SWP, described the Kennedy assassination as "an acid test of the class position of every left movement in the United States" and condemned "those formations which joined their cries to the liberal threnody for the late president." The RT cited and solidarized with the principled line of the British Socialist Labour League, whose National Secretary, Gerry Healy, stated: "Marxists express no sympathy whatsoever over Kennedy's death. We do not condone the act of individual terror responsible for his death, not because we are squeamish or humanitarian about how it was done, but because individual terror is no substitute for the construction of the revolutionary party." Our article noted that "it is a perfectly principled tactic to carefully avoid the use of provocative phrases when the legal organizational existence, and possibly the lives, of revolutionaries are at stake," but the SWP's words were those of "Social Democrats and bourgeois liberals, and richly merited the attacks of Gerry Healy and the Socialist Labour League."

When the Weathermen came under state attack a few years later, we insisted that they were "an integral part of the radical movement":

> "Legal defense of all radical activists victimized by the bourgeois state is necessary not only to protect the movement as a whole but also to establish the authority of the revolutionary left to set the Weatherman followers straight....
>
> "The real crime vis-à-vis terror politics and heroic individualism is that it allows the revolutionary energies of some of the movement's most talented, dedicated people to be channeled into futile and self-destructive actions. It is our job to seek to redirect these energies into genuinely revolutionary directions."
>
> —"Terrorism and Communism," *Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 17-18, August-September 1970

New Left Terrorism: West Europe

New Left-derived terrorist groups also arose in West Europe. In West Germany, the Red Army Faction, labeled by the

continued on page 8

Illustrated London News

Graphic of 13 March 1881 assassination of Tsar Alexander II by member of People's Will.

Terrorism...

(continued from page 7)

bourgeois media the "Baader-Meinhof Gang" after two of its leaders, Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof, engaged in bombings and arson, especially of corporate buildings and NATO military installations. The Bonn government, the legal heir of Adolf Hitler's Third Reich, imprisoned more than 200 alleged RAF members and supporters, many of them held without trial for years in solitary confinement. At the time, our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Germany (predecessor of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany) energetically campaigned for *united-front defense* of the victimized Red Army Faction by the left and workers movement.

In 1977, more than a year after Meinhof's suspicious death by hanging in her prison cell, the RAF kidnapped the head of the West German manufacturers association, Hanns Martin Schleyer, who was a former Nazi SS officer. The resulting massive buildup of state repression sought to intimidate the bourgeoisie's real adversaries, the organized working class and those who would lead it in struggle against the capitalist system. However, under the impact of the intensifying "anti-terrorist" campaign, many German left-wing groups simply read the RAF out of the movement in order to escape the obligation of defending them.

At around the same time, self-proclaimed RAF supporters also got into the business of hijacking airliners, sometimes in alliance with Palestinian nationalists. In 1977, four terrorists claiming sympathy with the imprisoned RAF leaders hijacked a Lufthansa plane in Mogadishu, Somalia, where it was eventually stormed by West German commandos. The hijackers doused the passenger compartment with gasoline and repeatedly threatened to set it ablaze. Such acts target people who have nothing to do with the repression supposedly being protested.

While we continued to defend the RAF against its banning by the state, we did not defend the perpetrators of the airliner hijacking, which we denounced as a criminal act from the standpoint of the proletariat. We contrasted this with the Schleyer abduction, which "no matter how foolish, politically wrong and counterproductive—was not an act of indiscriminate terrorism against innocent individuals which must be condemned by the entire left" (*WV* No. 178, 21 October 1977). A similar situation arose in the U.S. in 1975, when the Puerto Rican FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation) bombed the Fraunces Tavern restaurant in New York City, killing four and injuring more than 60 diners, elderly Italian waiters and passers-by. While the Spartacist League has consistently defended armed Puerto Rican nationalist groups such as the Macheteros and the FALN against state repression, we condemned the Fraunces Tavern bombing as a criminal act of indiscriminate terror.

Left-wing terrorism played an especially important and polarizing political role in the 1970s in Italy. Workers Autonomy, an amalgam of declassed intellectuals and lumpenized elements, advocated and practiced "diffuse terrorism" aimed at promoting semi-clandestine urban guerrillaism. More important and tactically effective were the Red Brigades, many of whose leaders and cadre were dissident "hard" Stalinists who had split from the Italian Communist Party (PCI) in opposition to its abject reformism and servile class collaborationism. Nonetheless, the Brigades in substance acted as a left pressure group upon the PCI, whose leadership, meanwhile, did everything in its power to inflame the climate of "anti-terrorist" hysteria.

We wrote in "Stop the Popular-Front Witchhunt in Italy!" (*WV* No. 232, 25 May 1979):

> "To their shame, virtually the entire Italian ex-New Left milieu has fallen into step with the PCI's 'anti-terrorist' hysteria. But as the centrists howl with the wolves, genuine revolutionaries continue to defend the left against the capitalist state while warning against the Red Brigades' suicidal program of individual terror....
>
> "Italian revolutionaries must also conduct a relentless struggle against the 'diffuse terrorism' of Workers Autonomy and the 'armed party' of the Red Brigades and other terrorist groups.... Such a struggle is, in the present phase, essentially a ***political struggle***, consisting of presenting to the masses of workers, students and unemployed a Leninist-Trotskyist party with a proletarian-revolutionary program to sweep away the bankrupt Italian bourgeoisie."

Kommunistische Korrespondenz
July 1977

German Spartacists' newspaper published PDC statement titled: "Down With Terrorism Convictions of RAF Comrades!" Trotskyists defended Red Army Faction against state repression while bulk of left capitulated to bourgeoisie's "anti-terror" campaign.

Weg mit den Terrorurteilen gegen die RAF-Genossen!

Die Bourgeoisie kann zufrieden sein. Nach dem Stammheimer Prozeß ist jetzt auch, am zweiten Juni, der „kleine" Baader-Meinhof-Prozeß über die Bühne gelaufen

...hat gewollen hatte. Den Klassenterror der Bourgeoisie muß durch die Mobilisierung der Arbeiterklasse ein Ende bereitet werden! Ensslin und Raspe, Juncke und Grashof Roth und Otto, Günter Sonnenberg (dem die Polizei das Gehirn zerschossen hat), Verena Becker und all die anderen Opfer der bürgerlichen Klassenjustiz – wir fordern ihre sofortige und bedingungslose Freilassung!

Im folgenden drucken wir eine Protestnote des amerikanischen Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) gegen die Verurteilung der RAF-Genossen an die Bundesregierung ab. Das PDC ist eine klassenkämpferische und antistalinistische Verteidigungsorganisation, die mit den politischen Ansichten der Spartacist League/US (Sektion der internationalen Spartacist Tendenz) übereinstimmt. Das PDC beteiligt sich ohne sektiererische oder fraktionelle Einschränkung an der Verteidigung aller Bestandteile der Arbeiterbewegung und aller anderen Opfer des bürgerlichen Klassenterrors. Es steht in der Tradition der „International Labor Defense" (Internationale Arbeiterverteidigung) unter der Führung ihres Gründers und ersten Sekretärs, James P. Cannon (1925–28).

Bundeskanzler Helmut Schmidt
Bonn, Westdeutschland

Der zweijährige Schauprozeß gegen die Rote Armee Fraktion (von den bürgerlichen Medien als „Baader-Meinhof-Bande" bezeichnet) ist beendet, aber die reaktionäre Hetze ...d in Westdeutschland wird fortgesetzt. Das kapitalistische Gericht, das sowieso nichts anderes als eine bloße ...rce darstellt, hat Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin und Jan-Carl Raspe zu lebenslänglicher Haft verurteilt, nach dem es zuvor zwei ihrer Genossen (Ulrike Meinhof und Holger Meins) in den Martyrertod geschickt hatte.

Die Angeklagten werden beschuldigt, Symbole des verbrecherischen Imperialismus angegriffen zu haben, was in den Augen der Arbeiterklasse kein Verbrechen ist. Im Gegenteil, es ist vielmehr ihre Regierung, die die Hexenjagd initiierte ... mit den heuchlerischen Angriffen auf die elementarsten demokratischen Rechte der Angeklagten, mit schwarzen Listen auf nationaler Ebene, auf denen Radikale registriert werden, mit dem Schutz von Nazi-Kriegsverbrechern ... die als der wahre Terrorist überführt dastehl.

Wir fordern, daß alle Anklagen gegen Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe und die anderen Opfer des westdeutschen bürgerlichen Klassenterrors zurückgezogen und daß diese sofort freigelassen werden.

13 Mai 1977

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633, Canal Street Station
New York City, NY 10013

Andreas Baader | Ulrike Meinhof | Gudrun Ensslin | Holger Meins | Jan-Carl Raspe

Terrorism and Nationalism

In the present-day world, the politically significant practitioners of individual terrorism (aside from the Islamic jihadists) have been petty-bourgeois nationalists based on and claiming to struggle on behalf of oppressed peoples—Irish Republicans, Basque and Palestinian nationalists, for example—who aim to establish their own bourgeois nation-state. Such movements have always combined, in the words of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), "the armalite and the ballot box," wielding armed struggle along with diplomatic maneuvers and appeals to the "democratic" pretensions of the imperialists as pressure tactics. In the radically altered political contours of the world following the collapse of the Soviet Union, which had acted as a counterweight to the imperialist powers, these petty-bourgeois nationalist formations no longer have the diplomatic, military and financial means they had before and have been compelled to accept neocolonial-style "negotiated solutions": the Oslo Accords in the case of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Good Friday Agreement in the case of the IRA.

We support the just struggles of oppressed nations and peoples against the forces of the oppressor bourgeois states. More fundamentally, we fight to eliminate all forms of national oppression, from a proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist perspective. Thus we call for British troops out of Northern Ireland as an integral part of our program for an Irish workers republic within a federation of workers republics in the British Isles. We stand for the right of the Basque people to self-determination, i.e., to secede from the Spanish and French bourgeois states and establish their own nation-state. We demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli military forces and settlers from all of the Occupied Territories.

We do not equate the nationalism of the oppressed with the nationalism of the oppressor. It is the duty of the working class of an oppressor nation to defend the oppressed nation or nationality. A nationalist outlook and program, however, whether of the oppressed or the oppressor, aims to consolidate a national framework of *bourgeois* rule. In the eyes of petty-bourgeois nationalists, the entire oppressor nation is viewed as the enemy. This outlook frequently leads to acts of indiscriminate violence against the working people of the oppressor nation. Terrorism in the service of a nationalist program thus *cuts across* the class unity of the workers in the struggle against their common enemy: the capitalist classes of all nations. If and when it comes to power, the bourgeoisie of a formerly oppressed people gains a free hand not only to exploit its "own" working class but to oppress national minorities in its own territories and to launch its own wars of national conquest. The logic of *all* nationalism is genocidal.

An early example of such genocidal logic was provided by the Armenian Dashnaks in late tsarist Russia. At the time, the Armenian people were oppressed and divided between Ottoman-ruled Turkey and the Russian-ruled Caucasus. The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutyun) was founded in the early 1890s with the aim of liberating the Armenians in Turkey from the yoke of the Ottoman rulers. Subsequently, the Dashnaks adopted a formal socialist program and in 1907 joined the Second International. In Turkey, the Dashnaks carried out a policy of assassinating Ottoman officials and military men. In the Caucasus, however, the main target of the Dashnaks' terrorism was

Edition Zeitgeschichte

Graphic depicts attempt by Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaks) to assassinate Ottoman ruler Sultan Abdul Hamid at Istanbul's Yildiz mosque, 1905.

another oppressed people, the Turkic-speaking, Muslim Azerbaijanis who many (Christian) Armenians viewed as sympathetic to the Muslim Ottoman rulers.

The Caucasus was (and still is) a region of numerous geographically intertwined peoples. The working class in the region's main industrial city, Baku—the oil-producing center of the Russian empire—was thoroughly multinational. Its main components were ethnic Russians, Armenians and Azerbaijanis, including migrants from Persia (Iran), and smaller numbers of other Caucasian peoples. National divisions corresponded to the vertical structure of the working class. Armenian capitalists typically employed only Armenian workers. Russians and Armenians were concentrated among the more skilled workers in the factories and refineries of the city itself. Azerbaijanis provided the mass of unskilled workers in the outlying oil fields.

In 1905, following murderous riots between Armenians and Azerbaijanis in Baku, the Dashnaks formed militias, financed by Armenian capitalists, that carried out a campaign of mass terror against effectively defenseless Azerbaijani villages:

> "The Dashnaktsutiun as a party bears a major portion of responsibility, for it was often the leading force in perpetrating the massacres. The Dashnaks organized bands similar to those which operated in Turkey and recruited mostly from the Armenian refugees from that country. Such bands would attack the Muslims and often exterminate the populations of entire villages."
>
> —Firuz Kazemzadeh, *The Struggle for Transcaucasia, 1917-1921* (Philosophical Library, 1951)

During the First World War, the Turkish rulers carried out a genocidal campaign against the Armenian people, whom they viewed as supporting their tsarist Russian enemy. Those who survived the massacres fled to the Caucasus, where the Dashnaks established their own short-lived bourgeois state during the Russian Civil War. These Armenian nationalists in power allied themselves with the British and French imperialists against the Soviet regime while waging border wars against the Azerbaijani and Georgian peoples.

Terrorism and Interpenetrated Peoples

The genocidal logic of nationalism is particularly acute when two different peoples interpenetrate on the same territory. This was and is the case in the Caucasus, as it is in Northern Ireland and Israel-Palestine. In such situations, there is no democratic solution under capitalism to the contending democratic rights of national self-determination. While opposing all aspects of national oppression, we recognize that these conflicting claims can only be equitably resolved within the political framework of proletarian class rule, in which the capitalist drive for national consolidation in the service of profit has been eliminated.

The Northern Irish statelet was created by the British imperialists in the early 1920s as a reactionary move against the consolidation of an Irish bourgeois national state encompassing the entire island. An Anglo-Scottish-derived Protestant majority dominates and oppresses the Irish Catholic minority. For decades, the IRA carried out a semi-underground military struggle in the name of defending the Irish Catholics against the British imperialist forces and the Protestant authorities and paramilitary groups. However, the IRA's program calls for reunifying, necessarily by force in the case of the Protestants, the six counties of Northern Ireland with the southern Catholic clerical Irish bourgeois state. If achieved, this would simply be a reversal of the terms of oppression, leading to communalist slaughter and forced population transfers.

The internationalist unity of the working class throughout the British Isles requires a struggle against British imperialism and all manifestations of national chauvinism and oppression. Thus Marxists stand for the military defense of the Irish nationalist organizations in their conflicts with the British army, the Northern Ireland state forces and Protestant paramilitary groups. At the same time, we oppose and condemn communalist attacks by the IRA on the Protestant population as well as indiscriminate attacks on civilian targets in Britain. Such attacks are crimes against the whole working class.

In 1972, the Official IRA set off a bomb outside the officers' mess in the Aldershot barracks in England, headquar-

Reininger/Contact | Wide World | David Rubinger

Former Israeli prime ministers Menachem Begin (left) and Yitzhak Rabin (right) carried out murderous terror attacks on road to creation of Israeli state. Center: 1947 Zionist bombing in Jerusalem marketplace killed six Arabs, injured 41.

ters of a parachute regiment that had just carried out the heinous "Bloody Sunday" massacre of Catholics in the city of Derry. In fact, none of the officers were in the mess hall when the bomb went off. Those killed were women cleaners, an elderly gardener and a Catholic priest. In most such terrorist acts, innocent civilians are among those killed. But the bomb attack on a British imperialist military base was not a criminal act from the standpoint of the working class.

Altogether different was the Provisional IRA's 1993 bombing of a fish shop on Shankill Road in a Protestant, mainly working-class neighborhood of Belfast, which killed nine Protestant civilians, including two children and the daughter of the shop's owner. The Provos alibied this atrocity by claiming that they were trying to hit a Protestant paramilitary group scheduled to meet above the shop. Nonetheless, the targets of the bombing were not enforcers of national oppression but rather ordinary working people on this busy shopping street. Furthermore, this act of communalist terrorism took place at a time when a number of Protestant workers had just gone on strike to protest the sectarian murder of a Catholic worker. This offered a rare and fleeting opportunity for joint Catholic-Protestant, anti-sectarian working-class action. The Shankill Road bombing shut off that possibility by provoking vengeful rage within the Protestant community.

Nowhere has the reactionary logic of nationalist terrorism been drawn out more thoroughly than in the Israel-Palestine conflict, which likewise involves two nations interpenetrated on the same territory. The creation of the Israeli state in 1948 was achieved through the mass expulsion of Palestinian Arabs from their homeland amid massacres by Zionist military forces—the mainstream Haganah, dominated by "socialist" Zionists, and the right-wing Irgun. This was the culmination of a decades-long crusade to carve a "Jewish state" out of the living flesh of the Arab people, who were interspersed with the Jewish settler communities in the then British-ruled colony of Palestine. Though often dressed up in the rhetoric of socialism, the Zionist project called for compacting an exclusionist, Jewish-dominated political economy based on the chauvinist appeal for "Hebrew labor only." Thus it was bitterly hostile to every instance of Hebrew-Arab class unity and joint class struggle in Palestine between the 1920s and '40s, notably among railway, harbor and oil refinery workers.

For example, in early 1947 Jewish and Arab oil refinery workers went on strike together in the major port city of Haifa (see Zachary Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906-1948* [University of California Press, 1996]). Later that year, Irgun terrorists carried out a bomb attack against a crowd of several hundred Arabs at the main gate of the Haifa refinery, where they were seeking jobs as day laborers. Infuriated Arabs then invaded the refinery and attacked Jewish workers. Using this communalist violence as a pretext, the Haganah retaliated against the entire Arab population of Haifa. Over the next few months, 50,000 Palestinian Arabs were driven from their homes in the city. This was but a part of the massive "ethnic cleansing" that established the state of Israel. Yesterday's terrorists became the heads of the Israeli bourgeois state, among them: Yitzhak Rabin, who as an officer during the 1948 "War of Independence" directed "Operation Dani," one of the bloodiest massacres of Palestinians; Menachem Begin, former commander of the Irgun; Yitzhak Shamir, an operative in the murderous Stern Gang in the 1940s.

Ever since the creation of their state, the Zionist rulers have labeled as "terrorism" all resistance by the dispossessed Palestinian people, from the professed secular nationalists of the late Yasir Arafat's PLO to the Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas. Just as the American imperialists in effect created and supported bin Laden's Islamic terror network during the Cold War, so the Israeli rulers initially promoted the formation of Hamas in the 1980s as a counterweight to the PLO, which then had Moscow's diplomatic backing. Following the demise of the Soviet Union, Arafat & Co. made a U.S.-brokered deal with the Israeli rulers—the 1993 Oslo Accords—to police the Occupied Territories on their behalf. The subsequent political bankruptcy and increasing corruption of the PLO led to the ascendancy of the reactionary Islamists of Hamas among the besieged and desperate Palestinian people.

We take a side militarily in defense of the Palestinians against racist Zionist terror, defending Hamas, as we have the PLO, when the Israeli state goes after it as part of its attacks on the Palestinian people. But we oppose the suicide bombings directed at random Israeli citizens in restaurants or shopping malls by Hamas (or by "secular" Palestinian nationalists), which ***strengthen*** the Zionist state by reinforcing the intense anti-Arab chauvinism and bunker mentality that pervade Israeli society. Marxists must struggle to break the Hebrew-speaking workers from the Zionist rulers. The only way out of the bloody dead end of the conflicting nationalisms in the region is class struggle uniting the proletariat across national lines in a fight to overthrow the Zionist butchers, the sheiks, colonels, emirs and mullahs in order to establish a socialist federation of the Near East.

What is needed to lead such struggles are revolutionary, internationalist workers parties based on the principle of the political independence of the proletariat from all bourgeois-nationalist and religious forces. Such parties can only be forged through a sharp break with the class collaborationism that defined the Stalinist Communist parties. Most Communist parties in the Near East emerged beginning in the mid 1930s when Stalin's Comintern adopted the policy of the "people's front against fascism," a formula for supporting "democratic" imperialism and other "progressive" bourgeois forces. In the colonial and semicolonial world, this meant subordinating the proletariat to bourgeois nationalism.

WV Photo

Oakland, 9 February 2002: United-front protest against "anti-terror" laws and in defense of immigrant rights initiated by Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League.

U.S. Imperialism on the Rampage

The current "global war on terror" is but one of the many facets of capitalist reaction that has stamped the world following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the homeland of the Bolshevik Revolution. That event was an enormous setback in the struggle for the liberation of humanity from exploitation and oppression. It has meant a sharp, although uneven, retrogression in consciousness among the working class and youth fighting for social justice and against imperialist war; it has led to a vast increase in immiseration among the toiling masses globally; and it has created a far more dangerous world.

Proclaiming themselves masters of the "world's only superpower," the U.S. rulers believe that they can achieve total global dominance through the threat and use of overwhelming military force. The UN-endorsed economic sanctions against Iraq in the 1990s resulted in the deaths of a million and a half people, mainly young children and the elderly. The U.S./NATO air war against Serbia in 1999 devastated that small Balkan country. The "war on terror" has given an additional impetus to the ravages of American imperialist militarism around the world, from the invasion and colonial-type occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq to Washington's economic warfare combined with threats of military action against both neocolonial Iran and the North Korean bureaucratically deformed workers state.

But the intensification of exploitation and oppression sows the seeds of class and social struggle, and with that the raw material for new Octobers. The task of Marxists is to provide a program to burst U.S. imperialism from within, through proletarian revolution. We fight to render the proletariat conscious of its historic mission to act as the gravedigger of the capitalist system. Thus as part of our military defense of Afghanistan and Iraq against the U.S.-led occupations, we have called on the American proletariat to wage class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home.

Individual terror, no matter how well-intentioned or heroic, is no substitute for the revolutionary mass mobilization of the working class and its allies. However, in opposition to pacifistic liberals and reformist leftists, we understand that the rapacious and murderous capitalist class can be removed from power only through force. As we wrote many years ago in "Marxism and Bloodthirstiness" (*WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984):

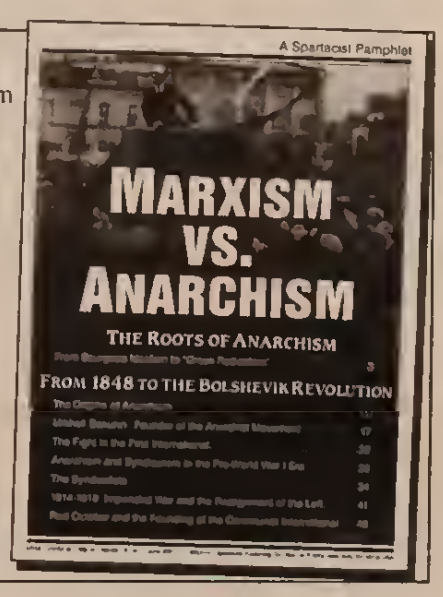
> "*We are for the victory of just causes.* Necessarily and above all, the centrality of just causes is the shattering of the exploiting and oppressing classes and the victory of socialism. We are socialists not least because we are passionately opposed to war, the gathering together of large numbers of young workingmen to be slaughtered in the interests of the rulers. In this savagely class-divided world, dominated by the mass murderers of My Lai, the struggle for the victory of just causes will have a big physical component. We must stand therefore for the maximum assembling of effective force on the just side, hopefully to demoralize and deter the forces of reaction so that the actual casualties are minimized."

Such force is a necessary means to achieve communism's ultimate goal: the creation of an egalitarian and harmonious society of material abundance, in which there is no longer any form of the organized violence that is inherent in the capitalist-imperialist world order based on exploitation and oppression. ■

This pamphlet presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International and discusses the impact of the 1917 October Revolution. The first article addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called "death of communism," are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. The pamphlet is dedicated to the fight to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism.

$2 (56 pages)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, NY, NY 10116



Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

June 2007. Bush's delusions, of rather longer standing, persist in the form of his continuing quest for a U.S. victory while denying the existence of an embryonic civil war in Iraq—a denial not even parroted by many important and normally subservient bourgeois media types who, along with UN secretary-general Kofi Annan, now acknowledge this reality.

The bloody occupation is vastly unpopular in the U.S. And this was reflected in the November elections, when the Democrats routed the Republicans and retook Congress. While the Democrats were generally mum on specifics during the campaign—with a lone voice or two running on the call for an immediate withdrawal—not a few seemed to suggest the need for a timetable for withdrawal *muy pronto*. That bluster has all but disappeared. Now Democratic leaders from ex-president Bill Clinton to Senator Joseph Biden, the incoming chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, are suggesting that hard (read: any) timetables would be ill-advised. Many Democrats now seem pleased by the very tentative 2008 deadline reportedly being proposed by the bipartisan Iraq Study Group, a proposal that would maintain a presence of ***70,000 troops*** for as long as required to assure U.S. imperialism's continuing dominance.

The Democrats are now seeking an Iraqi fall guy for the imperialist debacle, for which they have repeatedly approved appropriations. Newly elected House majority leader Steny Hoyer recently characterized the Iraqis as too disorganized and self-obsessed to avail themselves of the opportunities provided by the American occupation, proclaiming that "in the days ahead, the Iraqis must make the tough decisions and accept responsibility for their future."

In a London *Guardian* (27 November) column, Gary Younge powerfully exposed this quest for a scapegoat: "It is absurd to suggest that the Iraqis—who have been invaded, whose country is currently occupied, who have had their police and army disbanded and their entire civil service fired—could possibly be in a position to take responsibility for their future and are simply not doing so." Younge remarked that the Democrats' insidious attempt at a frame-up "leaves intact the bogus premise that the invasion was an attempt at liberation that has failed because some squabbling ingrates, incapable of working in their own interests, could not grasp the basic tenets of Western democracy. In short, it makes the victims responsible for the crime."

And that bloody crime is vast in scope: in October alone, almost 4,000 Iraqi civilian corpses were added to the 650,000 or so slaughtered in the three and a half years since the onset of U.S. imperialism's war against Iraq, as estimated by the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health, which, unlike the U.S. occupiers, bothered to amass the statistics. In the past year, the lion's share of the deaths has been a result of the sectarian violence spurred by the occupation. But the mayhem caused by U.S. military actions continues unabated. Recent American raids have resulted in the deaths of almost a dozen women and children, while the dozen-plus men who lay dead by their side were automatically consigned by U.S. military spokesmen to the category of terrorists who "place innocent Iraqi women and children in danger by their actions and presence" (aljazeera.net, 3 December).

An oil-rich and once relatively technologically sophisticated society lies in rubble, having neither power nor fuel nor potable water. Each day 1,000 of its citizens are internally displaced and another 3,000 or so flee to Syria and Jordan. There are no jobs for those who remain nor any assurance of the ability to survive. Not to be forgotten are the million and a half Iraqis sent to early graves by the daily bombing and UN-sponsored blockade in the aftermath of Desert Storm I, effected largely under the Democratic presidency of Bill "I feel your pain" Clinton.

The Spartacist League/U.S. stood for the military defense of Iraq against the imperialist invasion in 2003 without giving any political support to Saddam Hussein's murderous bourgeois regime. Today we demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. In the context of U.S. threats against Iran over its developing nuclear capacity, we say that Iran needs nukes as a deterrence to imperialist military attack, despite our political opposition to the Islamic regime. As we did after the declaration of the imperialists' "war on terror" in 2001, we link our opposition to imperialist depredations in the Near East and Central Asia to the call for the U.S. proletariat to wage class struggle at home against their capitalist rulers, represented by both the Republican and Democratic parties.

National Geographic

British troops enter Baghdad, March 1917. Iraq's borders were arbitrarily drawn by colonial occupiers.

Imperialist Crimes

The destruction and human suffering in the wake of Katrina are the outcome of the rulers' racist neglect and contempt for the population of New Orleans. The far greater devastation in Iraq is the product of the fierce attentions of America's imperialist rulers. In both cases, these crimes have been augmented by the overweening incompetence and corruption of the Bush regime.

The imperialists' willingness to destroy in their quest for power and profits without the least concern for those they would subjugate inevitably engenders chaos and resistance. It is quite pleasing to see the disintegration of Washington's efforts to exert total dominance in the oil fields in the Near East (versus rival imperialists) by planting the American flag in Iraq. The U.S. invasion was packaged as establishing a bulwark against the "evil" Islamic clerical regime in Iran and as a crucial battle in the "war against terror." In fact, the result of the invasion and subsequent occupation has been to establish Shi'ite Iran—previously diplomatically isolated—as a power to be reckoned with in the region, one with considerable influence in the Shi'ite South of Iraq, and in ensconcing Al Qaeda forces in Sunni-populated Anbar province, their first foothold in Iraq.

The responsibility for the hell that has come to define life in Iraq today lies squarely with the imperialist powers. As we pointed out soon after the onset of the occupation in "U.S./British Troops Out of Iraq Now!" (*WV* No. 807, 1 August 2003):

> "In a fundamental way there is no 'Iraq,' a country the boundaries of which were created in the divvying up of the spoils by the British and French imperialist victors in the aftermath of World War I. What exists is the Kurdish North, the Sunni Muslim center and the majority Shi'ite South (and various others), with each region further riven by clan and tribal rivalries."

It was the U.S. and other imperialists who for years supported the murderous dictatorship of the Sunni-based Ba'athist regime of Saddam Hussein, before withdrawing their support after his invasion of Kuwait in 1990. It was the U.S. that mobilized Shi'ite militias and the Kurdish *pesh merga* to crush Sunni insurgents in Falluja in 2004 as that city was leveled. The result of the occupation has been an unfolding civil war between Sunni militias and Shi'ite forces, many of them death squads working directly from within the U.S.-backed puppet government.

We noted in our 2003 article that "in such a society the exertion of secular rule under capitalism is only possible under something like Hussein's Ba'athist dictatorship, which Bush & Co. aspire to replicate—democratic rhetoric aside—cleansed of its Ba'athist elements and pliable to U.S. dictates." But strongmen are not available like pomegranates in Baghdad's markets; one such now awaits execution. Nor is such likely to be found among the Sunni or Shi'ite leaders, who in the main currently oppose American occupation.

Saddam Hussein was indeed a longtime instrument of the imperialists. The stage for his accession to power was set by a series of events beginning with a 1958 military coup that overthrew the despised British-backed monarchy. In the subsequent revolutionary wave that swept the country, the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP), supported by the then-powerful Iraqi working class as well as by Kurds and other minorities, could have seized power. Instead, the Stalinist ICP betrayed the uprising by subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeois-nationalist regime of General Qassim, thus setting up militant workers for repression while pushing the Kurds into the camp of their traditional chieftains. This betrayal (on orders from Moscow) was in the service of facilitating Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev's upcoming parley with U.S. president Eisenhower in a quest for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism—a crystalline expression of the Stalinist bureaucracy's anti-revolutionary program of "socialism in one country."

The defeat of the revolutionary wave prepared the way for a counterrevolutionary bloodbath in 1963, when the Ba'athist party briefly came to power for the first time and rounded up and murdered some 5,000 leftists and trade unionists, on the basis of lists supplied by the CIA. The second coming to power of the Ba'athists in 1968 was followed by Saddam Hussein assuming full dictatorial control over the next decade through a ruthless purge of the Ba'ath party.

Reformist Pipe Dreams

Currently, the only support for a continuing U.S. presence in Iraq lies in the North, where the Kurdish leadership has staked its claim with the U.S. imperialists and thus subordinated itself to the occupation forces. The struggle for the self-determination of the Kurdish nation—divided among the capitalist states of Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Iran—is just. The International Communist League has long raised the call for a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan. However, in Iraq, any fight for Kurdish independence must take as its starting point opposition to the occupation and to the nationalist parties that serve it.

The prime area for the first stage of a U.S. withdrawal is Anbar province, where 30,000 troops, mostly Marines—the cream of regular American military forces—are unable to contain Sunni guerrilla forces. The projection is to relocate these forces to Baghdad, where increasing the number of U.S. troops has demonstrably helped fuel the developing civil war. The withdrawal of most British forces from Iraq announced by Foreign Secretary Margaret Beckett—not accidentally timed to coincide with the departure of Prime Minister Tony Blair in the spring of 2007—will effectively turn control of the South of Iraq over to Shi'ite forces. Such withdrawals could quickly result in one of the outcomes threatened by the occupation: the trisection of Iraq into Sunni, Shi'ite and Kurdish sectors, with battles to come over the possession of its oil wealth.

The disintegration of Iraq could soon result in an all-sided conflict among the various states in the Near East. Sunni-dominated states feel threatened by Iran's

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860

Boston
Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 2-5 p.m.
222 S. Morgan
(Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.
New York, NY 10008
(212) 267-1025
nysl@compuserve.com
Public Office:
Sat. 1-4 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland
Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office:
Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor

San Francisco
Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver
Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Cop Terror...

(continued from page 1)

capitalist mouthpieces to try to explain away what happened—as if methodically loading two magazines in a 9-millimeter pistol and firing away at unarmed young black and Latino men is like catching the sniffles from your sneezing partner.

As shock in the community swelled to rage, the sellout black capitalist politicians moved fast to try to quash the anger of the people they claim to represent. Mayor Bloomberg rounded up the usual suspects to cool things down. Democrats like Congressman Charles Rangel, one-time FBI link Al Sharpton and City Councilman Charles Barron, who uses his Black Panther past as a militant veneer for his service to the city rulers, flanked the mayor as he appealed for "dialogue" and conceded that Sean Bell's killing appeared to be a case of "excessive force."

City Councilman Thomas White Jr. got his comeuppance from several hundred protesters massed outside the Queens hospital where Guzman and Benefield lay wounded following the shooting. When the councilman preached, "We are not going to be angry," the crowd roared back, "Oh, yes we are!" Now the NAACP is calling for a federal investigation—so the same Justice Department that justifies the torture of "terror suspects" is supposed to defend the victims of cop terror!

What's called for is mass protest, headed by New York City's integrated labor movement. The kind of independent working-class action that's necessary was seen in New York City last year when the Transport Workers Union defied the no-strike Taylor Law and crippled the finance capital of the world for three days. The same Mayor Bloomberg who now expresses concern over Bell's killing denounced the heavily black and immigrant transit workers as "thugs" for using their strike weapon. In defending themselves against the bosses and the government, the transit workers demonstrated the social power that must be mobilized in defense of the oppressed ghetto and barrio masses. A one-day strike or mass labor-led protest against racist cop terror would pack more wallop than a thousand photo-ops for Al Sharpton and Charles Barron. But this class-struggle strategy requires a political fight against the labor bureaucracy, which embraces the Democratic Party and the capitalist courts and cops.

Kathryn Johnston, 88, was gunned down by cops in her Atlanta home on November 21.

Defining "acceptable force" will no doubt be a focus of the City Council and the police civilian review board. What's acceptable? The 41 bullets fired at the unarmed 22-year-old African immigrant Amadou Diallo in the vestibule of his home in 1999? Or the 20-odd bullets pumped into the backs of 18-year-old Antonio Rosario and 22-year-old Hilton Vega in 1995 in the Bronx as they lay on the ground as ordered by the police before their killing? Or will they draw the line at a more economical blast of bullets, such as police used to kill Timothy Stansbury, an unarmed 19-year-old, on the roof of his Brooklyn housing project in 2004, or Mingo Kenneth Mason, who was shot and killed outside a Harlem project with one bullet this September? The police arsenal of terror is not limited to semi-automatics: who can forget Haitian immigrant Abner Louima, brutally sodomized with a broom handle and beaten within an inch of his life in 1997 after being hauled into a police station for "questioning"?

It's been 15 years since the videotaped vicious beating of Rodney King showed the world what happens all the time to black people in racist America. Young black men have always been targets of racist violence in this capitalist system. But not even an aged black woman sitting in her own home is safe from the cops. In Atlanta, 88-year-old Kathryn Johnston managed to fire several shots in self-defense before cops with a "no knock" warrant broke down her door supposedly looking for drugs and killed her in a hail of bullets on November 21. One week later, protesters stormed police barricades in front of Kathryn Johnston's house. A church meeting was flanked with signs mocking the city's paid leave for the killer cops. One read: "Kill a Black Citizen and Get Paid." We say: Down with the racist "war on drugs"! No to gun control!

What happened to Sean Bell and Kathryn Johnston ought to dispel any illusions

WV Photo

Jamaica, Queens: Hundreds protest racist cop killing of Sean Bell, December 2.

that having more black cops will change a damn thing. The latest victims were gunned down by a rainbow coalition of police: black, white and Latino, led by a white police chief in New York and a black police chief in Atlanta. As the New York Spartacist League wrote in a leaflet issued immediately after the killing of Amadou Diallo (reprinted in *Workers Vanguard* No. 707, 19 February 1999):

> "Such brutal, sadistic cop terror is not an 'aberration.' The cops, courts and prison system are at the core of the ***capitalist state***, the repressive apparatus which protects the rule, the property and the profits of the tiny minority which owns the wealth of this country. While the capitalist class drives to increase profits, squeezing the working class and starving the ghettos, the gap between rich and poor grows ever wider. To enforce its rule, the capitalists must strengthen their apparatus of murderous repression."

It is crucial to understand that *systematic* racial oppression and segregation is a pillar of capitalist rule, and so it continues under Democratic as well as Republican administrations. Today the U.S. ruling class doesn't need black youth even as a "last hired, first fired" reserve army of labor. That means the government has no need to educate them either. So astounding numbers are locked up in the vastly expanding prison system, and others are poached by military recruiters to get blown away in U.S. imperialism's murderous occupation of Iraq. The "war on terror" is camouflage for the imperialist rulers to ride roughshod from Afghanistan to Iraq and for their war at home against immigrants, black people and the rights of the population as a whole. Bishop Lester Williams, who had been scheduled to perform Bell's wedding, bluntly said in referring to the cops' treatment of black Queens: "It's little Iraq."

Nationwide anger over the wave of cop killings should be tied to the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was railroaded to death row on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman in 1981. A former Black Panther and later a MOVE supporter and award-winning journalist, Mumia exposed the brutal workings of the racist cops and their "justice" system. For this he was victimized in a racist, political frame-up. The fight for freedom for Mumia is a fight against the capitalist state's ultimate instrument of racist terror: "legal lynching" by the death penalty. In this struggle, no confidence must be placed in the "fairness" of the racist capitalist courts, and all confidence placed in the power of mass, labor-centered protest.

The hard truth is that the only way to eliminate police brutality is to do away with the system of racist American capitalism, for which the "gang in blue uniforms" is the front line of defense. To fight for this kind of fundamental social change requires the understanding that the working class, which creates the wealth of this society, must lead the way forward to equality and justice for all, through socialist revolution. When the profit system is smashed and replaced with a planned economy, utilizing the wealth of this country for human need instead of capitalist greed, then we'll be on the road to completing the unfulfilled promise of the Civil War for black freedom. The Spartacist League, together with the Labor Black Leagues, is dedicated to the fight to build the revolutionary workers party that can lead this struggle. *Sean Bell, Kothryn Johnston: We will not forget!*■

---

quickly growing influence in Iraq and beyond. In Lebanon, the Shi'ite fundamentalist Hezhollah—backed by Iran and Syria—has staged a continuing mass protest in Beirut against the Siniora government, building from the sethack it gave to Israeli forces in the summer. On December 4, the Lebanese government deployed more soldiers in Beirut amid fears that the killing of one protester could set off sectarian violence. The possibility of renewed civil war in Lebanon between competing reactionary nationalist and clerical forces is palpable. Meanwhile, Turkey has repeatedly threatened to intervene into northern Iraq if the Kurds there move toward independence.

Our call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. and allied forces from the Near East is made in the recognition that the weakening of the bloodsoaked American imperialists that would necessarily accompany such a retreat would redound to the benefit of the world's oppressed masses, not because we believe that all will be right in that area in the aftermath. Nor do we think that imperialist dominance would fail to he exerted through the more normal post-colonial channels: through the sway of the major capitalist powers over the national bourgeois and religious leaders in these backward countries, who gain their social power and wealth by maintaining the wretchedness of "their" people. Thus, while we recognize that strikes against the U.S. occupiers carried out by Iraqi insurgents coincide with the interests of the international proletariat, we give no political support to the various clerical and nationalist forces. Today those forces are tearing each other's throats out far more than they are taking on the American occupation.

The very history of Iraq indicates that support to even left-talking bourgeois nationalists weaves a deathtrap for the working class and the oppressed masses. The Iraqi working class has been dismantled by the U.S. imperialist occupation, but the proletariat remains a force in the region, most notably in Iran. Freedom from grinding imperialist exploitation and the achievement of democratic rights for all people in the region cannot he achieved under capitalism. They require the overthrow of bourgeois rule, consummating in the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East and linked to the fight for proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries. The cohering of proletarian revolutionary parties in the region can come about only in opposition to religious reactionaries and to all variants of bourgeois nationalism.

The leftish types in this country who head the currently all-but-inert "antiwar movement"—e.g., the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Workers World Party (WWP)—seem compelled by the fantasy that the various religious and tribal militias in Iraq, Lebanon and elsewhere constitute a force for progress. They have been propounding this tale ever since the occupation set in. The reformist left's vicarious enchantment with those who would quickly execute them, had they members in Iraq, mutates into groveling before the Democrats on the home front.

While these groups are capable of occasionally referring to the Democrats as a component of the American system of capitalist rule, their actions reveal their true intentions. The ISO and WWP were some of the hest builders of a class-collaborationist Iraq "antiwar" movement that served as a vehicle for "Anybody hut Bush" Democratic Party politics. In the November elections, the ISO ran its own candidate on the ticket of the Green Party, which seeks to become a significant player among the hourgeois parties that are an integral component of the American imperialist order. The WWP, which has not shied away from calling for votes to Democrats over the years, also ran a candidate in the Greens.

In the aftermath of the elections, it's "make the Democrats fight." The ISO distilled the following moonshine for consumption: "The Democrats will not deliver an end to the Iraq war without substantial pressure from below. And that requires large-scale, grass-roots struggle. This should be a wakeup call to everyone who wants an end to the Iraq war, a raise in the minimum wage, a step forward for immigrants rights—and an end to politics-as-usual in Washington" (*Socialist Worker*, 17 November).

For the reformists, the world imperialist order that consigned hundreds of millions to slaughter in the 20th century in pursuit of its quest for profits and power need not he smashed by international proletarian socialist revolution but merely refined by the pressures exerted by right-thinking people. Only when imperialist rule is consigned to the graveyard of history by working-class socialist revolution in the advanced industrial societies will the world's masses he spared from the repetitive slaughters that are the hallmarks of class rule and freed from the chains of exploitation and oppression. This perspective necessitates building a revolutionary workers party, a U.S. section of a reforged Fourth International.■

PDC Rallies...

(continued from page 4)

Innocent Man!" *WV* No. 879, 27 October): "None of the courts have allowed Beverly's evidence to be heard because it is too hot to handle. It exposes that Mumia's frame-up is not just some aberration of a rogue cop or a bad judge, but the result of the workings of a whole 'justice' system whose real purpose is the repression of workers, minorities and the poor on behalf of the capitalist rulers."

Hundreds of prominent individuals, labor activists, civil libertarians and organizations internationally have signed on to a PDC statement titled, "We Demand the Immediate Freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an Innocent Man," which cites the Beverly evidence. To date, that statement has appeared in the *Nation*, the Harlem-based *Amsterdam News*, the *Chicago Defender* and the *San Francisco Bay View*.

Henry Walton, host of the KPFK Labor Review radio program in Los Angeles, described how Mumia's case "changed me from being one of those liberals, back in the '80s, when this first started, who said, 'Let's give him a fair trial,' to now understanding that we've got to free an innocent man because he's not going to get a fair trial from this system. There is no such thing." Standish E. Willis, chair of the Chicago chapter of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, explained that "these courts are not for working people. They are for people who have property and they are there to protect private property and protect the people that run this country." Also speaking in Chicago were Bernard Branche of the Labor Black Struggle League, WVON radio host Cliff Kelley and Mike Elliot, chair of the Education Committee of United Auto Workers Local 551. Elliot remarked, "They want to silence the voice of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the voices of those that support him because our voices speak volumes about the state that we live in, the state of America."

It was an important advance that the rallies were addressed by a wide range of union activists and officials. In Los Angeles, Jesse Smith, president of the African American Caucus of SEIU United Healthcare Workers-West spoke to why labor should take up Mumia's cause when it "doesn't involve adequate wages or fair benefits." He answered: "Labor must be concerned about this issue because it is an issue of injustice." In Oakland, Brenda Blannon of SEIU Local 616 read a June 13 statement declaring that the local's executive board had voted unanimously to call for freedom for Mumia, and Chris Fisher of AFSCME Local 444 noted his union's 15-year-long support for Mumia.

Also addressing the Oakland rally were Josué Cohos of the Day Labor Program and Raymond Horne, trustee of Glaziers Local 718 in San Francisco. All expressions of labor solidarity with Mumia are welcome. But as the LBL's Tom Cowperthwaite, a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100, told the Harlem rally, "We need to turn those names of unionists on petitions, those motions, those resolutions into labor protest and strike action" (See "'Strike!' and 'Free Mumia!' Should Ring Out in the Same Breath," *WV* No. 881, 24 November).■

WV Photos

Left: Stuart Hanlon, former attorney for Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), addresses Oakland rally. Right: Henry Walton of KPFK radio speaks at October 19 rally in Los Angeles.

Mexico...

(continued from page 3)

powerful muscle through strike actions in defense of the Ooxoca teochers and the APPO." [See "Down With Bloody State of Siege in Oaxaca!" *WV* No. 880, 10 November.] Free all those arrested now! Drop all the charges! PFP, army out of Oaxaca! Defend APPO against state repression!

In the face of the increasing social unrest fed by the brutal, rightist starvation policies of the PAN government, the bourgeoisie itself is divided and fearful of a broader social explosion. On September 1, a massive police mobilization put a large part of Mexico City under a virtual state of siege. Nonetheless, with protests in the streets and in Congress, [President Vicente] Fox decided to avoid a confrontation and did not give his last state of the union speech before Congress. The PRD, the APPO and others have again called for massive demonstrations for December 1 with the purpose of preventing Felipe Calderón's taking office as the new president, and certainly the PAN does not want to start its new term with such an affront. For over a week, the PAN government has already surrounded the Congress with police and installed checkpoints around it, and now the police mobilization will surely be bigger. With this new attempt to smash the APPO once and for all, the government is launching a threat against the unions and all social activists, including its own bourgeois opponents in the PRD.

The fanatically obscurantist PAN members are truly a very dangerous beast. The bourgeois PRD has tried to ride the wave of social discontent and co-opt the struggle in Oaxaca, calling for the withdrawal of the PFP and the dismissal of Ulises Ruiz. An important part of the Oaxacan masses, as well as a large part of the working class and the poor on a national level, see the PRD as representing their interests. But this is a ***bourgeois*** party, whose differences with the PAN are at bottom over how to administer the capitalist system of exploitation. When the struggle goes beyond its control, the PRD will not hesitate one moment in unleashing the repressive forces against those who today support it, just as it did against the students during the UNAM [National Autonomous University of Mexico] strike of 1999, against the workers of Sicartsa this past April, against the peasants of Atenco, among many other examples.

Combatting all illusions in the bourgeoisie and its parties, the Trotskyists of the Grupo Espartaquista de México fight for the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party to lead the working class toward socialist revolution—the only way to stop once and for all the brutal capitalist repression against the workers and the poor.■

NLRB...

(continued from page 3)

economy, having added 1.7 million jobs since 2001, and there remains a critical shortage of nurses. This gives nurses unions considerable leverage. But all too often, their ability to wield that power in strike action is limited by the class-collaborationist union tops, who bow to court injunctions and keep picket lines thin while hospital officials shuttle in scabs from strikebreaking outfits. When any section of the hospital workforce goes on strike, what's needed is to build mass picket lines joined by all unionized workers on site and mobilizing public support for hospital workers.

There is wide sympathy for the overworked nurses and other health care workers in this racist capitalist society, where the bottom line in "medical care" isn't healing patients but boosting profits. Health care workers have natural allies among working people who see their health benefits torn up by profit-gouging companies, and among the ghetto and barrio poor who for decades have faced the closures of public hospitals, losing access to the modicum of care they provide, as well as Medicaid cuts. At a time when fewer and fewer people can afford health care, attacks on the nurses unions will further erode the quality of treatment. For example, the unions regularly demand higher nurse-to-patient ratios in contract negotiations and during strikes.

The AFL-CIO tops charge that the October ruling violates the intention of the 1935 Wagner Act, which set up the NLRB. But the very purpose of the Wagner Act was to divert the tumultuous class struggle of the 1930s, particularly the mass union organizing drives, into the machinery of government control (see "Union Busting and Capitalist 'Democracy'," *WV* No. 867, 31 March). The "New Deal" Democratic administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt pushed for the Wagner Act as a measure to rein in a strike wave that included citywide strikes in Toledo, San Francisco and Minneapolis in 1934—led respectively by left-wing socialists, Communists and Trotskyists—and to head off wider working-class rebellion. The Wagner Act outlawed key organizing tactics like the sit-down strike and gave the NLRB wide powers to determine which unions would be recognized as bargaining agents by the employers.

Immediately after World War II and with the onset of the anti-Soviet Cold War, the NLRB used this authority to break leftist-led unions on the heels of the greatest strike wave in U.S. history. The assault on the unions was codified in the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which banned additional militant union tactics like sympathy strikes and secondary boycotts and required "loyalty oaths" from the unions in order to purge them of Reds and other militants. A majority of the Democrats in Congress voted *for* this union-busting law.

A lesser-known provision of Taft-Hartley excluded supervisors from joining unions and was the basis for the NLRB's October ruling. True supervisors, who hire, fire and/or discipline workers, are agents of the class enemy and do not belong in the unions—but it is for the workers to keep them out of their labor organizations. Any attempt by the capitalist state to determine who should belong to a union is a blow against labor.

In courting the labor vote for the mid-term elections, Nancy Pelosi and other leading Democrats issued token condemnations of the NLRB decision and urged passage of the Employee Free Choice Act, which would provide for union recognition by card checks rather than certification elections. The bosses can be counted on to intimidate and even terrorize pro-union workers and otherwise manipulate the drawn-out procedure for union recognition elections. But the notion pushed by the labor tops that new legislation would safeguard union organizing efforts against interference from the bosses is a pipe dream. The proposed law would not only keep union certification under the thumb of the NLRB but would allow companies to kick the negotiation of a union's first contract to federal mediation followed by binding arbitration—a trap designed to stop strikes and leave workers with no say in the outcome.

Democratic Party administrations that won office with the support of the pro-capitalist labor tops have routinely battered unions with anti-labor laws. The Clinton White House invoked the Railway Labor Act 14 times to spike strikes by rail and air transport workers. And while the PATCO air traffic controllers union was smashed by the Republican Reagan administration in 1981, the plans to bust the union were drawn up under Democrat Jimmy Carter.

It takes class-struggle methods to defend labor against the class enemy. And that perspective requires fighting to break the ties forged by the labor tops to the bosses' state and political parties. Labor needs a new, class-struggle leadership, one that would support the building of a workers party committed to the fight for a workers government.■

Spartacus Youth Club Class

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, December 9, 2 p.m.

Imperialism and War

3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215
(Vermont/Beverly Red Line station)
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

❑ $10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* ❑ New ❑ Renewal
(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)
International rates: $25/21 issues—Airmail $10/21 issues—Seamail
❑ $2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
❑ $2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)
❑ I would like to contribute $_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

Name _____
Address _____
_____ Apt. # _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone (____) _____ E-mail _____

882

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Subject Index...

(continued from page 16)

CANADA—And see also **Chomsky; Sexuality.**
Sharia "Socialists": I.S. Upholds Anti-Woman Religious Courts (*Spartacist Canada*) (W&R), #861, 6 Jan. (6, 7)
The Cop Killing of Dudley George: Racist Hell for Native Peoples (*Spartacist Canada*), #864, 17 Feb. (4, 5)
Marxism and the Fight Against Native Oppression, #864, 17 Feb. (5)
Wildcat Strike Shuts Down Toronto Transit, #872, 9 June (12)
Zionist Backlash Over "Boycott Israel" Call—Defend Canadian Public Workers Union! Defend the Palestinians!, #875, 1 Sept. (2, 3)
Anti-Sex Crusade Targets Youth, Gays (*Spartacist Canada*) (W&R), #876, 15 Sept. (6, 7)

Cannon, James P.—See **Quote of the Week.**

Catholic Church—See **Immigration.**

Change to Win—See **Labor.** See also **Immigration.**

Chávez, Hugo—See **United Nations.**

Chicago—See **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Armed Forces; Police; Transit Workers.**

CHINA—And see **Labor.** See also **Iran; North Korea; Philippines; Sudan.**
"Left Forum" Debate on "Market Socialism", #869, 28 Apr. (5)
China's "Market Reforms"—A Trotskyist Analysis (S)
Part One, #874, 4 Aug. (4, 5, 11, 12)
Part Two, #875, 1 Sept. (4, 5, 11, 12)

CHOMSKY, NOAM—And see **United Nations.**
Failed Anarchist on "Failed States" (YSp), #874, 4 Aug. (6, 7)

Chretien, Todd—See **International Socialist Organization.**

Churchill, Ward—See **Campus Repression.** See also **Terrorism.**

CIVIL LIBERTIES
- **General**—And see **Britain; Campus Repression; U.S.: General.** See also **Islamic Fundamentalism.**
NSA/FBI Spying and the War on Our Rights, #861, 6 Jan. (1, 8, 9)
On the Anti-Smoking Witchhunt (L), #863, 3 Feb. (3)
Big Brother and Ma Bell's Brood: Government Spy Network Exposed, Again, #871, 26 May (1, 11)*
Big Brother... (C), #872, 9 June (2)
Bush, Democrats Wave "War on Terror" Flag (E), #876, 15 Sept. (3)
California Ballot: Vote No on "Sex Dragnet" Prop 83!, #880, 10 Nov. (4)
Clarification on "Age of Consent" (L), #882, 8 Dec. (2)
- **Cases**—And see **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Armed Forces; Black Question; Campus Repression; Immigration; Labor; Partisan Defense Committee; Puerto Rico; Transit Workers.** See also **Obituaries.**
Funds Needed for Jaan Laaman Defense, #861, 6 Jan. (2)
Court Suppresses Evidence of Frame-Up: Free Leonard Peltier! (CSDN), #868, 14 Apr. (3)
Moussaoui Case: 9/11 Show Trial, #870, 12 May (12, 11)
Anti-Polygamy Witchhunt: Feds Hands Off Mormon Fundamentalists!, #871, 26 May (2)
Racist "Anti-Terror" Roundup in Florida, #873, 7 July (16, 15)
Free Journalist Josh Wolf! (CSDN), #882, 8 Dec. (2)
- **Stewart, Lynne**
Mobilize for March 10 Sentencing Hearing! Defend Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar!, #865, 3 Mar. (3, 10)
Pack the Courtroom for October 16 Sentencing!, #878, 13 Oct. (4, 5)
Overturn Terror Show-Trial Convictions of Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Abdel Sattar!, #879, 27 Oct. (12, 10)
PDC at Lynne Stewart Rally, #879, 27 Oct. (10)

Civil Rights Movement—See **Black Question; New Orleans.**

Civil War, U.S.—See **Abortion.** See also **Black Question.**

Cliff, Tony—See **Britain.**

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY—And see also **Black Question.**
Down With Racist, Anti-Communist Provocation at Columbia! (YSp), #862, 20 Jan. (5)
Defend Anti-Minutemen Protesters at Columbia! (YSp), #879, 27 Oct. (6, 9)

COMMITTEE FOR A WORKERS INTERNATIONAL (CWI)—And see also **World War II.**
Israeli Taaffeites Capitulate to Zionism Over Lebanon (*Le Bolchévik*), #879, 27 Oct. (2)

Communist League of America (CLA)—See **Black Question.**

Communist Party (U.S.)—See **Labor; Longshoremen.**

Communist Party of France (PCF)—See **France.**

Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)—See **Philippines.**

Communist Workers Party (CWP)—See **Fascism.**

Corrie, Rachel—See **Zionism.**

Cuba—See **Chomsky; Sexuality.**

Darfur—See **Sudan.**

Dashnaks—See **Terrorism.**

De Anza 8—See **Campus Repression.**

DEATH PENALTY—And see **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; France.** See also **Civil Liberties: Cases.**
California Lynches Stanley Tookie Williams, #861, 6 Jan. (4, 5)

Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP)—See **Australia.**

Denmark—See **Islamic Fundamentalism.**

Dubai—See **Longshoremen.**

East Timor—See **Australia.**

EDUCATION
Down With Racist Purge at UCLA! (YSp), #881, 24 Nov. (16, 8)

Elections, U.S.—See **International Socialist Organization; Iraq; Socialist Action; U.S.: General.**

ENVIRONMENTALISM
On Global Warming (L), #877, 29 Sept. (2, 13)

EUROPE—And see **Islamic Fundamentalism.**
European Dockers Strike Against Union Busting, #863, 3 Feb. (12, 10)

FASCISM—And see also **World War II.**
Greensboro Commission: "Reconciliation" with Fascist Terror, #876, 15 Sept. (3, 11)

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)—See **Puerto Rico.** See also **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Civil Liberties: Cases; Fascism; Labor; Terrorism.**

Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA)—See **New Orleans.**

Foley, Mark—See **Civil Liberties: General; U.S.: General.**

FRANCE—And see also **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Committee for a Workers International.**
Mass Protests Shake France, #867, 31 Mar. (12, 10)*
Mass Protests... (C), #868, 14 Apr. (9)
Down With Racist "First Employment" Law! Defend Ghetto Youth! (*Le Bolchévik*) (YSp), #867, 31 Mar. (6, 11)
Workers, Students Beat Back Government Attack, #868, 14 Apr. (1, 7, 8, 9)
Mumia Honored in France, #870, 12 May (12, 10)
MOVE's Killers Sue Paris for Honoring Mumia, #881, 24 Nov. (4, 9)
Mumia to Paris Officials: Tell Them "No", #881, 24 Nov. (4)

Fraser, Richard S.—See **Black Question; Quote of the Week.**

Freedom Socialist Party—See **Black Question.**

French Revolution—See **Terrorism.**

Gauche Révolutionnaire (GR)—See **Committee for a Workers International.**

Gay Rights—See **Canada; Poland.**

George, Dudley—See **Canada.**

Germany—See **Europe; Terrorism.**

Global Warming—See **Environmentalism.**

Goodman, Marty—See **Transit Workers.**

Goodyear Strike—See **Rubber Workers.**

Great Mississippi Flood of 1927—See **Black Question.**

Green Party—See **International Socialist Organization.**

Greensboro Massacre—See **Fascism.**

Hart-Lansberg, Martin—See **China.**

Health Care—See **Civil Liberties: General; Labor.**

Hersh, Seymour—See **Iran.**

Heyman, Jack—See **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Labor; Longshoremen.**

High School Students—See **Immigration.**

Hispanics—See **Abu-Jamal: Message from Death Row; Immigration.** See also **New Orleans.**

HISTORY OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT—And see **Terrorism; World War II.** See also **Black Question.**
On Lenin's Address to Petrograd Soviet (L), #861, 6 Jan. (2)
The Russian Revolution of 1905 (YSp), #872, 9 June (8, 9, 10, 11)
The Russian Revolution of 1917: From the February Revolution to the July Days (YSp) (S)
Part One, #874, 4 Aug. (8, 9)
Part Two, #875, 1 Sept. (6, 7, 12)*
From the February..., Part Two (C), #881, 24 Nov. (8)
The Russian Revolution of 1917: From the Kornilov Coup to the October Revolution (YSp) (S)
Part One, #877, 29 Sept. (4, 5, 7)
Part Two, #879, 27 Oct. (7, 8, 9)

Horowitz, David—See **Campus Repression.**

Houston—See **Maintenance Workers.**

Hunt, Sam—See **Obituaries.**

Hurricane Katrina—See **New Orleans.** See also **Black Question.**

IMMIGRATION—And see **Abu-Jamal: Message from Death Row; Columbia University; Labor; Left Organizations; Quote of the Week.** See also **France; Maintenance Workers; New Orleans.**
No Deportation! Hands Off Jiang Zhenxing! (CSDN), #866, 17 Mar. (3)
Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Joint Declaration of the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Grupo Espartaquista de México, #867, 31 Mar. (1, 2) and 10 Apr. Supplement in English and Spanish (1, 2, 3, 4)
For a Class-Struggle Fight to Defend Immigrant Rights!, #869, 28 Apr. (12, 9, 10)
High School Students Walk Out for Immigrant Rights (YSp), #869, 28 Apr. (7)
"Guest Workers" and Apartheid (L), #870, 12 May (2)
Labor and the Fight for Immigrant Rights—Break with the Democrats! Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!, #871, 26 May (12, 7, 8, 9, 10)
Immigrant Rights and Black Liberation, #871, 26 May (6)
Defend Immigrant Rights! (L), #873, 7 July (2)
L.A. Labor Day: Racist Minuteman Provocation Spiked, #876, 15 Sept. (5)

Imperialism—See **Islamic Fundamentalism; World War II.** See also **Iran; Iraq; Russian Question; Sudan; Terrorism; U.S.: International Relations.**

International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT)—See **Aerospace Workers.**

International Communist League (ICL)—See **Australia; Immigration; Internationalist Group.** See also **France; Mexico; Obituaries; Poland.**

International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU)—See **Civil Liberties: General; Longshoremen; Seamen.** See also **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Immigration; Labor.**

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)—See **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Longshoremen.**

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION (ISO)—And see **Left Organizations.** See also **Abortion; Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Armed Forces; Black Question; Civil Liberties: General; Columbia University; Death Penalty; Immigration; Iraq; Near East; North Korea; Socialist Action.**
"Socialist" Chretien's Capitalist "Peace" Campaign, #865, 3 Mar. (3, 11)
ISO Goes All the Way with Capitalist Greens, #866, 17 Mar. (7, 9)*
ISO Goes All the Way... (C), #870, 12 May (3)

International Socialists (Canada)—See **Canada.**

INTERNATIONALIST GROUP (IG)—And see also **Bolivia; Mexico.**
Dangerous Lies and Cynical Slanders, #879, 27 Oct. (4, 5)

IRAN—And see **Left Organizations.** See also **France; Near East; Terrorism.**
U.S. Hands Off Iran!, #863, 3 Feb. (1, 9)
Imperialists Threaten Iran, #869, 28 Apr. (1, 8, 9)

IRAQ—And see **Abu-Jamal: Message from Death Row; Kurdish Question; U.S.: General, International Relations.** See also **Campus Repression; International Socialist Organization; Iran; Socialist Action.**
Imperialist Occupation Fuels Communal Slaughter—U.S. Out of Iraq Now!, #865, 3 Mar. (1, 11)
U.S. Imperialism's Massacre in Haditha, #872, 9 June (1, 6, 7)
Exchange on Iraq Occupation (L), #874, 4 Aug. (2, 3)
U.S. Out of Iraq, Afghanistan Now!, #880, 10 Nov. (1, 11)

· Imperialist Occupation: Hell for Iraq, #882, 8 Dec. (1, 10, 11)

Ireland—See **Northern Ireland.**

Irish Republican Army—See **Terrorism.**

ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM—And see **Canada.** See also **Near East; U.S.: International Relations; Terrorism.**
Racist Anti-Muslim Cartoons Spark Fundamentalist Frenzy, #864, 17 Feb. (1, 9)
On Anti-Muslim Cartoons and Fundamentalist Reaction (L), #869, 28 Apr. (2, 4)

Israel—See **Canada; Committee for a Workers International; Near East.** See also **Iran.**

Janitors—See **Maintenance Workers.**

Japan—See **Obituaries.**

Kamenev, Lev—See **History of the Marxist Movement.**

Keylor, Howard—See **Bolshevik Tendency; Longshoremen.**

Klein, Mark—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

Kollontai, Alexandra—See **Quote of the Week.**

KOREAN WAR—And see also **North Korea.**
Korean War Document Confirms: Massacre at No Gun Ri Was Official U.S. Policy, #872, 9 June (7)

KURDISH QUESTION
The U.S. Occupation and the Kurdish Ouestion, #871, 26 May (4, 5)

Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK)—See **Kurdish Question.**

Laaman, Jaan—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

LABOR—And see also **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Immigration; Internationalist Group; Mexico; Mine Workers; New Orleans.**
FBI Raids NYC Central Labor Council—Feds: Hands Off Labor!, #866, 17 Mar. (5)
Union Busting and Capitalist "Democracy", #867, 31 Mar. (4, 5, 11)
More from a Labor Opportunist (L), #873, 7 July (2, 13, 14)
Down With AFL-CIO Tops' Anti-China Protectionism!, #874, 4 Aug. (10)
Smithfield Walkout Saves Immigrants' Jobs, #881, 24 Nov. (3)
Ruling Threatens Nurses, All Labor—Fight NLRB Union Busting!, #882, 8 Dec. (3, 12)

Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—See **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Bolshevik Tendency.** See also **Labor.**

LABOR BLACK LEAGUES (LBLs)—And see **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Police.** See also **Immigration.**
Join the Labor Black Leagues!, #877, 29 Sept. (15)
LBL Speaker at Harlem Mumia Rally: "Strike!" and "Free Mumia!" Should Ring Out in the Same Breath, #881, 24 Nov. (5, 6)

Latinos—See **Abu-Jamal: Message from Death Row; Immigration.** See also **New Orleans.**

League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP)—See **Transit Workers.**

League of Revolutionary Black Workers—See **Black Question.**

Lebanon—See **Committee for a Workers International; Near East.**

LEFT ORGANIZATIONS—And see also **U.S.: General.**
ISO, RCP to Bush: Disarm Iran, "Lead the Way to Peace", #870, 12 May (3)
How the Fake Left Amnesties the Democrats: For a Class-Struggle Fight for Immigrant Rights!, #873, 7 July (7)

Lenin, V. I.—See **History of the Marxist Movement; Quote of the Week.** See also **Labor; South Africa; Terrorism.**

Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo–Contra Corriente (LTS-CC)—See **Mexico.**

Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR)—See **France.**

Lippit, Victor—See **China.**

Logan, Bill—See **Longshoremen.**

LONGSHOREMEN—And see **Civil Liberties: General; Europe; New Orleans; Seamen.** See also **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Immigration; Labor.**
Anti-Arab Hysteria Over "Port Security", #865, 3 Mar. (12, 11)
The Truth About the 1984 *Nedlloyd Kimberly* Boycott, #873, 7 July (8, 9, 10, 11)

Los Angeles—See **Immigration; Seamen.** See also **Labor.**

Lutte Ouvrière (LO)—See **France.**

Luxemburg, Rosa—See **Quote of the Week.** See also **History of the Marxist Movement.**

Maavak Sozialisti—See **Committee for a Workers International.**

Macheteros (Ejército Popular Boricua)—See **Puerto Rico.**

Mackler, Jeff—See **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Socialist Action.**

MAINTENANCE WORKERS
Houston Janitors Win Contract, #881, 24 Nov. (3)

Malcolm X—See **Columbia University.**

Maoism—See **China; Philippines.**

Marx, Karl—See **Quote of the Week.** See also **Black Question.**

Meatpackers—See **Labor.**

MEXICO—And see **Internationalist Group.** See also **Immigration.**
Protest Cop Killing of Steel Workers, #869, 28 Apr. (3)
Miners, Steel Workers Strikes Shake Mexico, #872, 9 June (16, 13, 14, 15)
Zapatista "Sixth Declaration": Petty-Bourgeois Populism, #872, 9 June (12)
Down With Brutal Repression Against Oaxaca Teachers!, #873, 7 July (6)
Right-Wing Government Threatens Crackdown, #876, 15 Sept. (1, 8, 9, 10)
Defend Striking Teachers in Oaxaca, Mexico!, #877, 29 Sept. (2)
Down With Bloody State of Siege in Oaxaca!, #880, 10 Nov. (1, 6, 7)
Defend APPO! All Military Forces Out of Oaxaca! Protest Bloody Crackdown in Mexico!, #882, 8 Dec. (3, 12)

Miami—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

Military Recruiters—See **Armed Forces.**

Million Worker March—See **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Labor.**

MINE WORKERS—And see also **Black Question.**
West Virginia Mine Disaster: Capitalist Murder, #862, 20 Jan. (1, 9)

Minneapolis Teamsters Strikes (1934)—See **Labor.**

Minuteman Project—See **Columbia University; Immigration.**

Mississippi—See **Abortion.**

Molyneux, John—See **Britain.**

Mormons—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

Moussaoui, Zacarias—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

MOVE—See **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Black Question.**

"N" Word—See **Black Question; Obituaries.**

NAMBLA—See **Canada.**

National Industrial Recovery Act—See **Labor.**

National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)—See **Labor.**

National Security Agency (NSA)—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

Nationalism—See **Terrorism.**

Native Americans—See **Canada; Civil Liberties: Cases.**

NEAR EAST—And see **Canada; Committee for a Workers International; Islamic Fundamentalism; Zionism.** See also **San Francisco State University; Terrorism.**
U.S./Israel Tighten Screws on Palestinians, #864, 17 Feb. (1, 10, 11)
Imperialists, Zionists Starve Palestinians, #872, 9 June (3)
Zionists Rampage in Gaza, #873, 7 July (1, 12)
Down With Zionist Onslaught Against Lebanon, Gaza!, #874, 4 Aug. (1, 13, 14)
Lebanon—Down With UN Intervention! Israel Out Now!, #875, 1 Sept. (1, 14)

Nedlloyd Kimberly—See **Longshoremen.**

New Deal—See **Labor.**

New Left—See **Terrorism.**

NEW ORLEANS—And see also **Black Question.**
New Orleans Racist Atrocity: Crime and Cover-Up, #864, 17 Feb. (12, 8)
New Orleans Update: Keeping Black People From Coming Back (L), #865, 3 Mar. (2, 11)
Seven Months After Katrina: Racist Atrocity Continues, #868, 14 Apr. (1, 5, 6)
Black Longshoreman on Katrina Disaster: "We All Gave, but We Received Nothing", #868, 14 Apr. (5)
From Military-Occupied New Orleans (L), #873, 7 July (16, 15)
New Orleans Racist Atrocity—One Year After: Race, Class and the Fight for a Workers America, #877, 29 Sept. (1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13)

New York City—See **Black Question; Police; Transit Workers.** See also **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign, Message from Death Row; Labor; Labor Black Leagues; Mexico; Zionism.**

New York Times—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

No Gun Ri—See **Korean War.**

North Carolina—See **Fascism; Labor; Public Employees.**

NORTH KOREA—And see **Korean War.**
Imperialist Frenzy Over Missile Tests, #873, 7 July (1, 12)
Imperialists Threaten Sanctions After Nuclear Test, #878, 13 Oct. (1)
Defend North Korea! Down With UN Sanctions!, #879, 27 Oct. (1, 3)

NORTHERN IRELAND—And see also **Terrorism.**
Protestants and Catholics Strike Together: Postal Strikes in Northern Ireland, #866, 17 Mar. (4, 9)

Nuclear Weapons—See **Iran; North Korea.**

Nurses—See **Labor.**

Oakland—See **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Police.**

Oaxaca—See **Mexico.** See also **Internationalist Group.**

OBITUARIES
Richard Williams 1947–2005, #862, 20 Jan. (11)
A Salute to Richard Pryor 1940–2005, #863, 3 Feb. (3)
Sam Hunt 1946–2006, #873, 7 July (3)
Remembering Sam Hunt, #874, 4 Aug. (3)
Edward A. Wolkenstein 1925–2006, #879, 27 Oct. (3)

Ohio 7—See **Civil Liberties: Cases; Obituaries.** See also **Partisan Defense Committee.**

Palestinians—See **Canada; Near East; San Francisco State University; Zionism.** See also **Terrorism.**

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE—And see **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Civil Liberties: Cases; Immigration; Transit Workers; Workers World Party.** See also **France; Spartacus Youth Clubs.**
Twentieth Annual Holiday Appeal: Free Mumia! Free All Class-War Prisoners!, #863, 3 Feb. (2)
21st Annual Holiday Appeal (CSDN), #881, 24 Nov. (2, 3)

Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL)—See **Columbia University; U.S.: General.**

PATCO—See **Airline Workers.**

Pedophilia—See **Britain; Canada; Civil Liberties: General; Sexuality.**

Peltier, Leonard—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

Permanent Revolution—See **Bolivia; Mexico; Philippines; South Africa.**

Philadelphia—See **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Black Question; France.**

PHILIPPINES—And see **Quote of the Week; Seamen.**
Down With Arroyo's Reign of Terror!, #878, 13 Oct. (12, 9, 10, 11)

Plekhanov, Georgi—See **Quote of the Week.** See also **Terrorism.**

POLAND
Protest Cop Attack on Gay Rights March in Poland!, #861, 6 Jan. (5)

POLICE—And see also **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Campus Repression; Fascism.**
Oakland: LBL Protests Cop Killing of Patrick Gaston, #861, 6 Jan. (5)
Chicago Police Torture Machine, #875, 1 Sept. (16, 15)
50 Rounds: NYPD Killers, #882, 8 Dec. (1, 11)

Polygamy—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

POR (Revolutionary Workers Party, Bolivia)—See **Bolivia.**

Pornography—See **Canada.**

Prisons—See **Soviet Union.** See also **New Orleans; Russian Question.**

Proletarian Military Policy (PMP)—See **World War II.**

Protectionism—See **Labor.**

Pryor, Richard—See **Obituaries.**

PUBLIC EMPLOYEES
Raleigh, North Carolina: Sanitation Workers Battle for Union Rights, #878, 13 Oct. (3)

PUERTO RICO
Down With FBI Repression Against Puerto Rican Militants!, #868, 14 Apr. (2, 6)

Ouill, Mike—See **Labor.**

QUOTE OF THE WEEK
Class Against Class (James P. Cannon), #861, 6 Jan. (2)
Honor Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht! (Rosa Luxemburg), #862, 20 Jan. (2)
Black Freedom and the Proletarian Revolution (Richard S. Fraser), #863, 3 Feb. (2)
Capitalist "Democracy": Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie (V. I. Lenin), #864, 17 Feb. (2)
World War II and Trotskyist Defense of the Soviet Union (*Militant*), #865, 3 Mar. (2)

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! (Alexandra Kollontai), #866, 17 Mar. (2)
Imperialist Capitalism and the Trade Unions (Leon Trotsky), #867, 31 Mar. (2)
The Industrial Proletariat and the Fight for Socialism (Leon Trotsky), #868, 14 Apr. (2)
Proletarian Revolution and the Fight Against War (James Burnham), #869, 28 Apr. (2)
Imperialism and War (V.I. Lenin), #870, 12 May (2)
The Communist International and the Struggle for Black Liberation (James P. Cannon), #871, 26 May (2)
1905: Dress Rehearsal for October Revolution (V. I. Lenin), #872, 9 June (2)
Immigrant Rights in the Early Soviet Republic (1918 Soviet Constitution), #873, 7 July (2)
Defend the Gains of the Chinese Revolution! (Leon Trotsky), #874, 4 Aug. (2)
Bolshevism and the Spanish Civil War (Leon Trotsky), #875, 1 Sept. (2)
Bourgeois Democracy and Anti-Labor Repression (V. I. Lenin), #876, 15 Sept. (2)
Capitalism: Wages Falling, Profits Rising (Karl Marx), #877, 29 Sept. (2)
American "Democracy" and Colonial Oppression (John Reed), #878, 13 Oct. (2)
Karl Marx on Historical Materialism (Karl Marx), #879, 27 Oct. (2)
For New October Revolutions! (Leon Trotsky), #880, 10 Nov. (2)
On Revolutionary Morality (Leon Trotsky), #881, 24 Nov. (2)
On the Historical Materialist View of Society (Georgi Plekhanov), #882, 8 Dec. (2)

Raskolnikov, F. F.—See **History of the Marxist Movement.**

Reconstruction—See **Black Question; New Orleans.**

Red Army Faction (RAF)—See **Terrorism.**

Reed, John—See **Quote of the Week.**

RELIGION—And see **Canada; Islamic Fundamentalism.** See also **Sexuality.**
On Bible-Thumping Bigots (L), #872, 9 June (2)

Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP)—See **Left Organizations.** See also **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign.**

Revolutionary Tendency (RT)—See **Black Question.**

RUBBER WORKERS
Victory to the Goodyear Strike!, #878, 13 Oct. (3)

RUSSIAN QUESTION—And see **Britain.** See also **Socialist Action.**
U.S. Torture Machine—Amnesty International: "Gulag" and Anti-Communism (S)
Part One, #862, 20 Jan. (6, 7, 8)
Part Two, #863, 3 Feb. (6, 7, 8)

Russian Revolution of 1905—See **History of the Marxist Movement; Quote of the Week.**

Russian Revolution of 1917—See **History of the Marxist Movement.**

Said, Edward—See **San Francisco State University.**

SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY—And see **Armed Forces; Black Question.**
Down With Ban on Edward Said Mural! (YSp), #881, 24 Nov. (7)

Sanitation Workers—See **Public Employees.**

Science—See **Environmentalism.**

SEAMEN
ILWU Support Key: Filipino Seamen Win Strike in L.A., #878, 13 Oct. (10)

September 11 Attacks—See **Civil Liberties: Cases; Terrorism.**

Service Employees International Union (SEIU)—See **Maintenance Workers.**

SEXUALITY—And see **Britain; Canada; Civil Liberties: General; Religion.**
Coming of Age in the U.S.A.—Sex, Fear and Religious Reaction (YSp), #877, 29 Sept. (6, 7, 14)
On "Age of Consent" Laws (L), #880, 10 Nov. (2)

Sikorsky Strike—See **Aerospace Workers.**

Slavery—See **Black Question.**

Smoking—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

SOCIALIST ACTION (SA)—And see **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign.** See also **Civil Liberties: General; Transit Workers.**
California: Critical Support to Socialist Action in Senate Election, #876, 15 Sept. (4, 11)
Critical Support Is Not a Marriage Proposal (L), #878, 13 Oct. (6)

Socialist Party (Britain)—See **World War II.**

Socialist Workers Party (Britain)—See **Britain.**

Socialist Workers Party (U.S.)—See **Black Question; Obituaries; Terrorism; World War II.**

Solidarity—See **Transit Workers.**

Solzhenitsyn, Alexander—See **Russian Question.**

SOUTH AFRICA—And see also **Longshoremen.**
Permanent Revolution vs. "Two-Stage" Stalinist Betrayal, #875, 1 Sept. (8, 9, 10, 14)

South Korea—See **Korean War; North Korea.**

SOVIET UNION—And see **Britain; History of the Marxist Movement; Quote of the Week; Russian Question; World War II.** See also **Sexuality; Terrorism; U.S.: International Relations.**
From Early Soviet Correctional Labor Law, #863, 3 Feb. (8)

Spanish Civil War—See **Quote of the Week.**

Spartacist League—See **Black Question; Longshoremen; Socialist Action; *Workers Vanguard*.** See also **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; China; Labor; Mexico; Obituaries; Terrorism.**

SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUBS—And see **Armed Forces.** See also **Black Question; Campus Repression; Chomsky; Columbia University; Education; Left Organizations; San Francisco State University.**
SYC Speakers at Benefits for Class-War Prisoners (YSp), #862, 20 Jan. (4, 5)
Join the Spartacus Youth Club! Ten-Point Program (YSp), #875, 1 Sept. (13)

Stalinism—See **China; History of the Marxist Movement; North Korea; Russian Question.**

Stewart, Lynne—See **Civil Liberties: Stewart Case.** See also **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign.**

SUDAN
U.S./UN Hands Off Sudan!, #870, 12 May (1, 9)
No to UN/Imperialist Intervention in Sudan!, #877, 29 Sept. (16, 15)

Supreme Court—See **Abortion; Black Question.**

Taft-Hartley Act—See **Labor.**

Taylor Law—See **Transit Workers.** See also **Abu-Jamal: Message from Death Row; Labor.**

Teachers—See **Mexico.**

Teamsters—See **Aerospace Workers.**

TERRORISM
Terrorism: A Marxist Analysis—The "War on Terror" and the Imperialist World Order (S)
Part One, #881, 24 Nov. (10, 11, 12, 13)
Part Two, #882, 8 Dec. (6, 7, 8, 9)

Torture—See **Abu-Jamal: Message from Death Row; Police; Russian Question.** See also **U.S.: General.**

Toussaint, Roger—See **Transit Workers.** See also **Labor.**

TRANSIT WORKERS—And see **Abu-Jamal: Message from Death Row; Canada; Labor Black Leagues.** See also **Mine Workers; Labor.**
NYC Transit Strike: Union Power vs. Class Collaboration, #861, 6 Jan. (12, 9, 10, 11) and 6 Jan. Supplement (1, 2, 3)
Victory to the Transit Workers Strike! (Spartacist leaflet), #861, 6 Jan. (11)
Labor Must Defend NYC Transit Unions! (CSDN), #862, 20 Jan. (2)
Defiant NYC Transit Workers Reject Contract, #863, 3 Feb. (12, 10, 11)
International Solidarity with TWU, ATU, #863, 3 Feb. (11)
NYC Transit Strike: "We Showed Our Power", #866, 17 Mar. (2)
PDC Campaign: Labor Must Defend NYC Transit Unions!, #866, 17 Mar. (3)
Chicago Transit: Mass ATU Meeting Authorizes Strike, Bureaucrats Turn Tail, #867, 31 Mar. (3)
Labor: Protest Jail Sentence for TWU President Roger Toussaint!, #868, 14 Apr. (2)
Bosses' Court Slams TWU for Striking, #869, 28 Apr. (3, 4)
Exchange on NYC Transit Strike (L), #872, 9 June (2)
NY TWU Local 100 Tops Endorse Spitzer—Toussaint Backs His Jailer, #878, 13 Oct. (6)
TWU Local 100 Elections: No Choice for Members, #881, 24 Nov. (16, 15)

Transport Workers Union (TWU)—See **Abu-Jamal: Message from Death Row; Transit Workers.** See also **Labor; Labor Black Leagues; Mine Workers.**

Trotsky, Leon—See **History of the Marxist Movement; Quote of the Week.** See also **Black Question; Bolivia; China; France; Mexico; Terrorism; World War II.**

Trotskyism—See **Quote of the Week; World War II.** See also **Black Question; Britain; Labor; Russian Question.**

Turkey—See **Kurdish Question.**

UCLA—See **Campus Repression; Education.**

Unemployment—See **France.**

United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE)—See **Public Employees.**

United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW)—See **Labor.**

United Mine Workers of America (UMWA)—See **Mine Workers.**

UNITED NATIONS—And see **Sudan.** See also **Chomsky; Near East.**
Chávez, Chomsky and Bush: UN Follies (E), #878, 13 Oct. (2)

UNITED STATES
- **General**—And see **Abortion; Black Question; Britain; Civil Liberties: General; Immigration; Iraq; New Orleans.** See also **Left Organizations; Sexuality.**
  Cops, Corruption and the Imperial Presidency: "War on Terror" Hits Congress, #872, 9 July (6)
  U.S. Torture Elections: Bipartisan Assault on Bill of Rights, #878, 13 Oct. (1, 7, 8)
  U.S. Elections: Bourgeoisie's Midterm Correction—For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!, #881, 24 Nov. (1, 14, 15)
- **International Relations**—And see **Chomsky; Iran; Iraq; Korean War; Kurdish Question; Longshoremen; Near East; North Korea; Quote of the Week; Russian Question; Sudan; Terrorism.** See also **Labor; Philippines; United Nations.**
  U.S. Out of Iraq, Afghanistan Now!, #866, 17 Mar. (12, 11)

United Steelworkers (USW)—See **Rubber Workers.**

University of Chicago—See **Armed Forces.**

University of Colorado—See **Campus Repression.**

"War on Terror"—See **Britain; Civil Liberties: General, Cases; U.S.: General; Terrorism.** See also **Longshoremen; Puerto Rico.**

Weather Underground—See **Terrorism.**

West Virginia—See **Mine Workers.**

Williams, Richard—See **Obituaries.**

Williams, Stanley Tookie—See **Death Penalty.**

Wolf, Josh—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

Wolkenstein, Edward A.—See **Obituaries.**

Woman Question—See **Abortion; Canada; Quote of the Week.** See also **Britain; Near East; Sexuality.**

Workers Party (Philippines)—See **Philippines.**

WORKERS VANGUARD—And see **Bolshevik Tendency.**
Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive
2006 Quotas, #875, 1 Sept. (13)
Week Two Totals, #876, 15 Sept. (9)
Week Four Totals, #877, 29 Sept. (3)
Final Totals, #878, 13 Oct. (2)
Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation, #878, 13 Oct. (4)
Subscription Drive Success: *WV* Welcomes New Readers!, #880, 10 Nov. (3, 5)

WORKERS WORLD PARTY—And see also **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Iran; Iraq; Left Organizations; Near East; U.S.: General.**
Defend Workers World Party Against Robber Baron Lawsuit!, #873, 7 July (7)
A Thank You from *Workers World* (L), #881, 24 Nov. (3)

World Can't Wait—See **Left Organizations; U.S.: General.**

World War I—See **History of the Marxist Movement.**

WORLD WAR II
Revolutionaries and World War II (*Workers Hammer*) (YSp) (S)
Part One, #865, 3 Mar. (8, 9)*
Part Two, #867, 31 Mar. (8, 9)
Revolutionaries..., Part One (C), #881, 24 Nov. (8)

Yousry, Mohamed—See **Civil Liberties: Stewart Case.**

Youth—See **Sexuality.**

Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN)—See **Mexico.**

Zinoviev, Gregory—See **History of the Marxist Movement.**

ZIONISM—And see **Canada; Near East; San Francisco State University.** See also **Sudan; Terrorism.**
My Name Is Rachel Corrie and Zionist Censorship, #866, 17 Mar. (5)

WORKERS VANGUARD

2006 SUBJECT INDEX

Issue No. 861 (6 January) through No. 882 (8 December)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 2006, from issue No. 861 (6 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 882 (8 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August, and skipping the last issue in December.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Debate at Harlem PDC Rally, #880, 10 Nov. (12, 9, 10, 11)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 880, dated 10 November 2006, beginning on page 12 and continuing on pages 9, 10 and 11.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross-references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross-references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross-references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  Oaxaca—See **Mexico.** See also **Internationalist Group.**

  means that articles about Oaxaca can be found by going to the subject head **MEXICO**. Related articles can be found by going to the subject head **INTERNATIONALIST GROUP.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person. Foreign political organizations are generally listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not normally under any other subject heading. Articles which deal centrally with U.S. foreign policy will be found under **U.S.: International Relations** or under the relevant geographical heading. For example, articles about the U.S. occupation of Iraq will be found under **IRAQ**.
- Articles on protests or repression that take place on a campus will generally be found under the subject of the protest or repression. Repression on miscellaneous subjects will be found under **CAMPUS REPRESSION**
- The periodic columns by death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal are listed under the subject heading **ABU-JAMAL** in the subcategory **Message from Death Row**; articles on his case and the campaign to free him are in the subcategory **Defense Campaign.**
- Articles under the *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* (CSDN) masthead are by the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian, legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League
- Abbreviations used in entries are:
  - C: Correction
  - CSDN: *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* article
  - E: Editorial Note
  - L: Letter
  - S: Series
  - W&R: *Women and Revolution* article
  - YSp: *Young Spartacus* article

Abdel Sattar, Ahmed—See **Civil Liberties: Stewart Case.**

ABORTION—And see also **Sexuality.**
- For Free Abortion on Demand!, #866, 17 Mar. (1, 10, 11)
- On Abortion Article (L), #870, 12 May (2)
- Defend Mississippi Abortion Clinic!, #874, 4 Aug. (16, 10)*
- Defend Mississippi Abortion Clinic! (C), #875, 1 Sept. (2)

ABU-JAMAL, MUMIA
- **Defense Campaign**—And see **Bolshevik Tendency; France; Labor Black Leagues.** See also **Death Penalty; Labor; Partisan Defense Committee; Socialist Action.**
  - Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!, #861, 6 Jan. (3) and 6 Jan. Supplement (4)
  - Court Battle Looms: Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man—Free Him Now!, #862, 20 Jan. (12, 10, 11)
  - Jack Heyman: "In the Bag" (L), #864, 17 Feb. (3, 11)
  - Court Puts Mumia's Case on "Fast Track"—Mobilize Labor's Power to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!, #869, 28 Apr. (12, 11)
  - Black Journalist Herb Boyd: Rally for Mumia's Freedom! (L), #870, 12 May (10)
  - Trade Unions Say: Free Mumia Now!, #871, 26 May (3, 10)
  - For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!, #872, 9 June (4, 5, 7)
  - Campaign Update, #872, 9 June (5)
  - Chicago: Successful Music Benefit for Mumia, #873, 7 July (4)
  - Letter from Pennsylvania's Coal Fields (L), #873, 7 July (5)
  - New Legal Papers Filed, #874, 4 Aug. (16, 15)
  - At Bay Area Rally for Mumia: Class-Struggle Defense vs. "New Trial" Reformists, #874, 4 Aug. (14, 15)
  - Join PDC Contingent—Oakland, September 15! For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now!, #875, 1 Sept. (16, 15)
  - Rally! Free Mumia Now!, #876, 15 Sept. (12)
  - PDC: For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia! "Labor Action Committee": No Labor, No Action, #877, 29 Sept. (3, 14)
  - Chicago PDC Rally, #879, 27 Oct. (12, 11)
  - Debate at Harlem PDC Rally, #880, 10 Nov. (12, 9, 10, 11)
  - Mumia's Case at Critical Hour: Defense Papers Filed, #880, 10 Nov. (12, 5)
  - We Demand the Immediate Freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an Innocent Man (PDC statement and partial list of signatories), #880, 10 Nov. (8)
  - Mumia's Greetings to PDC Rallies, #880, 10 Nov. (9)
  - PDC Rallies: Mobilize Labor! Free Mumia!, #882, 8 Dec. (4, 12)
  - Join the PDC Contingent—Philadelphia, December 9th!, #882, 8 Dec. (5)
- **Call to Action**
  - Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!, #869, 28 Apr. (11)
  - Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!, #870, 12 May (11)
  - Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now! Join the Campaign!, #871, 26 May (2)
  - Join the Campaign!, #872, 9 June (5)
  - Join the Campaign!, #873, 7 July (4)
  - Join the Campaign!, #874, 4 Aug. (15)
  - Join the Campaign!, #876, 15 Sept. (5)
  - Join the Campaign!, #877, 29 Sept. (13)
  - Join the Campaign!, #878, 13 Oct. (5)
  - Join the Campaign!, #879, 27 Oct. (11)
  - Join the Campaign!, #881, 24 Nov. (6)
  - Join the Campaign!, #882, 8 Dec. (4)
- **Message from Death Row**
  - Ongoing War Against Workers: The TWU Strike, #868, 14 Apr. (3)
  - Immigration Blues, #871, 26 May (3)
  - The United States of Torture, #878, 13 Oct. (5)

AEROSPACE WORKERS
- Victory to the Sikorsky Strike!, #865, 3 Mar. (12)

Affirmative Action—See **Education.** See also **Black Question.**

Afghanistan—See **U.S.: International Relations.** See also **Iraq; Terrorism.**

AFL-CIO—See **Labor.** See also **Immigration.**

Africa—See **South Africa; Sudan.**

Africa, Pam—See **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign.**

Air Traffic Controllers—See **Airline Workers.**

AIRLINE WORKERS
- Kentucky Air Disaster: Bitter Fruit of Union Busting, #876, 15 Sept. (5)

Akom, Antwi—See **Black Question.** See also **Spartacus Youth Clubs.**

Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU)—See **Canada; Transit Workers.**

American Indian Movement—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

Amnesty International—See **Russian Question.**

ANSWER—See **Columbia University; U.S.: General.**

Anti-Communism—See **Russian Question.**

Archives of the Marxist Movement—See **History of the Marxist Movement; Soviet Union.**

ARMED FORCES—And see **World War II.** See also **Iraq; Obituaries.**
- Military Recruiters Off Campus! Drop Charges Against U of C Protesters! (YSp), #865, 3 Mar. (6)
- U of C United-Front Rally Demands: Drop Charges Against Anti-Military Recruitment Protesters! (YSp), #867, 31 Mar. (7)
- SFSU Suspends Protesters Against Military Recruiters (YSp), #869, 28 Apr. (7)
- D.A. Drops Charges, U of C Threatens Ban Against SYCer (YSp), #870, 12 May (5)

AT&T—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

AUSTRALIA
- Lynch Mob Terror in Sydney (*Australasian Spartacist*), #862, 20 Jan. (3, 8)
- Condemn DSP Thug Attack on Spartacist Woman at Union Rally, #876, 15 Sept. (2, 11)

Bin Laden, Osama—See **Terrorism.**

Black Panther Party—See **Black Question.**

BLACK QUESTION—And see **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign; Columbia University; Death Penalty; Education; Fascism; Immigration; New Orleans; Obituaries; Police; Quote of the Week.** See also **Labor Black Leagues; U.S.: General.**
- Fight Racist Reaction on Campus! (YSp), #863, 3 Feb. (4, 5)
- Racial Oppression and the Supreme Court Hearings (E), #864, 17 Feb. (2)
- The Legacy of Richard S. Fraser—Revolutionary Integrationism: The Road to Black Freedom (S)
  - Part One, #864, 17 Feb. (12, 6, 7, 8)
  - Part Two, #865, 3 Mar. (4, 5, 10)
- Black Oppression and the Great Mississippi Flood of 1927, #868, 14 Apr. (4, 6)
- Defend San Francisco State Professor Akom! (YSp), #869, 28 Apr. (6)
- Class Struggle and the Fight for Black Liberation, #870, 12 May (1, 6, 7, 8, 9)
- Remember May 1985 MOVE Massacre, #870, 12 May (10)
- Howard Beach Verdict: The "N" Word and Racist Terror, #873, 7 July (5)

Blasphemy—See **Islamic Fundamentalism.**

BOLIVIA
- Trotskyism vs. Bourgeois Nationalism, #868, 14 Apr. (12, 10, 11)

Bolshevik Party—See **History of the Marxist Movement.**

BOLSHEVIK TENDENCY (BT)—And see **Longshoremen.** See also **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign.**
- On BT's Poison Pen (E), #874, 4 Aug. (2)
- The BT and the Fight to Free Mumia (L), #876, 15 Sept. (2)

Boyd, Herb—See **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign.**

BRITAIN—And see also **World War II.**
- British SWP: Reformists Who Hailed Counterrevolution (*Workers Hammer*), #866, 17 Mar. (6, 8)
- Anti-Sex Witchhunt in Schools (*Workers Hammer*), #870, 12 May (4, 5)
- Bush, the Democrats and the London "Terror" Scare (E), #875, 1 Sept. (3)

Burkett, Paul—See **China.**

Burnham, James—See **Quote of the Week.**

California—See **Civil Liberties: General; Death Penalty; International Socialist Organization; Socialist Action.** See also **Education; Immigration.**

Campus Antiwar Network—See **Left Organizations.**

Campus Protests—See **Armed Forces; Campus Repression; Columbia University; San Francisco State University.** And see **Black Question; Education.**

CAMPUS REPRESSION—And see **Armed Forces; Black Question; Columbia University; San Francisco State University.**
- Defend the De Anza 8! (YSp), #863, 3 Feb. (4)
- Defend UCLA Professors Against Right-Wing Thought Police! (YSp), #865, 3 Mar. (7)
- Hands Off Ward Churchill! (YSp), #873, 7 July (12)
- Protest Racist Cop Attack at UCLA! (YSp), #881, 24 Nov. (9)

continued on page 13